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A Compleat
HISTORY
OF THE *505*
LIFE
AND
RAIGNE
OF
King CHARLES
FROM
His Cradle to his Grave.

Collected and Written
BY
WILLIAM SANDERSON Esq.

LONDON,

Printed for Humphrey Moseley, Richard Tomlins,
and George Sawbridge, 1658.

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and
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THE CRADLE TO THE GRAVE

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WILLIAM SANDERSON, Esq.

LONDON

Printed for Humphry High, 10, Strand, London, W.C. 1853.



The Introduction.



HUS far we are forward in our *Compleat History*, successively continued from that exquisite *Compendium*, set out by *William Drummond Esq.* of the *Lives and Reigns of five the preceding Kings of Scotland, James the 1. the 2. the 3. the 4. the 5. from the year 1423. unto 1542.* At the end of which, we have heretofore taken our Rise and Entrance, having lately published the *First and Second* part, from the birth of *Mary Queen of Scotland*, to the death of her Son and Successour King *James the sixth*; and (after *Queen Elizabeth*) of great *Britain, France, and Ireland, the first of that Name.* And now we proceed to the third part, the *Reign and Death of his Son and Successor King Charles the first.*

But before we enter into his sad Story, it may not be amiss to enlighten the Reader with the State and condition of these his three Kingdoms, *England, Scotland, and Ireland.*

Of England.

King *James* having been imbarqued by consent of Parliament in a War against the House of *Austria*, left this life, and the *Palsgraves* hopes at a very low Ebb, if not dispair, while the Emperour and the Duke of *Bavare* shuffled the Cards, and plaid the Game to others loss.

The *Germane* Army suppressing all the reformed Princes, bandited the *Palatine*, and forced the other *Electors*, to make *Bavaria* one among them.

The wonder was, why the *Austrians* should stand so stify upon such an inconsiderable piece of that great Empire, but through that Spot, the *Spaniard* had free passage with his Forces of *Italy* and

The Introduction.

and other Parts to pass into the *Netherlands*, to reduce them to obedience.

And this occasioned the Commotion and Combination of the Duke of *Brunswick*, bringing in the King of *Denmark*, and afterwards the King of *Sweden*: all which conversions, were advanced partly by the assistance of King *Charles*, with his monies returned to *Hamborough*, and with other such means, of vast expence, even to his last ability, and enforced his Councillors to invent and strain the waies of supply, which advanced them, but undid the King.

It was high time to endeavour the abating of the *Austrian* power, which too long had disquieted the repose of Christendom, and forced *France* at first, and all Protestant Princes after (with some Papists underhand) to joyn in the Confederacy. But mostly concerning the united Proviaces, who having long before, through their just fears plotted the *Bohemian* Hubbub, and invited the *Palsgrave* to the unhappy acceptance of that Crown, bending all their wits to bring in the *Sweden*, assisted from *England*, to patch up a peace for him with *Poland*.

These were the Foreign Engagements cast upon *England*, which King *Charles* was enforced to espouse, especially to oppose the Emperors inflexibility for the restauration of the *Palatine*. And thus imbroyled, the Parliament left him to shift for himself, which his Privy Councillors undertake, and therein possibly might wrest some Prerogatives for raising monies.

The Factioned Clergy were at hand to make things worse, not but that those times producing Learned and most Renowned able men at the Altar, as ever any Age could parallel, I mention those other young Wolves in Lambs cloathing, who by their Lectures late Excrecencies, led about the Vulgar under colour of depressing Popery, to the destruction at last of the whole Church.

Between *Papist* and *Puritan*, the honest Protestant was neglected, for the Lords and Council not being byassed with one of these, were so unhappily ignorant, as to know little more then their own pleasure, patching up their poor fortunes by unhandsome courses.

Others of them wrought their ends rather by the Bow, then the string, basely bending to private Advantage, by dishonourable shiftings became odious to honest men, forfeiting their honours by falsifying their words, and lastly failing in their Duty, Allegiance and all.

The Duke of *Buckingham* had been his Fathers Favourite, and now became his, by former engrafting, and his late Loyal service to him in *Spain*. A person he was most fit for a Kings use, because submitting to the regret of the peoples hate, and had no doubt abilities to have ballanced affairs to the better, had not his Assassination,

The Introduction.

tion, left things loose in the very time that he endeavoured to fasten them.

These grievances (such as they were) murmured into common knowledge, made the Multitude most averse to supply the Kings necessities, and his Instruments of Invention, seeking thereby their own ends, to advance the *Presbyterian* Faction by a discontented baffle, put the King upon the most regretful wayes, that proved his ruine.

Of Scotland.

But to heighten these Differences, the *Scots* are called home from foreign parts, and flocking to the *English* Court upon large expence, their former begging trade almost out of use, began confederacie with the *English* Puritan, and *Presbyter*, crying out upon the Queen and Popery: some advantages they finde ready fitted to hand, the busie Arch-bishop, who must in this time of high discontent, press a full conformity of their Kirk in *Scotland*, with the *English* Discipline, which occasioned the Commons and cunning Lords of both Nations to combine, watching such a conjuncture of time and state that should force the King in to the Parliamentary way, which they effected, mightily insisting upon their Priviledges, enlarged by former favour of Sovereigns, specially of Queen *Elizabeth*, whose interest lay couched in the Mad-headed Multitude, lately become loose by sundry Laws, which gave them equality with the Peerage, and now cry out for liberty.

And so we shall enter upon some Observations, in reference to their first Actors on their own Stage.

It is observable that upon the change of Sovereignty, a Mutability and alteration of men and manners to follow.

The former Councillors and Favourites of State to decline; yielding or overpowred with the Factions and Complots of such as seek to set up themselves with others ruine, as in *England*, so in *Scotland*.

The Earl of *Niddisdale* married into the Kindred of the Duke of *Buckingham*, took to Faction the Earl of *Mentith* of the Ancient Noble Family of *Grahames*: their Spirit was preserved in him, but the Estate decayed in them all: only Sir *James Grahame* (I remember) of some credit heretofore with King *James*, applyed his policy then, (in spite to *Somerset*) for the Induction of the Favourite *Villiers*, buoy'd up by the *Scots* upon his score, who had interest with that Duke ever after, his noble nature and perfect character never ingratefull.

Another was, Sir *William Alexander* of *Menstrie*, and but Master of Requests for *Scots* Affairs, yet great enough to bear up with any, the most ambitious, who with persons, some Bishops of their own, and others

The Introduction.

others of such like humours, advised a general *Revocation* of things passed heretofore (partly in minority of *Princes*) in prejudice to the Crown, a course most usual, just and reasonable with the Kings Predecessors, and yet now become grievous for great men to part with.

Grounded no doubt (and that Legally) upon former Revocations after dissolution of the Popish Religion, and so annexed to the Crown ; but it was at this time done with all moderation, and in effect, for ease to the Gentry, and the Ministry, who of all proved most ingrate.

Another Symptome of discontent proceeded from men of the Noblest extraction, *Lords of the Erection*, or *Laicks*, or (as in *England*) *Impropriators*, who usually abused their gathering in of their Tithes : against whom Petitions were frequent from almost all the Ministers and Gentry, and their Farmers for their oppression in matters of Tithes, none having power to carry away his nine parts, or any part, untill the *Proprietary* have set out his tenth part.

The Ministers likewise received no Tithes, or but a poor pittance or stipend, and so in dependence of such *Patrons*, upon all occasions of Faction, good or bad.

A necessary considered in point of State also ; That all those Ministers and others that pay Tithes (the greatest part of the people) should depend on the *Nobility* or *Laick* persons : upon which reasons, for reformation, there issued out Commissions to sundry, the Prime of Estates and Degrees (the very offenders not omitted) and called *Commissioners of Surrenders of Superiority and Tithes* : the effect accordingly rendred a due and equal amendment of evill manners, and freedom from that bondage, and so acknowledged from all. Nor were the *Patrons* displeased in point of profit, as it was ordered : only they were curbed of their usurpation in their Powers and Superiority over the people, and therefore to deceive them, it was bruited abroad, as a design of the *Bishops*, and struck at the *Liberty of Religion*.

Other complaints were fram'd against the *Dependants* and *Favourites* of the Lords of *Session*, obstructing the equality of Justice. Three of the chiefeſt Earls, *Haddington*, *Lidsdale*, and *Southeck* led the way of surrendring their *Patents* from King *James*, *ad vitam vel culpam*, and all others *Patents* were reformed *durante beneplacito Regis*. Yet see the ingenuity and grace of the King ; the last two Earls continued Privy Councillors ; And *Haddington* removed from the place of Secretary, was rewarded with the custody of the *Privy-seal*, of more honour, but less gain. And (which angered them all) Sir *William Alexander* made a Lord, and soon after Secretary of State : yet still, to stop the mouth of malice, *Haddington* had half the benefit of the signet. *Mentith* made President of the Council (a new Office in that Nation, which formerly resided in

The Introduction.

One word by the way.

Intent upon this History, we overtook two Writers: One with a piece of the *Reign*, and yet Intitles it *The History of King Charls*. Him we know not, but by his Nominal Letters *H. L. Esquire*. The other, an *Observer* upon him, *Anonymus*, whose Fame needs no Name, nor to be shrouded from reverence due to his Function and great Abilities, we oppose not, but crave leave to mediate the difference as we meet it in either.

ERRATA.

In the absence of the Author beyond Seas, the Printer hath failed to number the pages from 406. unto----- which being so corrected by your pen, you will finde eight lines in page 410 inserted into the Primates Letter, which were to be a Marginal Note only. The words begin in the tenth line [*these two here instanced, &c.*] and end in the seventeenth line, [*may easily appear.*]

William Hawes From Barkhamsted
Clenhouse Farm Was Boarn In The Year
1674 In The Month Of September

Married To Mary Hall At Park Street
In The County Of Hartford In The Year

William Hawes Boarn In March

Anthony Coshier His Book given him by
his uncle
Jas. Stearns



Gulielmus Sandersonus. Aet. suae. 68

*Etsi Se nescit quod senescit
tamen cupit dissolvi.*



THE
R E I G N
O F
King CHARLES.

WE come now to the Descendent Son and Heir, *Charles* the first of the Name, *King of Great Brittain, France and Ireland*; Born the second Son to *King James*, at *Dunferling in Scotland*, the 19. day of *November* 1600. And whilst the Elder Brother *Henry* was hopeful to succeed, this *Prince* may be said to be the less looked upon; and so no Overtures of merit brought to Observation, in competition with the *Other*. Besides, this *Prince* was directed by such as knew the forwardness of the former, to make himself rather less than he was, then to appear more then he should be: a Rule, not improper for most men, specially *Princes*, untill Sovereignty hath set them up, Examples to all, beyond the Mark and power of envy. And it may be referred to his wisdom (not to his meekness) so far to comply with that Policy; And therefore we find him, the less apparent to open examination, till time and opportunity, might present him to the publique: Not without some regret to his Domestick, and other ordinary Observations, that he lost time with overmuch neglect; giving advantage and grace to the great Favourite *Buckingham*, by assisting, to set him up, and to eclipse himself: whereby some men took that occasion in his fathers time, to form tales of distempers between them; which because in truth, they could not find, they were pleased to frame.

Anno
1625.

But for his Acts, in the age of his youth, and tutelage of subjection, we shall not have use, here to remind, what hath been so particularly mentioned heretofore in the *History of his Fathers life*, but what hath been since so improved to admiration of our *Christian World*. Nor need we now to quarrel the mistakes, concerning the *Spanish Match*, or the *French Negotiation*, or other Characters of King *James*, with which an *Author* and his *Observer* enters his *History*: but refer the truth and story to what we have said of those times and actions, mentioned in his *Fathers life*.

King James
dies.

In a due and compleat season therefore, of age and time, King *James* that famous *Monarch*, dies at *Theobalds*, the 27. day of *March* 1625. leaving the *Diadem* of three *Kingdomes* in succession to his Son, immediately proclaimed: being on a *Sunday* morning, when Doctor *Lawd* then Bishop of *St. Davids* was in the Pulpit at *Whitehall*, and broke off his Sermon, upon this first notion of the *Fathers* death.

His Funeral.

Whose Funerals the 14. of *May* following were sumptuously performed at *Westminster*, King *Charles* attending these *Obsequies*, contrary to the Old custome, when chief Mourners use to be retyred into Chamber-recluse; this compliment, he conceived more fit for him, in duty and piety, to observe in *Person*.

And now the *King* affianced by former contract to the *Princess Henrieta-Maria* Sister to the *French King Lewis*, the 13. And therefore to him first, is principally dispatched *Emissaries*, of his *Fathers* decease, and so to other *Princes* and States, in Amity with all, but the *House of Austria*, upon the score of restauration of the *Palatine*, and his Inheritance. And with this advice he orders Letters of *Procuracion* (or *Proxie*) to the Duke of *Chevereux* of the House of *Guise*, and so neer of Extraction to King *Charles*, that *Chawd* of *Lorain* the first Duke of *Guise*, married his Daughter *Mary*, to *James* the fifth of *Scotland*, Grandfather to *James* the sixth, and *She Great Grand-mother* to King *Charles*.

To this Duke *Chevereux* he sends, for espousing his Mistress, to make her his *Consort*, which was celebrated on *Sunday* the first of *May* (our stile) and of theirs, the eleventh day, in their *Church* of *Nostre-Dame* at *Paris*. She being given up his *Queen* by her two Brothers the *King* and *Monsieur*. But to fetch her over there arrived (a Fortnight after) the Duke of *Buckingham*, in Commission with our *Ambassadors* there, the Earls of *Carlisle* and *Holland*, with a train of the best of Quality to attend him; the Earl of *Montgomery* was pickt out to be one, who had a larger Purse than Head-piece, and being much troubled to come behind those in ranck, before whom (those Earls) he was in *Peerage*, professed that his intent of Journey, was to see the *Monarch* of *France*, where now he finds three *English Kings* besides; for in pomp of *State* and *Vestments*, they were said to equal any.

The

The Reign of King Charles.

3

Anno
1625.

Amiens de-
scribed.

The second of *June* the *English* Queen sets forward from *Paris*, and so to *Amiens*, where she staid 14. dayes: A City of some circuit without the walls, because a Town of War, and a *Frontier*, memorable for entertainment of many persons, as now for great *Princes*; and heretofore an Army of *English* Guests, feasted by King *Lewis* the eleventh; not onely King *Edward* of *England* and his Military Grandees, but even to the common Souldiers to please them, for a patcht peace made up with their *Prince*, whose Camp lay very neer: It lasted four dayes, the common chambers were the canopied streets: and in all houies of Retail (for Victuall or Wine) scot-free. The number of the *English*, and all armed, were accompted by some Authours nine thousand, and might have this way stoln a Victory over a Town, though with loss of their honour. The Citadel is of great strength, built by *Henry* the fourth of *France*, so soon as he won it from the *Spaniard*, seated neer upon his Territories, and therefore now a jealous Town; 500 in pay to guard the Citadel, and 200 of the City that watch themselves, every house finding one, 12 nights a year. The Duke of *Chamny* hath the title, *Vice-dame* of *Amiens*, and Governor of the Citadel; made so by his Brother Favourite *Luines*, from being before but Mr. *Cadinet*. But the Cathedral *Nostre-Dame*, the most glorious magnificent Fabrick in the World; and but questionable if of the *Quire*, more Majesty in that of *Amiens*, or more beauty in Ours of *Henry* the seventh Chapel at *Westminster*; this the more exquisite, that the more glorious; both *Miracula Mundi*,

*Tam bene conveniunt, et in una sede morantur,
Majestas & Amor.*

But for the Front the Divinity of Art, far beyond our famed *Wells*, or *Peterborough*, *Invisuram facilius aliquem, quam Imaturam*, so infinite beyond imitation. And all these together is the *Seat* of a Bishop.

But here the *Queen* takes leave of her mother, whose indisposition of health had arrested her there, in punishment of that malice wherewith she dissembled it too long at the first, through the extreme desire she had of coming to the Sea-side.

But *Monsieur* accompanied his Sister to *Boloign*, not so neer for passage over as *Calais*, but the infection there turned them thither; where she received the Countess of *Buckingham* (the Mother) and a train of Ladies from *England*.

To her, *Monsieur* descended to give a visit at her lodging, and the Duchess of *Chevereux* (that great *Princess* of Match and blood) did perforce give her precedence, with all imaginable honor, for her sons sake. A pittiful reason for *Toby Matthew* thereby not to be discouraged from bearing devotion to the blessed *Virgin*, when he saw (as he saies)

Anno
1625.

Boloign de-
scribed.

taies) that women sick of love towards the son, are put (by a law of Nature) into pain, till they revenge themselves on the Mother.

This Town is divided into *La haute ville*, and *La basse ville*, high, and low Town, distant one hundred paces from each other. The *Upper Town* upon the Hill, the other declining to the Sea-side; this though bigger, and better built, Trade hath increased it so, by the *Haven*, yet but a Town; the other the City, made so by Henry the second, and a Bishops Seat anno 1553. And here was the plague now also, but the infection abated for the *Queens* presence, by a Grand *Procession*, *ad placandam Dei iram*. Processions first instituted by Pope *Stephanus* anno 752. but the *Letany* of it, was comprized by Pope *Leo* the first anno 1060. Not in respect of sickness, but of Earthquakes, which in all *France* are frequent. But their charity to the infected dead corps continues to this day; the *Convent de la charite* being bound to bury them, and so (they say) themselves are free from infection; for in truth they are so aged, no disease can catch them but death, yet by after mingling with the people they infect others, which they teach the ignorant not to believe. Wondrous jealous they are of the *English*, to walk their Wall, since Henry the eighth of *England* possessed it. Their Garrison now 300. their Governor *Monsieur d'Amont*, son to the Marshall. It hath a *Tower de Ordre*, built by *Julius Caesar* at his second expedition into *Britain*, then the *Watch Tower*, but now, worn out, and only used for a *Pharos* by night, and a Sea-mark by day, called the *Old man of Boloign*; It seems so, an aged piece, and ere long by the waves of the Sea upon the ruin of the *Basis*, may be supposed not of long lasting. The Town was taken, by Henry 8. anno 1545. with more expence than profit, of 44000. foot, and 3000. horse, 100. field pieces, and for them and provision 25000. draught horse, and so kept it against many *French* Attempts all his life time, but was lost by Contract of a Treaty to the *French* Forces for 800000. Crowns, *tempore* Edw. 6. being ingaged then against the *Scots*, and *Kitt* the *Norfolk* Rebel besides.

Puts to Sea,

Here the *Queen* finds a Convoy of the *English Royal Navy* 21 Ships, the most admired then for State and Service, and had need to be so, to waft over hither, the most eminent persons of both nations.

Lands at Do-
ver.

Her passage might preface the Intemperate success to Her, and Us, thereafter, so were the Seas then, the most tempestuous, like the last time that wafted *Queen Mary* of *Scotland*, who came from *Calais*, *Triste et lugubre Calum*, She lands at *Dover* $\frac{12}{25}$ of *June*, on Sunday seven a clock at Night; and in the appearance of those who observed her in *France*, at the first time of the Overtures for the Marriage, she was grown from the fear of never being tall, and already sits upon the very skirts of womanhood. Her countenance sweet and lovely, which opened a window with her heart, where one

Anno
1655.

one may see Nobleness and Goodness, and the actions of her self, her own Will, to be excellent, full of Wit, and a lovely manner of expressing it. Her attire very plain; for so great a Princess can be thought to have nothing mean about her.

His Majesty was come thither from *Canterbury*, no otherwise to the Conquest of Love, than to receive Her at the top of the stairs. She on her Knee striving to kiss his hand; He takes her up with treble surprized affection, expressed in so many salutes on her lips: And so with excessive strains of Love retire to the inmost chamber, where, after his expression of many sad fears for her hazard at Sea, She, whether in fright of the remembrance, or sorrow, to be now surprized into the subjection of a Stranger, that was of her self free before, she tenderly and unwilling slipt down some tears which trickled on her lips, and he with the other passion of Love took that occasion to dry them up with kisses, and so he said he would do, till she had done; confusing her, that she was fallen into the effect of Gods divine Providence, to forsake her kindred, and cleave to her *Spouse*, He professing to be no longer Master of himself, than whilest he was a servant to her.

Here the Ceremony was accomplished, and the Duke of *Chevreux* the Kings Representative in *France*, renders her up to his Majesties Bosom, and to his Bed at *Canterbury*.

From whence the whole journey, in the way to *Gravesend*, was laned through with millions of people, crying out *Halelujahs* of *Hosanna* for their eternal happiness. They were attended with a train of *Gallantry*, the youth of Honour, and others the Noblest of this Nation whom the Kingdom could send thither, to wait upon their Majesties.

Canterbury.

At *Gravesend* they take water towards *London*, in the sumptuous *Barge of State*, followed, with numbers of other *Barges* and *Boats*. The whole *Naval Fleet* designed to clear the stream, and to Anchor neer either shore, and their Majesties to be rowed through their ranks, the Ships in comely order giving fire by degrees after the first shot, vollyed these Princely Guests, with the roaring *Cannons*, that shook the ayre, even to their landing at *Somerset-House*.

The third day appeared their Majesties on Royal Thrones, to the Nobility, and now their *Marriage* proclaimed with excessive joy at all. From hence they too soon, took leave of this (evermore) pestilential City, but then, and most usuall at the death of Sovereigns, fatal, which forced their remove of State to *Hampton Court*. And so this disease of plague becoming casual, we shall not need any idle suggestive Apologie to rake into other seasons, or to fetch a freak of speculation (as one hath done [To mate all events, passionately ascribing future calamities to the rise of the Kings Marriage with a Lady of Misbelief] closing his excuse conjectural, that

[No

Hist. of King
Charles pag. 7.

Anno

1625.

A Parliament
summoned.

H. 9. Ob. 28.

Parliament
fir.

[No Protestant Princess was left alive to equal his Majesty for a Compleat Consort.]

Necessity of State affairs, and the custome of soveraigns, enter their Inauguration, with summons of their subjects, *Peers* and *People*, *Politique* and *Necessary*, as *Husband* and *Wife*, an *Absolute* and *Natural*; the *One* may err, the *Other*, offend. Not, that a *K.* is bound up in all Acts of State, lawfully to their Council, and so the Parliament to be co-ordinate, not subordinate to their *Prince*. Yet King *James* often used the comparison in Matrimony. And King *Charles* unadvisedly hereafter, makes himself a *Member* of the Representative of *Peers*, which the *Parliament* would never acquit him.

But for that a King is a man subject to errors in Judgement, he assigns to himself Helps for directing and Rectifying his Will and Judgement, by *Laws* and *Councils*. *Law*, *Est mens quædam nullo perturbata affectu*; So that a Prince by Law, is more then a man, deified, but ruling by affections, is brutified, and nothing so outrageous as injustice armed with power, will and authority.

Councils are Privy and Publique, his Privy Council by his own free Election. *Publique* his Parliament, *Peers* and *People*; so our Neighbor Nations, Parliaments of *France*, Courts of *Spain*, *Diets* of *Germany*; without which no Matters of Moment are concluded. In the Monarchy of *England*, all the three forms of Government do enter, It hath one King, as a *Monarchy*; by certain Councils, it participateth of *Aristocracy*; and in the Commonalties voices and Burgesses in *Parliament*, it taketh part of *Democracy*: and all to temper somewhat, the absolute form of *Monarchy*, whose danger may betoo peremptory.

At this Parliament, Sir *Thomas Crew*, was chosen *Speaker* of the House of *Commons* (and was so the last of King *James*) His place being as antient as Parliaments in the time of King *William Rufus*, where he is termed *Totius Regni Adunatio*. Afterwards stiled, *Vice totius Communitatis*. And the 51. of *Edw. 3.* He is named *Speaker*. In the fifth of *Rich. 2.* the first that made any excuse to be discharged; and in the 17. *Rich. 2.* the first that was presented to the *King* in full Parliament. But of late all these particulars are become proper to his place, to do as this *Speaker* did.

And at the opening of this *Parliament*; June 18. the King Himself salutes them; which was not expected, the common usage of former *Princes* being to speak by their *Chancelour*, but King *James* altered that course, as best able of any his Predecessors to speak for himself; and King *Charles* began now to appear Inheritor of his Crown and Virtues, though his Impediment of not speaking plain, might spare him, from a long Speech, and have excused the grace of Oratory; A note of Wisdome, not weakness of understanding; and in those dayes of less observation in the de-

defect; for the then Kings of *Spain*, and *France* stammer'd; but he, with the least imperfection of them all, who were men of Eminency in the effects of *Government*.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

YOU are not ignorant, that at your earnest entreaty, March, 23. 1623. my Father (of happy memory) first took up armes for the recovery of the Palatinate, for which purpose by your assistance, he began to form a considerable Army, and to prepare a goodly Armado and Navy Royal. But death intervening between him and the atchievement, the war with the Crown is devolved upon Me. To the prosecution whereof, as I am obliged both in Nature and Honour, so I question not but the same necessity continuing, you will cherish the action with the like affection, and further it with a ready contribution. True it is, you furnished my Father with affectionate supplies, but they held no symmetry or proportion with the charge of so great an enterprize. For those your donatives are all disburs't to a penny, and I am enforced to summon you hither to tell you, that neither can the Army advance, nor the Fleet set forth without further aid. Consider, I pray you, the eyes of all Europe are defixt upon me, to whom I shall appear ridiculous, as though I were unable to outgo muster and ostentation, if you now desert me. Consider it is my first

The Kings
Speech.

Anno
1625.

first attempt, wherein if I sustain a foyle, it will blemish all my future honour. If mine cannot, let your own reputation move you, deliver and expedite me fairly out of this war, wherewith you have encombred, let it never be said, whereinto you have betrayed me. I desire therefore your speedy supply; speedy I call it, for else it will prove no supply. The Sun you know is entring into his declining point, so it will be soon too late to set forth, when it will be rather not too soon to return. Again, I must minde you of the mortality now regnant in this City, which should it (as so it may, and no breach of priviledge neither) arrest any one Member of either house, it would soon put a period both to consultation and Session, so that your own periclitation necessitates an early resolution. In sum, Three of the best Rhetoricians, Honour, Opportunity, and Safety, are all of a plot, and plead, you see, for expedition. Perhaps it may be expected I should say something in way of account of my Religion, as also of the temper and tenour of my future Government. But as I hope I have not been guilty of any thing which may justly start the least question in either, so I desire you would repose in this assurance, that I will in neither vary from those principles wherein I have been instituted at the feet of that eminent Gamaliel my late Father.

His

And ending his Speech, he with his hand moved his Crown, [*Not usual* (saies one) *with any his predecessors, to vail it*] Nor did he, but the massy Gold and precious stones gave him cause to ease his browes of that weight, and of which he complained when he came home, without any other observation then, which yet hath begot so much comment now, as to be called [*Calamitous Presages*] no less then [*a dozen*] in the Kings future Reign, which we shall remember as we meet them in order hereafter; and for the present examine the Note of Mr. Prins telling; [*That the King on his day of Coronation was clothed in White, contrary to the Custome of his Predecessors, on that day clothed in purple, the Regal colour of Kings, the Robe of Majesty, the other, of Saints, the Robe of innocency*] And to this as to the other, a great plague had driven the greatest tradesmen out of the City, and the Kings Mercer infected and fled, No Purple Velvet to be had on the sodain, and so the colour of his Robes was changed by Necessity, yet to the better by his own observation.

But to the matter of the Kings Speech, *Money for a War with Spain*, upon the former score of Quarrel, the *Palatinate*, which ingaged King James in Justice, and honour, and so this King.

To a War, is required a *Just Quarrel*:

Wars are suits of Appeal to the Tribunal of Gods Justice, where there are no Superiours on *Earth*, to determine the Cause. Yet do the Princes of this World endeavour to declare, the reasons of their defiance, to ballance with the opinions of a righteous cause.

Of Wars.

England had at this time, two just Grounds of War with *Spain*;
1. *The recovery of the Palatinate*; 2. *A just fear of subversion of our Civil Estate*.

I have no mind to mention the Third, so usually pretended, *viz. Fear of subversion of our Religion*; for though the House of Commons, the first Parliament of King James, voted that for a reason, to make a War upon *Spain*, the King was so wise as not to involve into a quarrel against him upon that score, lest he should be necessarily drawn into a defiance likewise, with all the Roman Catholics of *Christendome*: and so that vote was dasht out of the Record by the Register.

But we shall take the two for granted, That Just fears are indeed true *Defensives*, as well as actual *Invasions*; but offensive Wars for Religion, King James was of opinion are never just: Not to force the Conscience (which Guides the Soul) with the power of the Sword, which is but humane: and though he was by his Title *Defensor fidei*, if oppugned, yet he was not thereby authorized, to quarrel with another mans belief.

For the first Ground, the concernment of the *Palatinate*, as there was no color in that *Prince Elector* to accept of the Kingdom of

Anno

1625.

Bohemia; so no Justice in the house of *Austria* to retain the Palatinate from him. For though an *Elective Monarchy* cannot be so free as an *Hereditary*, yet if you take to boot the *Customes*, *transactions*, and *privileges* of that Kingdome of *Bohemia*, It will appear as positive, as *Sovereigns Descendent*. But leaving that Title as disputable, I shall not offer at it, though I were able to master the Question.

And then the Quere will follow, whether an *offensive War*, being made unjustly, the *Defendant* may not, by diversion invade and master the undubitable possession of the *Aggressor*, who is now turned *Defendant* of his own? Surely he may, and enjoy the conquest lawtully, and is not bound to restore it but by force: which force is as lawfull to be done as the other. The *Spaniard* in eighty eight invaded our Seas, and designed it upon our Land also, was not our expeditions thereupon against *Lisbone* and *Cadix* a just war? surely it was.

And truly King *James* held these Opinions, which put him into Treaties for the Palatinate, upon terms and conditions of a marriage, with *Prince Charles* his Son, and the *Infanta of Spain*; wherein being some years deluded, it was just in him to begin the way by force, which he did, as it is now for King *Charles* to endeavour the like regaining it for his Brother-in-law by a War, which he now intends. For Wars are *Vindicta* Revenges, Reparations; like to cross suits in civil pleas, sometime both of them just. And thus much for the Palatinate.

The *Second Ground*, A just fear of subversion of our Civil Estate. The overgrowing Greatness of any neighbour Nation is a necessity imposed upon anothers fear of violation, which becomes *defensive*. *Christian* Princes have a just invasive War against the *Turk*, as a grand Enemy indeed; not for cause of *Religion*, no good ground for that: but upon a just fear, because the fundamental Law in that Empire, is to propagate their *Mahometan* faith, by any War; So saies the *Persian* for his belief, two opposite enemies upon that ground: and the *Christians* are as well upon the *Preventive*, as the *Defensive* War.

All men know the great endeavours of the *Spanish Monarchy* to aspire new Acquests, and to be absolute. The History of the *Triumvirate Kings* (*Henry* the eighth of *England*, *Francis* the first of *France*, and *Charles* the *Emperour* and King of *Spain*) shews them so provident, as between themselves to keep the ballance of *Europe* upright; Not one to edge upon the other, and herein not to stay for the first blow, or to be the last to be eaten up. The Crown of *Spain* hath enlarged her bounds these last sixty years, more then the *Ottamans*. Did not *England* assist the *French* to keep him from *Britany*, *Picardy*, and *Piedmont*, and enable the *Netherlands* not to be swallowed up? these are our outworks.

The Reign of King Charles.

II

Anno
1625.

Nay, hath he not twice invaded *England*? Once under the *Popes* Banner, next in his own Name, and hath more than a months minde to it again. These grounds are causes sufficient for a War with *Spain*.

But what ere the King had said, as to the matter and form of Argument, the Parliament forgot not their old Mode with his Father, Not too hastily to resolve; and his death left much business in the deck, which now they take up to engage his son.

And in truth, all Parliaments commence with Petition from the People; *Reasons of Religion, and Complaints of their suffering*, came to his Father in the close of his last Session, and so unanswered, which they are resolved now to dispatch, and did so. To that of *Religion*, the King assured them his pious resolution to effect their desires with all convenient speed, and as that business of weight required: And for their *Grievances*, they were distinctly separate, and satisfactory answers he gave to each apart. And so accounting to them the disbursement of his *Land* and *Naval Forces*, with a clear and even audit of the Charge and Expence to come, they were so candid, that the Laity gave him (without conditions) Two Subsidies from *Protestants*, four from *Papists*, and the *Clergy*, three.

Petitions,

Answered.

Subsidies granted.

Dr Mountague questioned.

Caballa p. 115.

Richard Mountague Doctor of Divinity, and Chaplain to the King, was summoned this Session, for certain *Tenents* supposed prejudicial to the *Protestants* faith, but were only against the *Calvinists*, and was from the *Commons* Bar without Tryal committed to the Serjeant of their House, untill *two thousand pound* Bail be procured for him to appear the next Session; which the King had reason to resent, being his antient Chaplain, and ought to have his Masters protection sooner than the Servants of an Ordinary Burgees, which at last was granted, but not his bail-bond excused; Of which he complains to the Duke of *Buckingham*, and that the *Parliament* had not in right to do with him for that, which King *James* commanded, and King *Charles* authorized; and challenges any Accusers, if he may answer for himself] It seems he was summoned, and committed without any Tryal, *July 29*. And hereupon three *Bishops*, *Rochester*, *Oxford*, and *St. Davids*, being tender, (not of his Person) but of his cause, meerly the Church of *Englands*, upon this Ground, That the Church being reformed from the *Roman*, refused the apparent and dangerous errors, but was tender of every School point, as not expedient (in the unity of Christians) to subscribe to each particular. And so, though some of his opinions are the resolved Doctrine of the Church of *England*, which he is bound to maintain; So some others, are School points, and there to be discussed, but not to distract the Church, nor for any man to be bound to subscribe unto; which if enforced, would hazard their former subscription in *Orthodox* Tenents, and

Anno

1625.

was indeed one great Fault of the Council of *Trent*.

But the Clergy submitted (in *Henry* the eighths time) with this caution, That for differences *Doctrinal*, the King and the *Bishops* were to be Judges in a *National Synod*, and that with the Kings leave, under his hand and seal, else not. Nor did ever the Church, or can submit, but so, which is the constant practice of the *Church*. For if the Church be brought down beneath her self, *Schism* will follow. And King *James* allowed of each point of Doctrine in *Mountagues* Book, who was able (of most men) to judge thereof.

There can be little use of *Civil Government*; or of *Preaching* and external Ministry in the Church, if such fatal opinions (as are contrary to *Mountagues*) shall be publickly taught and maintained. All, or most of the contrary opinions were treated of at *Lambeth*, and then ready to be published; but Queen *Elizabeth*, upon knowledge how little they agreed with the practice in Piety, and obedience to Government, suppressed them, and so continued ever since, till of late some of them received countenance at the *Synod of Dort*, but that being a *Synod* of that Nation, cannot give authority to any other National Church, till publique authority; and it is to be hoped, that this Church will advise, before they submit to a foreigne *Synod*, especially of such a *Church*, that condemneth our Discipline, and manner of Government: And therefore the King referred the consideration to the course of the Church. Then for the person of *Mountague*, they affirmed him to be an able Scholar, right honest, and fit to do God, and the Church and his Majesty great service 2, *August*, 1625. And after the next session he was consecrate Bishop of *Chichester*.

The Books in question were these: *His answer to the Romish Gagger*, And his *Defence thereof*, afterwards styled *Apello Casarem*, formerly opposed by Information prepared against him, of which he was discharged by King *James*, with leave to appeal to his Majesty from his defamators; and Doctor *White* then Dean of *Carlisle* was ordered to authorize the *Imprimatur*. But two years after *January* 1628. it was called in by *Proclamation* (to please the then *Parliament*) not charged with any false doctrine, but for being the first cause of those disputes and differences which hath since much troubled the quiet of the Church, it seems with such unnecessary questions: And to humour that time also, Doctor *Potter* (a zealous *Calvinian*) was preferred to be Bishop of *Carlisle* to please the *Parliament*: and and yet for all these passages, the *Parliament* lookt asquint at the Kings actions as hereafter followes, anno, 1628.

The Lord Mordant, (afterwards Earl of *Peterborough*) being a *Papist*, and willing to winne his wife from *Protestancy*, offered the combat of his *Confessor* with a fair dispute against any. This *Confident* was a cunning *Jesuite* (*Beaumont*) but his right name *Rookwood*,

Lord Mordant
made Prote-
stant.

wood, his brother executed in the Gun-powder-Treason, 1605. and the Lady elected Doctor Usher Primate of Ireland, at this time in England: the place Drayton in Northampton shire: but after three dayes controversie (concerning Transubstantiation, Invocation to Saints, Images, visibility of the Church) the Jesuite directly confessed, he was so deficient in his memory, that Gods just judgement had infatuated him to this desertion; and put his excuse upon his presumption to dispute with so eminent a Protestant, without leave of his Superiour. But the good effect, was, the conversion of the Lord Mordant, and confirmation of his Lady. Whereupon a Secular-Priest Chaloner in a jeer to Beaumont, bids him beware of coming to Drayton, for fear that Usher foil him again.

These Lawes are enacted this Session.

Against abuses committed on Sundays.

The King to make Leases of Lands, parcel of his Dutchy of Cornwall.

For ease of obtaining Licences of Alienation, and in the Pleadings of Pardon in the Exchequer, or else where.

For restraining Misbehaviour in Inns and Alehouses.

That this Session shall not determine, by his Majesties royal assent to these Acts.

Then passed a Bill in the Lower House, of Tonnage and Porndage, but because it was limited to one year, whereas former Grants to his Majesties Predecessors were for Life, It was foundred in the Upper House.

The Reason of this Restraint was thus.

In a Parliament the 18. of King James, the Kings learned Council, culled out of that Act, reasons for pretermitted Customes, and other Impositions which were accounted Grievances to the Subject, and an Imoderate charge upon those Customes; and therefore their Design was to reduce them to the rate settled long since, tempore Mariae, but they wanted time enough, to mold it now.

The next Assembly met the first day of August at Oxford; The Divinity School for the Commons, and the Gallery above for the Lords. Hence is observed a pretty Note. To give up the Divinity-School to the Commons; and that Chair to their Speaker, put them into an usurpation of Determinations of Divinity; and henceforward no Parliaments without a Committee of Religion of Lay-Persons, not onely to mannage controversies of Divinity, but to ruine the old, and to establish a New.

Parliament at
Oxford.

Observ. 34.

And

Anno
1625.

And because the Kings designs required Expedition, He summons both Houses to Christ-Church Hall, where he urged to them his Necessities for setting forth his Fleet. But his desires found no other consideration than for a formal Petition against *Recusants*, and the causes of their increase: with the Remedies.

Most Gracious Sovereign,

Parliaments
Petition.

IT being infallibly true that nothing can more establish your Throne, and assure the peace and prosperity of your People, then the unity and sincerity of Religion; We your Majesties most humble and loyal Subjects and Commons in this present Parliament assembled, observing that of late there is an apparent mischievous encrease of Papists within your Dominions, hold our selves bound in conscience and duty to present the same unto your sacred Majesty, together with the dangerous consequences, and what we conceive to be the most principal causes, and what may be the remedies thereof.

1. Their desperate ends, being the subversion both of Church and State, and the restlessness of their Spirits to attain those ends. The Doctrine of their Teachers and Leaders perswading them, that therein they shall do God good Service.

2. Their evident and strict dependance upon such Foreign Princes; as no way affect the good of your Majesty and this State;

3. An opening a way of Popularity to the ambition of any who shall adventure to make himself head of so great a party.

The principal causes of the increase of Papists.

1. The want of due execution of the Laws against Jesuits, seminary Priests and Papists Recusants, occasioned partly by Connivance of the State, partly by many abuses of Officers.

2. The interposing of foreign Princes by their Ambassadors and Agents in favour of them.

3. Their great Concourse to the City, and their frequent conventicles, and conferences there.

4. The

Anno
1625.

4. *The Education of their children in Houses and Seminaries of their Religion in foreign parts, which of late have been greatly multiplied and enlarged, for the entertainment of the English.*
5. *That in many places of this your Realm, your people are not sufficiently instructed in the knowledge of true Religion.*
6. *The licentious publishing of Popish and seditious Books.*
7. *The imployment of men ill affected in Religion in places of Government, who countenance the Popish party.*

The Remedies be these.

1. *That there be great Care taken in the choise, and admitting School-Masters, and that the Ordinaries make diligent inquiries of their demeanours, and proceed to the removing of such as shall be faulty.*
2. *That the antient Discipline of the University be restored, being the famous Nursery of literature.*
3. *That for the propagation of the Gospel, such able Ministers, as have been formerly silenced, may by fair entreaty of the Bishops be reduced to the service of the Church, and that Non-residency, Pluralities, and Commendums may be moderated.*
4. *That a straight provision may be made against transporting of English children to Popish Seminaries beyond Seas, and for recalling such as are there already.*
5. *That no Popish Recusant be permitted to come within the Court, unless upon special occasion, agreeable to the Statute 3^o Jacobi.*
6. *That all Jesuits, Priests, and others, having taken Orders from the See of Rome, may be banished by Proclamation, and in case of disobedience, may be proceeded against according to the Laws of the Land.*
7. *That none by any authority derived from the See of Rome be permitted to confer Orders, or exercise any Ecclesiastical function within your Majesties Dominions.*
8. *That all former Grants of Recusants lands made to the use and interest of such Recusants, may by the advice of your Majesties Council be voided.*
9. *That all Recusants may be excommunicated, and not absolved but upon conformity.*
10. *That all Recusants be removed from places of authority and government.*
11. *That all Recusants be disarmed according to the provision of the Law.*
12. *That they may be all confined to remain at their Country habitations, and not to travel above five miles from thence.*
13. *That none of your Majesties natural born Subjects be suffered to repair to the hearing of Masses, or other superstitious service at the Chappels*

Anno

1625.

Chappels or houses of foreign Ambassadors or elsewhere.

14. That all such insolencies as any Popishly affected have lately committed to the dishonour of our Religion, be exemplarily punished.

15. That the penalty of 12. d. every Sunday for default of coming to Divine Service, in the Church, without lawful excuse, may be put in Execution.

Lastly that your Majesty would be pleased to order, that the like courses may be taken in Ireland, for the establishing of true Religion there.

Kings answer.

The Kings Answer was so satisfactory, and sodain, to each particular, being heretofore branched to his Father, and the remedies resolved upon them, and now so reasonably required; as that the King took him from hence to speak for himself, and to put them to it to supply his very urgent Necessities, to set forth his Navy.

And urges for Supply.

It found affection in some, earnest to give and to satisfy the present occasion with expedition; Others, having no heart to deny, nor willing to contribute, but cunningly to gain convenient time, as to prejudice the *Design*, which was to be sodain; and there were these (the most averse) that quarreled not the *Expedition*, for it was secret, and so ought to be, but old Sir Robert Mansel (a quarrelous person for his interest in the Glas house, then in dispenche) must be set up: a Man of great Experience and sound Judgement (but where) in the Narrow Seas: And he (by Guess) had declared against the *Design*, and tendered some overtures of his own, with pretence of greater advantage and (alwaies) of less expence then any other Undertakers. And to mate it the more, the Lord Chichester, an Irish Commander, approved thereof to the Council of War.

But it was soon replied by the *Solicitor General*, that the Duke (Lord Admiral) had been consulted, who though of abilities to judge, yet his Modesty and Wisdom, had communicated Mansels Project to the Council, who utterly disliked thereof, and had approved of the *Design* in hand.

Being convinced in this, yet the vote of the House was not to Supply, but rather to Remonstrate their Reasons, wherein they ranted so high and desperate upon the Duke, that it was apparent they meant to divest him of his Offices, Admiralty and all.

Nay they left not there, but were canvassing his Comings in, his great Revenues of Crown-demeans which they would revoke and resume back to the Kings wants: And in fine to bring him an Accountant for his Receipts and Expences of publique Revenue intrusted unto him for the State.

Observ. p. 35.

It is handsomely observed, the Commons Inconstancie herein, *Breves Amores Populi*, who but lately, the very last Parliament cried,

ed up the Duke for the ornament and honour of the whole Nation, that it was then almost put to the question, *What shall be done to Him whom the Houses will honour?* Now to be popular hated. Their design was (saies he) to take the Great Seal from the Bishop of *Lincoln*, who cunningly to divert the Judgement, proposed *Buckingham* as the properer person to furnish them with matter, as the fitter game, of which the Duke had inckling, which lost the other the favour for ever.

And yet in *January* next we find the Bishop his Letter to the Duke, boldly, and if not with impudence so soon to caress him for a Courtesie, *To Crown the King*, for thus he writes; *Being come hither in the duty of my place to do my best Service for the preparation to the Coronation, and to wait upon his Majesty for his Royal pleasure and direction herein; I do most humbly beseech your grace, &c.* 7. *January* 1625. Which the Duke denied, for another did it.

Cabal. p. 107.

But this was too high for the Duke to hold out; The Remonstrance penned so bitter, with aspersions on the Kings Judgement in his choice, and to grace him more then all others, as that to prevent the Dukes ruine, and not to retard the publique affairs of his Naval Design, the King in much regret resolved to give end to their Sitting. And of this Arrand comes the Usher of the *Black Rod* from the *Upper house*, who finds the Commons resolved into a Grand Committee, and the *Solicitor* in the *Chair* whom they forced there until a Protestation was framed which Mr. *Clanville* declared, viz.

First, To give his Majesty thanks for his Gracious Answer to their Petition for Religion.

For his care of their healths in giving them leave to depart this dangerous sickness.

With a dutiful Declaration of their affection and loyalty, and their purpose to supply his Majesty in a Parliamentary way, in fitting and convenient time.

After this the *Speaker* re-assumes the *Chair*, and admits the Usher and his Message for *Dissolution* of the *Parliament*.

Parliament dissolved.

And now the King must do his work himself; and minding that he first dismiss the train and burthen of the *French Madams*, and other that waited on the Queen hither. These were shipped away

Anno

1625.

Hist. p. 16.

Treaty abroad

from *Dover*, who carried the tidings of the Kings evil success with his Parliament, and subjects, to his great regret and grief. And therefore we may spare him from the censure of [*an otium for summer pastime*] for he was very sad; But the danger of infection spread to *Oxford*, forced his Progress and this speedy resolution of his affairs, *For the Fleet to put to Sea, and to conserve strickt Amity with our Neighbours, France, Denmark, and the United Provinces.*

The last having been here by their Ambassadors in September, *To supplicate a League offensive and defensive against the Common Enemy, the House of Austria, and to pray his Majesties assistance in soliciting other States, in this general Confederation, of equal expence to all: and for the present the States should bear a fourth part of the Fleets charge.*

To see these performed, and to put it to present issue, with the best grace and honour to so high a Design; Ambassadors were resolved upon, to confirm the *Association* beyond Seas; and presently the Fleet went forth.

The Duke and the Earl of *Holland* in Commission for the *Embassy*, lay a long time at *Harwich* for a Wind to waft them over in two Men of War; which met with ill weather upon the very Coast of *Holland*, a furious storm off from Sea, forced them upon the Shore, at a foot sounding, to sinck all; when no other hope was left to help, but splicing two main long Cables at a *Ketch Anchor*, and so *Veer* out the storm, which had the *Anchor* not held, but come home, They had all been lost: but landed safe at *Brill*, and so to the *Hague*, where Ambassadors of other Princes were to meet, impowred for so great a Compliance, as the necessities of the Design required. But there, they found them all to flag: The *Dane* not able, the *French* not willing, stopt the Carreer of a further Journey into *France*, where preparations were gone before, to entertain our Ambassadors there. But the *French* were cunning not to engage expences, with the *English* Fleet, which was now at sea upon the Design for *Cadiz*, and all that was done by this meeting, they concluded in a League, *For restoring the Liberties of Germany*, wherein was included the particular reflection, *the Cause of the Palatinate, and restitution of the Kings Sister the Queen of Bohemia*; and no sooner were they returned home, but were received with unwelcome report of the *Fleets* Miscarriage, under their General *Edward Cecil*, Viscount *Wimbleton*.

This Gentleman was second Son to *Thomas Cecil* Earl of *Exeter*, of a comely person and long experienced in Martial affairs in the School of the *United Provinces*, where he waited long for little preferment; alwaies kept under by the Eminencie and merit of the family and Honour of *Veres*; untill King *James* gave him his great rise from a *Colonel*, to be General of the *English* in the Mis-

effects

effects of the *Palatinate* war, wherein he was suspected by that ill successe, his own complaint, *He suffered disgrace by his Enemies about the imployment of the Palatinate*] from which time twenty seven years since he was importunate to be called home for imployment here. His indulgent caressing the *Duke* with letters from the Low-Countreys, who truly before wisht him not much kindnesse, yet in the end gave him warning to this *Expedition*, and Commission to waite hither such Officers and Souldiers *English*, as he should elect out of Companies, ten Captains and thirty officers; but he got none at all: for he was much offended that *Sr. Horace Vere* was made a *Baron* before him, and then to please him, he got Precedency with a *Vice-Count* Title, and to be *General*, with which he sets to sea, *Octob. 8.* his fleet 80 in all, and was overtaken with a storm in 4. dayes, which encountred the whole sail, that for 7. dayes conflict, and skirmish with winde and waves, fifty of the fleet were scattered, and a gallant ship of *Ipswich* with 175. persons perished. Being met together at the *southern Cape*, their Comission giving leave to be at liberty where to land, and which was so long in designing, that the whole Coast were *alarm'd*, into so sudden a posture, as was not safe to shore any where.

Ill successe of
Gades voyage.

Wimbleton was for land war, the *Earl of Essex Vice Admiral* at sea, and earnest he seemed, to set upon the *Spanish* ships in the Bay of *Gades*, his own designe though unaccessible, into a Harbour, without forcing a strong fort before they came at the *Castle-Portall*, But on they go with twenty *English*, and five *Dutch* ships, (in that service) these did well, but the *English* gave off in mighty disgust with their Commanders, till *Wimbleton* went aboard each ship to beg their advance against the *Castle*, which withstood the shock of two thousand shot, and not a stone the lesse losse.

And so conceived impregnable; *Sr. John Burrowes* an experienced, souldier was sent with a select Regiment a shore, to force it by Land, where he was encountered with the enemies Horse and Foot, and they beaten back to a direct flight, and the cause inclining, a fear in the *Governour* (who by his white flag) invites a *Parle*, which concluded the Resignation of the *Fort*, first, with 15 barrels of powder and eight pieces of Ordnance: And *Sr. Samuel Argall* designed to be the Incendiary of the ships in Harbour, and the landmen to come a shore for recreation, and fresh water, to forage the County, and guard those that were at other work, which was (in summe) to turn drunkards, for being each one a Master *Vintner* of his Celler, in despite of sober commands to the contrary: which miserable condition not to be recovered in their short time of stay, but by ease and sleep, hastened them the sooner to their ships, lest the *Spainard* should take them napping, (as they might have done with little Intelligence) and cut all their throats. Their next design was to sea, and to seek the *Plate-fleet* from the *West-*

Anno
1625.

Indies, and sending for *Argall*, his account was in that, that the *Spanish* ships were couched under the *Port-Royall*, and some *Vessels* sunk in the channel to hinder their income; Their purpose thus defeated, they set sail *southwards*, intending to stay twenty dayes, and seek out for silver; but sickness increasing, monstrous contagion, no hail-men sufficient, to handle a sail, an hundred and fifty bed-red in the Admirall: To cure them, they were exchanged by couples into all the severall ships for so many sound men, which so increased *Infection*, that sent them over-board by thousands, and hastened the *Navi's* return, but four dayes before the silver fleet came after, this kind of success flew home by land and sea ere we saw our Commanders who suffered under several censures.

The Parliament blamed for not supplying the Kings necessities, whereby the *Navy* failed forth too late, *October* being the worst Moneth for our expedition at sea, which was the time we should have been there, and so were saluted with storms as soon as they set out. Others draw the evil event from the *Dukes* youthfulness, with a presaging Aphorism. [*Never to be well with England, while the sea is under the command of an Admiral so young and so un-experienced*] And another is bestowed on the King, and fathered upon *Captain Bret*, who should say to the Duke. [*That the fleet was not like to succeed better, where there went along, Bagges, without money, Cook without meat, and Love without charity*] when in truth *Bret* was not then in being as a Captain, the other three he calls *Captains*, but for *Sr. James Bag*, he never was any; Nor was he or the other two in that *Expedition*, but afterwards in the voyage to the isle of *Ree*, and there perhaps we may afford his observation to the like purpose. But indeed *Wimbleton* suffered under several strict examinations, not permitted to see the Kings face for many Moneths after, of which he complains to the Duke, excusing himself, upon the disobedience of the Mariners and Soldiers, and plainly condemning the Earl of *Essex*, who he said, suffered the *Spanish* ships to escape being in his power to have sunk them all, and ought to be thereof questioned.

But the main cause of ill successe must be supposed, [*that Sr. Robert Mansell was neglected*] who is pretended to have an unquestionable right in all Expeditions in the Admirals absence. A monstrous error; for *Mansell* was *Vice-Admiral* of the *Narrow-seas*, that's his office, and there indeed he succeeds to the *Admiral*. But our *Vice-Admirals* of the *South* and of the *West* of *Cornwall* at home, have place before him, and he no interest there at all. So hath not the *Admiral* of *England* right in the Ocean, Nor he, nor any other, but as impowred by special Commission from the King, which he may grant to whom he please.

The infected *City London* could not entertain *Michaelmas Term* which

H. Pa. 18.

Pa. 19

Cabella.
pa.

H. p. 17.
Ob. p. 36.

which was adjourned to *Reading*, where *November* the eleventh, the Judges were Commissioned for executing Laws against *Recusants*, and *Proclamations* published in Churches to that purpose, with letters to the *Arch-Bishops* for discovery of *Jesuites*, *Seminary-Priests* and *Recusants*, offenders in that kind; for indeed their insolencies exceeded discretion, with contempt and scorn of our discipline and Church duties, in times of divine service.

But it became the Kings serious consideration, not to be wanting to himself to set out *soveraignty* to the nearer sence of his subjects, in that necessary solemnity of setting the *Crown* on his own Head, which by right of blood and succession the Son and Heir apparant was to take, which is yet performed with some solemnities and settlement, called *Coronation*, with conditions and ceremonies; And the more orderly, the more expresse, and certain, among *Christians*; and established with more sacred and religious kind of union, by *Oaths* mutual, of *Prince* and *People*. And the whole *Action* done by *Bishops* and *Prelates*.

The *Greek* Emperours of *Constantinople* (after the Emperour was translated thither by *Constantine*, the great and first *Christian* Emperour) *Antequam coronaretur, fidei confessionem scriptam qua polliceatur se in dogmatibus Ecclesiasticis nihil esse Novaturum, &c. se nulla Ecclesia instituta violaturum.*

The first *Latine* Emperours, *Charles* the great (and his Posterity successive) were brought by the *Primate* of *Germany* to the high *Altar*, where he takes oath, by holding up his hand to *Heaven*, and then adorned with the *Ensignes* and *Robes* of the *Empire*. And so, *Rex perfusus oleo sancto coronaretur diademate aureo ab Episcopis, & ab eisdem ad solium Regale ducitur, & in eo collocatur.*

But a in *Synod* at *Rome*, *Pope Gregory* the fifth, by consent of the Emperour, *Otho* the third, appointed this form. To be chosen by six *Princes* of *Germany*: Three *Ecclesiastical*, *Arch-Bishops*, *Moguntia*, *Colen*, and *Trevine*: Three *Temporal*, the *Duke* of *Saxonie*, the *Count* *Palatine* of the *Rhene*, and the *Marquesse* of *Brandenburgh*; and when those six voyces should happen equally divided, that then, the *Duke* of *Bohemia* (before it was a Kingdom) should determine the *Election*: this was approved by all the *German* *Princes* and other *Christian* *Princes* and *Estates* of this world. And the manner and conditions are these: After his *Election*, he is called onely *Cesar* and the King of the *Romanes*, and not *Emperour*, till he be *Crowned*; and takes his *Oath* presently after his *Election*, *To defend the Catholick Religion, and Pope of Rome; To minister Justice; to keep the Lawes of the Empire, &c.* and so is anointed, and with some prayers upon him; a drawn sword put in his hand, a *Ring* on his finger; a *scepter* in his other hand: and three *Bishops* set the *Crown* *Emperiall* upon his Head; Then all the *Princes* take

Anno
1625.

Term adjourned to *Reading*.

Of Coronation of Sovereigns.

Anno

1625.

take Oath to him. In *Polonie* after the same manner.

In *Spain*, of late, the Kings are not *Crowned*, but have another admission equal, and performed by the *Arch-Bishop* of *Toledo*, *Primate* of *Spain*.

In *France* they have some alterations from their ancient manner, by *Lewis le Jeune*, who ordained the 12. *Peers* of *France*; Six *Ecclesiastical* and six *Temporal*.

The *Arch-Bishop* and *Duke* of *Rhemes* anointeth and Crowneth the King.

The *Bishop* and *Duke* of *Lava* bears the Glasse of sacred Oyl.

The *Bishop* and *Duke* of *Lauques* the Cross.

The *Bishop* and *Earl* of *Beauvais* the Mantle Royal.

The *Bishop* and *Earl* of *Koyon* the Girdle.

The *Bishop* and *Earl* of *Chaalons* the Ring.

The *Duke* of *Burgundy*, *Dean* of the Order, holds the Crown.

The *Earl* of *Gasconie* and *Guiennie*, the first Banner quartered.

The *Duke* of *Normandy*, the second Banner quartered.

The *Earl* of *Tholosa*, the Golden spurs.

The *Earl* of *Campaign* the Banner Royal or Standard of War.

The *Earl* of *Flanders*, the sword Royall.

And this day the King is severally apparelled three times: First as a *Priest*; Secondly, a *King* and Warriour; Thirdly, as a *Judge*: He takes his Oath by the *Arch-Bishop* of *Rhemes* to the Church, and to the people, &c. and so vested, with the *Mantle*, *Girdle*, *Ring*, *Ointment* and *Crown*, with declaration what each signified. And though this *Ceremonie* of sacring and *Anointing Kings*, be more ancient than the *Christian Kingdom* of *France*, yet is it the most ancient for particular *Majestique* manner; and most of the Neighbour *Kingdoms* have affinity from her, especially in *England* being the very same in effect.

The sacredness of the *Hebrew Kings* depended much upon their being *anointed*: *Anointing* added a divine Majesty to their *Kings*, and made them *sacred*, and allied unto *God*, exercising power and authority over things divine, the virtue of the sacred *Ointment* being communicated to them; formerly compounded by *Moses*, of *Aromatick* ingredients, and was yet for Initiation and Consecration, till *Josiah* hid it under ground in the Temple, in the same secret place, where the *Ark* of the Covenant, *Aarons rod*, *Urim* and *Thummim* and the *Manna* were laid up, in preservation against the overthrow of the Temple by the *Assyrians*, as had been prophesied, and so lost to posterity in time of their *Babylonish Captivity*.

And therefore the King resolves on the day 2. *February*, which is censured [For a vanity, though serious, and the wisest Monarchs are very idle in it, as not conferring one dram of solid grandure to the Throne]

Anno

1625.

Kings 11.12.

Throne] and yet he acknowledgeth, that as the King enters recognizance and stipulateth with the people to govern by Law, so they acclaim him their King. And is all this but vanity? Though the Scriptures also exemplifies it in the Jews their first King, Saul, after the manner of all Nations, and after him David, Solomon, Jehoshaphat; The High Priest anointing him with solemnities, as you may see of Gods own appointing; and the Ceremony to our Saviour, when the Jews crowned him, was no doubt in imitation of other Kings, and may be a pattern for Christians.

But the day come which began his solemnitie, conveyed him by water from White-Hall to Westminster, not in usual state through the streets from the Tower, the onely reason, the dregs of the Infection, not clearing the danger of such concourse of people, which is [put upon his frugality to save money] And though it belonged to the Dean of Westminster, Bishop of Lincoln to officiate some chief parts of the Celebrity, yet he being under a deserved displeasure, and in October last, put out of his office of Lord Keeper of the Great Seal of England, and intrusted unto Sr. Thomas Coventry, (who sat in Chancery two Terms before) much of his duty was conferred upon Dr. Laud Bishop of St. Davids, (not of Bath and Wells) till September after. And then concerning the alteration of the Prayer, The very Committee for managing the particulars of the Coronation, resumed then those ancient particulars of the Prayer, till Henry the sixth's time, *Ut obtineat gratiam huic populo, &c. like Aaron in the Tabernacle, Elisba in the waters, Zacharias in the Temple; Sit Petrus in Clave, Paulus in dogmate;* and were suitors to the King not to suffer the Dean to that duty, and had this answer, *Who was not worthy to keep the seal, lesse deserving to Minister now to his Sovereign?* Nor was he admitted to the next Parliament, nor had summons by Writ, so no Proxy, to appoint a suffrage, though it is said and evilly mentioned by an Historian, [That the Dukes Mother intruded, who loved the Bishop (if fame belies her not) better then was fitting] But this scandal I have answered sufficiently. See the Life and Death of King James.

Hist. 20.

Ibid.

Hist. 21.

And his own letters will discover the truth, dated the seventh of January 1625. to the Duke, and signed John Lincoln: so then he was not Chancellor, and saies that he is come to do service for the preparation to the Coronation, &c. and craves of the Duke to receive a creature of your own, struck dead with displeasure, and by him to be brought to kiss the Kings hands.

And another Letter to the King complains that he hath not received his Writ of summons unto the Parliament, that he might make his Proxie, &c. Nor can he go into the County, as he had done long since, but in expectation of this Writ, and that in his absence in this Parliament; no use may be made of the Kings Name to wound the reputation of a poor Bishop. Cabella,

Anno

1625.

bala 107, 108. and so our other Historians are mistaken in this.

And the manner of his Delivery of the Seal was thus; Sir *John Suckling* was sent from the King to demand it, but charily he locked it up in a *Cabinet*, and sent it, and the Key by the Knight inclosed in a Letter to the King, and so was outed of the Seal, but kept his Bishoprick of *Lincoln*, and the Deanary of *Westminster*, which indeed he had for his life, and after all, retired to *Bugden*, where he lived very *Hospitably* and in manner and order of the good Bishops, not without an eye and ear over him of such as were Intelligencers of Court.

And at *Westminster Hall* the Ceremony begun towards the Abbey Church, in order thus.

1. The *Aldermen* of *London* by couples, ushered by an Herald.
2. Eighty *Knights* of the *Bath* in their Robes, each one having an Esquire to support, and a Page to attend him.
3. The Kings *Serjeants* at Law, *Solicitor Attorney*, Masters of Request, and *Judges*.
4. *Privy Councillors* that were *Knights*, and the chief Officers of the Kings Household.
5. *Barons* of the Kingdome bare-headed in their Parliament Robes, with *Swords* by their sides.
6. The *Bishops* with Scarlet Gowns and Lawn sleeves bare-headed.
7. The Vice-Counts, and Earls (not in their Parliament but) in their *Coronation* Robes with coronetted Caps on their Heads.
8. The Officers of *State* for the day, whereof these are the Principal,

Sir *Richard Winn*,
Sir *George Goring*,
The Lord *Privy Seal*,
The *Archbishop* of *Canterbury*.

The Earl of *Dorset* carrying the first *Sword*,
The Earl of *Essex* carrying the second *Sword*,
The Earl of *Kent* carrying the third *Sword*,
The Earl of *Montgomery* carrying the *Spurs*,
The Earl of *Sussex* carrying the *Globe* and *Cross* upon it.
The Bishop of *London* carrying the *Golden Cup* for the *Communion*.
The Bishop of *Winchester* carrying the *Golden Plate* for the *Communion*.

The Earl of *Rutland* carrying the *Scepter*.

The Marquess *Hamilton* carrying the *Sword* of *State* naked.

The Earl of *Pembroke* carrying the *Crown*.

The Lord *Maier* in a *Crimson Velvet Gown*, carried a *Short Scepter* before the King amongst the *Serjeants*:

The Earl of *Arundel* as Earl Marshall of *England*, and the Duke of *Buckingham*, as Lord High Constable of *England* for that day went next before his Majesty.

Anno
1625.

The King entred at the *West Gate* of the Church, under a rich Canopy carried by the Barons of the *Cinque Ports*, His own Person supported by Doctor *Neil* Bishop of *Durham* on the one hand, and Doctor *Lake* Bishop of *Bath and Wells* on the other. His train six yards long of Purple-Velvet held up by the Lord *Compton*, Master of the *Robes*, and the Lord *Viscount Doncaster* Master of the Wardrobe. Here he was met by the Prebends of *Westminster*, (Bishop *Lawd*, supplying the Deans Place) in their rich Copes who delivered into the Kings hands the Staff of King *Edward* the Confessor, with which he walked up to the *Throne*.

Which was framed from the *Quire* to the *Altar*; the King mounted upon it, none under the degree of a *Baron* standing therein, save only the *Prebends* of *Westminster* who attended on the *Altar*. Three *Chairs* for the King in several places, first of *Repose*, the second the antient *Chair* of *Coronation*, and the third (placed on an high square of five steps ascent) being the *Chair* of *State*.

The Scaffold.

All settled and reposed: the *Arch-bishop* of *Canterbury* presented his Majesty to the Lords and Commons, *East, West, North, and South*, asking them if they did consent to the *Coronation* of *K. Charles* their lawful Sovereign. The King in the mean time presented himself bareheaded: the consent being given four times with great acclamation; the King took his *Chair* of *Repose*.

The Sermon being done, the *Arch-Bishop*, invested in a rich Cope, goeth to the King, kneeling upon Cushions at the *Communion Table*; and askes his willingness to take the Oath usually taken by his Predecessors. The King is willing, ariseth and goeth to the *Altar*, and is interrogated, and thus answereth.

2 February.

Coronation Oath.

Sir, Sayes the *Arch-bishop* will you grant and keep, and by your Oath confirm to the People of *England*, the *Laws* and *Customes* to them granted by the *Kings* of *England*, your lawful and *Religious Predecessours*; and namely the *Laws, Customs, and Franchises* granted to the *Clergy*, by
E the

Epil.

Anno

1625.

Hist. p. 16.

the glorious King St. Edward your Predecessor, according to the Lawes of God, the true profession of the Gospel established in this Kingdome, agreeable to the Prerogative of the Kings thereof, and the antient Customes of the Realm.

Rex.

The Kings answer, I grant and promise to keep them.

Epif.

Sir, Will you keep Peace and Godly agreement (according to your power) both to God the holy Church, the Clergy, and the people.

Rex.

I will keep it.

Epif.

Sir, Will you (to your power) cause Law, Justice and discretion to mercy and truth to be executed to your Iudgement,

Rex.

I will.

Epif.

Sir, will you grant to hold and keep the Laws and Rightfull Customes which the Comminalty of this your Kingdome have, and will you defend and uphold them to the honour of God, so much as in you lieth?

Rex.

I grant, and promise so to do.

Then one of the Bishops read this Admonition to the King before the people with a lowd voice.

Our Lord and King wee beseech you to pardon, and to grant and to preserve unto Us, and to the Churches committed to your charge all Canonical privileges, and do Law and Justice, and that you would protect and defend Us, as every good King to his Kingdomes ought to be Protector
and

and Defendor of the Bishops, and the Churches under their Government.

Anno

1625.

The King answereth,

With a willing and devout heart, I promise and grant my Pardon, and that I will preserve and maintain to you, and the Churches committed to your charge all Canonical privileges, and due Law and Justice, and that I will be your Protector and Defender to my Power by the Assistance of God, as every good King in his Kingdom in right ought to protect and defend the Bishops and Churches under their Government.

Then the King ariseth, and is led to the Communion Table where he makes a solemn Oath in sight of all the people to observe the premisses, and laying his hand upon the Bible saith,

The Oath.

The things which I have here promised, I shall perform and keep; So help me God, and the Contents of this Book.

Sworn,

Then were his *Robes* taken off, and were offered at the *Altar*. He stood a while stripped to his *Doublet* and *Hose* of *White Sattin*. Then led by the *Arch Bishop*, and *Doctor Lawd* the Bishop of *St. Davids*, he was placed in the *Chair* of Coronation (a Close Canopy spread over him) the Arch-bishop anointing his *Head*, *Shoulders*, *Arms* and *Hands* with a costly ointment, the Quire singing an Anthem of these words, *Zadock the Priest anointed King Solomon*.

Anointed.

Hence he was led up in his *Doublet* and *Hose* with a *White Coife* on his head, to the Communion Table, where the Bishop of *St. Davids* (Deputy for the Dean) brought forth the antient Abiliments of King *Edward* the Confessor, and put them upon him. Then brought back to the *Chair* of Coronation, he received the *Crown* of King *Edward* (presented by the Bishop of *Saint Davids* and) put on his Head by the *Arch-Bishop* of *Canterbury*; the

Crowned.

Anno
1625.

Quire singing an Anthem, *Thou shalt put a Crown of pure Gold upon his head*; whereupon the *Earls* and *Viscounts* put on their *Crimson Velvet Caps*, with *Coronets* about them, the *Barons* and *Bishops* alwaies standing bareheaded. Then every Bishop came to the King to bring their *Benediction* upon him; and he in King *Edwards* Robes with the Crown upon his Head, rose from his Chair, and bowed to every Bishop apart.

Then was girt about him King *Edwards* Sword, which himself afterwards took off, and offered it up at the Communion Table with two Swords more (in relation to *Scotland* and *Ireland*, or to some ancient *Principalities* with his Predecessors enjoyed in *France*.) The Duke of *Buckingham* (as Master of the Horse) put on his Spurs; and thus compleatly crowned, his Majesty offered, first *Gold*, then *Silver*, and afterwards *Bread* and *Wine*, which was to be used at the holy Communion.

Then the King was conducted by the Nobility to the Throne, upon the square Basis of five *Descents* (the Quire singing *Te Deum*) where he received the Oath of *Homage* from the Duke of *Buckingham* (as Lord *High* Constable for that day) and the Duke swore all the Nobility to be *Homagers* to his Majesty at the Kings knee.

Then the *Earls* and *Barons* laid their hands on the Crown upon the Kings head, protesting to spend their bloods, to maintain it to him and his lawful *Heirs*. The Bishops kneeled down, but took no oath, the King kissing each of them.

Then the King took a Scrowl of Parchment out of his Bosom, and gave it to the Lord Keeper *Coventry*, who read it to the Commons four several times East, West, North and South; the effect, His Majesties pardon to all that would take it under his Broad-Seal.

From the Throne to the Communion Table, where the Arch-bishop kneeling at the North side read prayers, and the Quire sung the *Nicene Creed*; the Bishops *Landaff* and *Norwich*, read the *Epistle* and *Gospels*, The Bishops of *Durham* and *Saint Davids* in rich copes with his Majesty received the Communion; the Bread from the Archbishop; the Wine from Bishop *Saint Davids*. The King received last of all, whilest *Gloria Patri* was sung, and some prayers by the Arch-bishop conclude the solemnity.

After the King had disrobed himself in King *Edwards* Chapel, he came forth in a short Robe of Red Velvet girt unto him, lined with *Ermins*, and a Crown of his own, upon his head, set with very pretious stones. And thus the Train, going to the Barges at the water-side, they returned to *White-hall* about three a clock afternoon. This being, as yet, the last solemnity of this King *Charles*, I could say no less, to preserve it to memory, to shew what that State, had been, till it be so again.

And now the King calls a Parliament, which met the sixth of
February;

February; Sir Henage Finch, Recorder of London, chosen Speaker of the Commons House; So soon are they summoned after their last Dissolution; It was the Kings design then, to take this short time of recess to cool the heat of some fiery Spirits, and now for him, to give all possible satisfaction to their former pressures of *Grievances*, which had been lately fully cleared unto them in pursuance of their pretended devout care for settling of *Religion*. But still the house of *Commons* scrutiny, and by a Committee strictly examine, what abuses had interfered the execution of his Majesties Grace therein?

And the Lords betake themselves to a Grievance of their own Order; The old ones had a former complaint five years since to King James, against such *New Lords* of foreign *Titles* of Honour, that claimed thereby *precedency* of *Inferior* titles at home, and were then quelled in that quarrel, as being in the pleasure of the *Prince* to effuse the beames of Honour [and to collate what he please, upon whom, and how he please] But now, another dress, and much more boldly.

To the Kings most Excellent Majesty.

In all humility,

S Heweth unto your most Excellent Majesty, your ever Loyal Subjects, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, now in Parliament assembled;

Lords petition

That, whereas the Peers and Nobility of this your Kingdom of England, have heretofore (in civility) yielded, as to strangers, *precedency*, according to their several degrees, unto such Nobles of Scotland and Ireland, as being in titles above them, have resorted hither.

Now divers of the natural born Subjects of this Kingdom, resident here with their Families, and having their chief Estates among us; do, by reason of some late created Dignities, in those Kingdoms of Scotland and Ireland, claim *Precedency* of the Peers of this Realm, which tends both to the dis-service of your Majesty, and these Realms; and to the great disparagement of the English Nobility, as by these reasons may appear:

1. It is a novelty without precedent, That men should inherit Honors, where they possess nothing else.

2. It is injurious to those Countreys, from whence their Titles are derived, that any should have Vote in Parliament, where they have not a foot of Land.

3. It is a grievance to the Countrey where they inhabit, that men possessing

Anno
1625.

possessing very large Fortunes and Estates, should by reason of foreign Titles be exempted from those services of Trust and Charge, which, through their default, become greater pressures upon others, who bear the burthen.

4. It is a shame to Nobility, that persons dignified with the Titles of Barons, Viscounts, &c. should be obnoxious and exposed to arrest, they being, in the view of the Law, no more then meer Plebeians.

We therefore humbly beseech your Majesty, that you will be pleased, according to the example of the best Princes, and Times, upon consideration of these inconveniences, represented to your Majesty, by the nearest Body of Honour to your Majesty, that some course may be taken, and an Order timely settled therein by your Princely Wisdom, so as the inconvenience to your Majesty may be prevented, and the prejudice and disparagement of the Peers and Nobility of this Kingdom may be redressed.

The Kings
Answer.

To which the King for the present, Promised to take order therein; And the next News was, the commitment of the Earl of Arundel to the Tower, and this the cause.

Earl of Arun-
del committed

The King having a Design to reconcile an antient fewd of two families by contracting them into a Marriage, between the Lord of Lorn, son and heir to the Earl of Arguile, and bred up in England, a Protestant for that purpose, and the Eldest Daughter of the late Duke of Lenox; which though well known to the Earl of Arundel, he very boldly marries his eldest Son the Lord Matravers unto her; and excuses it to be the private contrivance of the two Mothers, but he is committed to the Tower, and being in time of Parliament, the Peers Petition the King.

That no Peer is to be imprisoned without Order of the Upper House, unless for Treason, Felony, or Denial of the security for the peace; which retrived their old dispute, Priviledge, and lasted the debate of a Months time.

1626.

In which space Mr. Pym, Chairman to the Committee of Religion, reports the Inquisition of their discovery. A Letter to the Lord Mayor of York for Reprieve of some Jesuits, Priests, and other Recusants; which Letter was compared with the Original in the Signet-Office, and so these proceedings lay in the Deck of other complaints, which the King understood, and took time to number them up to the Parliament as Indignities to his Person and Honour, so be so inquisitive after his actions.

The King de-
mands supply.

But for the present, he went on with his own more important affairs, and sends Sir Richard Weston, Chancelour of the Exchequer, with this message to them.

That his Fleet is returned and their victuals spent, the men must of
ne-

necessity be discharged, and their wages paid them, or else mutiny will follow, which may be of dangerous consequence.

That he hath in readines about 40. Ships to be set forth upon a second service, which want a present supply of moneys.

That the Armies quartered on the Coasts, want victuals and clothes, and they will disband, if not furnished.

The Companies of Ireland lately sent, must speedily be provided for, else they may be subject to rebel.

Lastly, the season for providing healthful victual will be past, if this moneth of March be suffered negligently to elapse.

And therefore he desired to know, without more ado, what present supply he must depend upon from them, that accordingly he might shape his course.

This necessary message produced no other supply than this infolency from a Member, Mr. Clement Cook (Son to Sir Edward Cook now in Malignancie to the affairs of State) It is better (saies he) to dy by a Foreign Enemy, than to be destroyed at home.

Mr. Cook and Dr. Turners insolent speeches.

And to make him the more, One Turner a mean, mad, Doctor of Physick who got a room in the House for such like rants, and he re-assaults, with 6. Queries, reaching to the Duke.

1. Whether the King hath not lost the Regality of the Narrow Seas, since the Duke became Admiral?

2. Whether he not going as Admiral in this last Fleet, was not the cause of the ill success?

3. Whether the Kings Revenues hath not been impaired through his immense liberality?

4. Whether the Duke hath not ingrossed all Offices, and preferred his kindred to unfit places?

5. Whether he hath not made sale of places of Inducature?

6. Whether Recusants have not dependance upon his Mother and Father-in-law?

Alas poor Doctor! He did but gape (saies one) and had this clamour put into his Mouth by such, as had enough rudeness and Rancour in their hearts, but not the courage to let the world see it in them.

Thereupon the King sends to them all for satisfaction from the whole House, intent upon severe punishment against those men; but finding them earnest, to aggravate the more, he summons both Houses together, and conveys his displeasure to them, by the Lord Keeper Coventry.

My Lords, and you the Knights, Citizens, and Burgeesses of the Houses

The Lord Keepers speech.

The Reign of King Charles.

‘ House of *Commons*, His Majesties command hath summoned
 ‘ you hither, and the same Command hath put me upon the
 ‘ service of signifying his Will to you. His Will was, that both
 ‘ Houses should be called together; you, my *Lords*, as witnesses of
 ‘ the Justice of his Resolutions, and of this Address to the House
 ‘ of *Commons*.

‘ His Majesty would have you know, there never was King who
 ‘ better loved his people, or was more sincerely affected towards the
 ‘ right use of Parliaments, or more ready to redress what shall be re-
 ‘ presented unto him in the quality of Grievance; provided, it
 ‘ be in a regular and decent way, than Himself; but he would also
 ‘ have you know, that as he loves his People, so he regards His
 ‘ Honour; and if he be sensible of his Subjects Grievances; of his
 ‘ own he is much more, especially when they flow from offen-
 ‘ ces of such a nature, as not onely blast his Reputation, but im-
 ‘ pede the Progresse of his Weighty Affaires. To come to Parti-
 ‘ culars.

‘ His Majesty saith, That whereas Mr. *Coke* spake very seditious
 ‘ words in your House, he was so far from being questioned or
 ‘ censured for them by you, as Doctor *Turner* (animated with the
 ‘ same spirit) made them his introduction to certain articles of In-
 ‘ quiry of as unfavory a condition, pretended against the Duke, but
 ‘ in truth, libelling his Majesties Government. And though his Ma-
 ‘ jesty did not only, by Sir *Richard Weston*, but in his own Person,
 ‘ declare his just displeasure, and demanded Justice against those ex-
 ‘ orbitants; yet have you not only halted in your obedience to him,
 ‘ but have followed the very steps of *Dr. Turner*; and, upon false
 ‘ bottom’d suggestions endeavored to distain his Own and Fathers
 ‘ Honour.

‘ He also complaineth, That you have taken upon you to search
 ‘ his Signet-Office, and to examine the Letters of his Secretary of
 ‘ State, leaving him nothing free from their discovery: a thing not
 ‘ formerly practised.

‘ As concerning the Duke, whom you seem to persecute with
 ‘ such asperity of disgust, I am also commanded to tell you, that
 ‘ his Majesty knows (none better) he acted nothing of Publique
 ‘ Employment, without his Special Warrant; that he hath dis-
 ‘ charged his Trust with abundant both Care and Fidelity; that
 ‘ he merited that Trust, both from his now Majesty, and his late
 ‘ Father, by his Personall hazard, both at home and abroad:
 ‘ And that since his Return from *Spain*, he hath been sedulous
 ‘ in promoting the Service and Contentment of your House. It
 ‘ is therefore his Express Command, that you absolutely desist
 ‘ from such unparliamentary disquisitions, and resign the Refor-
 ‘ mation of what is amiss to his Majesties Care, Wisdome, and
 ‘ Justice.

‘ I am also to speak about the business of *supply*; you have been made acquainted with the posture of his *Majesties* affairs both foreign and domestique, and with his necessitous condition; the charge of all martial preparations, both by sea and land, hath been calculated to you, & you promised a supply both speedy and sutable to his occasions; but his *Majesty* complaineth, that as yet, you have performed neither, failing both in the measure and in the manner. In the measure, by granting onely three subsidies, and three fifteens, a proportion vastly short of what is requisite. In the manner, being both dilatory and dishonourable to the King, as arguing a distrust of him; for you have ordered the Bill not to be brought into the House, until your grievances be both heard and answered: which is such a tacite condition, as his *Majesty* will not admit of.

‘ Therefor his *Majesty* commands you to take it into your speedy consideration, and to return your final answer by *Saturday* next, what further addition you will make; and if your supplies commensurate and equal the demands of the cause, he promiseth to continue this *Session* to your just content, else he must and will entertain thoughts of your dismissal.

‘ Lastly, I am commanded to tell you, that his *Majesty* doth not charge these distempers upon the whole body, and the assembly of the *House*; but as he is confident the greater number are persons of a more quiet dispose, so he hopeth their influence, and this his *Majesties* admonition will prevent the like for the time to come.

When he had done, the King went on.

I Must withall put you in minde of times past; you may remember my Father moved by your counsel, and won by your perswasions brake the *Treaties*; in these perswasions I was your instrument towards him, and I was glad to be instrumental in any thing which might please the whole body of the Realm: nor was there any then in greater favour with you then this man, whom you now so traduce. And now when you finde me so sure intangled in war, as I have no honourable and safe retreat, you make my necessity your priviledge, and set what rate you please upon your supplies: a practise not very obliging towards Kings. Mr. Coke told you, it was better to dye by a foreign ene-

The Kings
Speecch.

Anno
1626.

my, then to be destroyed at home. Indeed I think it is more honourable for a King to be invaded and almost destroyed by a foreign enemy, then to be despised at home.

This was sharp and sowre, yet the Commons kept close to their custom, and reply with a Remonstrance.

The Commons
Reply.

That with extream joy and comfort they acknowledge the favour of his Majesties most gracious expressions of affection to his people, and this present Parliament.

That concerning Mr. Coke, true it is, he let fall some few words which might admit an ill construction, and that the House was displeased therewith, as they declared by a general check; and though Mr. Coke's explanation of his minde more cleerly, did somewhat abate the offence of the House, yet were they resolved to take it into further consideration, and so have done, the effect whereof had appeared ere this, had they not been interrupted by this his Majesties message: and the like interruption beset them also in the businesse of Doctor Turner.

As concerning the examination of the Letters of his Secretary of State, as also of his Majesties own, and searching the Signet Office and oither Records; they had done nothing therein, not warranted by the precedents of former Parliaments upon the like occasions.

That concerning the Duke, they did humbly beseech his Majesty to be informed, that it hath been the constant and undoubted usage of Parliaments, to question and complain of any person of what degree soever; and what they should do in relation to him, they little doubted but it should redound to the honour of the Crown, and safety of the Kingdom.

Lastly, As to the matter of supply; That if addition may be made of other things importing his service then in consultation amongst them, they were resolved so to supply him, as might evidence the truth of their intentions, might make him safe at home, and formidable abroad.

The

The King tired with *pro and con*, *Petitions, Answers, Speeches Remonstrances*, was resolved to reply to them in brief: *That he would have them in the first place to consult matters of the greatest moment, and that they should have time enough for other things hereafter*; But their designs were otherwise, and the Important business to them, was, an Inquisition against the Duke, and In-
 couragement to the *Parliament* to any Informations.

The Earl of *Bristow*, being excluded the House, petitions them to prefer his Accusation, which was soon admitted, whom the Duke necessarily incounters and begins the *charge* against him.

But it is some Scandal to vertue to say, that [*many good men were passing jocund at the contest*] Indeed the *Lower Members* might make it their mirth, to finde the *Upper Ones* so malitious and imprudent, to persecute each other, being a presage of ruine by degrees and time to them all, when as the policy of the *Commons* would not suffer *One* of theirs to be questioned, till themselves considered of their Crimes, which kept them close together, Imboldned thus, to preserve themselves to the last.

But the Duke procures the King by his *Attorney Generall* to summon *Bristow* to the *Lords Bar* as a grand *Delinquent*, and to his face accuses him of *High-Treason*; To which he Answers, *That he was a free man and a Peer unattainted, and had somewhat to say of high consequence*. Being bid to proceed, Then (saith he) *I accuse that man the Duke of Buckingham of High Treason, and will prove it*. And forthwith produceth twelve Articles of his Charge.

May the second.

‘ 1 That the Duke did secretly conspire with the *Conde of Gondamar* Ambassador of *Spain* before the said Ambassadors last return into *Spain*, 1622. to carry his Majesty then Prince into *Spain*, to the end he might be enforced, and instanced in the *Romish Religion*, and thereby have perverted the Prince, and subverted the true *Religion* established in *England*.

‘ 2. That Mr. *Porter* was made acquainted therewith, and sent into *Spain*, and such message framed at his return as might serve for a ground to set on foot the conspiracy: which was done accordingly, and thereby both King and Prince highly abused.

‘ 3 The Duke at his arrival in *Spain*, nourished the *Spanish Ministers*, not onely in the beleef of his own being Popishly given, by absenting himself from all exercises of our *Religion* then constantly used in the Earl of *Bristows* house) and conforming himself to please the *Spainard* by kneeling to, and adoring their Sacraments, but gave them hope also of the *Princes* conversion; which caused them to propound worse conditions for

The E. of Bristows charge against the Duke.

Anno
1626.

Religion, then had been formerly settled and signed by the Earl of *Bristow* and Sr. *Walter Aston*.

4. That the *Duke* did many times in the presence of the Earl of *Bristow*, move his *Majesty* at the instance of the Conde of *Gondamar*, to write a letter to the *Pope*, which the *Earl* utterly dissuaded; and that although during the *Earls* abode in *England* he hindred the writing any such letter, yet the *Duke* after the *Earls* return procured it wrot.

5. That the *Pope* being informed of the *Dukes* inclination in point of Religion, sent him a particular *Bull* in parchment, therein perswading him to pervert his *Majesty*.

6. That the *Duke* in *Spain* did abuse the *King of Spain* and his Ministers so, as they would not admit of a Reconciliation with him; whereupon seeing the match would be to his disadvantage, he endeavoured to break it, not for any service to this Kingdom, nor dislike of it in it self, nor for that he found, (as since he hath pretended) that the *Spaniard* did not really intend it, but out of his particular end and indignation.

7. That he intending to cross the match, made use of Letters of his *Majesty* then private to his own ends, and not to what they were intended, as also concealed many things of great importance from his late *Majesty*, thereby overthrowing his *Majesties* purposes, and advancing his own ends.

8. That, for the foresaid ends, he hath abused both Houses of Parliament by a sinister relation of the carriage of affairs, as shall be made appear in every particular of that relation.

9 That he employed his power with the *King of Spain* for the procurement of favours and offices, which he bestowed upon unworthy persons, for the recompence and hire of his lust: which is a great infamy and dishonour to our Nation; that a *Duke*, a privy Counsellor and Ambassador, eminent in his *Majesties* favour and solely intrusted with the person of the prince, should leave behind him in a foreign Court, so much scandal by his ill behaviour.

10. That he hath been a great part the cause of the ruine of the Prince *Palatine*, and his estate; in so much as those affairs concern this kingdom.

11. That he hath in his relation to both Houses of Parliament, wronged the Earl of *Bristow* in his honour, by many sinister aspersions.

12. Lastly, that the Earl of *Bristow* did reveal to his late *Majesty*, both by word and letter, in what sort the *Duke* had demeaned himself, and abused his trust: and the *King* by several wayes sent him word he should rest assured that he would hear the said Earl in due time; and that four dayes before his sicknesse, he signified to the Earl, that he would hear him against the *Duke*, as

well

well as he had heard the Duke against him. And not long after the King died, having been much vexed and pressed with the said Duke.

Here is no *High Treason*, herein mentioned, if the charge were proved, then no *Traytor* at all, neither most, nor least; for indeed had this done it, the *Commons* needed not, their new *Impeachment* which followes, and never amounted to more than *Misdemeanors*, *Misprisions*, *Offences* and *Crimes*; Nothing rare with favourites, and therefore never such pursued upon any, before this person, and these times.

Which might occasion an antient Baron the Lord *Spencer* [*To start up, that was no upstart Lord, and to demand, Is this all you have to say against the Duke, The Earl replied, Yes my Lord, and I am sorry it is so much; then quoth the Lord Spencer, If this be all; Ridiculus Mus; and so sat down again.*

Upon this a Crotchet took the Lord *Cromwel* in the Crown and out he goes to Mr. *Richard Spencer* a younger Son of that Lord, and a great Zelot in the Lower house against the Duke, *Dick*, said he, *What is done in your House to day against the Duke? My Lord* (said he) *he is charged with high Treason; Tush Dick, Quoth the Lord, High Treason! If this be all? Ridiculus Mus.]*

The Charge (I say) might occasion this story of the Lords complements, which out of doubt, was told to the *Historian* for truth, though couched in this wanton stile, not usual with his gravity I confess. And indeed if Mr. *Richard Spencer* have not forsaken his Memory, he professes, there was never any such confabulation with any Crotchet of *Cromwells* Crown, and desires the *Author* to expunge it out of his next impression, and me to excuse him in this.

But such a Charge as it was, It served the turn for that time, but not to prevent the Attornies Charge against the *Earl*, which to my knowledge was framed long before, and therefore needed no *speeding* as to prevention. Yet being ready, It was put in the next day, abating one of the *Earls* number against the Duke, for these were but *Eleven Articles*.

First, That the said Earl being employed by the late King *James*, as his Ambassadour unto *Ferdinando*, Emperour of *Germany*; and unto *Philip* the fourth King of *Spain*, in the years 1621, 1622, and 1623. with Commission to treat with them, for the plenary restitution of the *Palatinate* to the Count *Palatine*, who married the Lady *Elizabeth*, the onely Daughter of his late Majesty; and also to treat with the King of *Spain*, for a Mariage to be had between his now Majesty, then Prince of *Wales*, and the Lady *Donna Maria* the *Infanta* of *Spain*; did falsly, trayterously, and confidently in-

Articles against the E.
of *Bristow*.

form

Anno
1626.

form the late King, by sundry Letters, *That the said Emperour, and King of Spain, would really make restitution of the Dominions, and Electoral dignity of the said Count Palatine; and that the said King of Spain did really intend the Mariage aforesaid;* Whereas in truth, the said *Emperour and King*, or either of them, never really intended such restitution, and the King of *Spain* never intended the said Mariage, whereof the Earl could not be ignorant; whereby the the Dominions, and Electorall Dignity aforesaid, were utterly lost.

Secondly, That the said Earl having received from his late Majesty particular directions, to put the King of *Spain* to a speedy and punctual answer, touching the *Treaties* aforesaid, did nevertheless continue those *Treaties* upon Generalities, without effectually pressing the King of *Spain* to particular Conclusions, sutable to his Instructions.

Thirdly, that the said Earl, to the intent, to discourage the late King from taking up of Arms, or entring into Hostility with the said King of *Spain*, did many times, both by word and letters to him, and his Ministers, extoll the greatnesse and power of the King of *Spain*, and did cunningly strive to retard the late Kings Resolutions of declaring himself an Enemy to the King of *Spain*.

Fourthly, That the said *Earl*, being told, upon his dispatch out of this Realm, that there was little probability, that these *Treaties* would have any good successe, he then replyed; *He cared not what the successe thereof would be, for he would take care to have his instructions perfect, and to pursue them punctually; and howsoever the businesse went, he would make his fortunes thereby.*

Fifthly, that the said Earl, on purpose to advance the Romish Religion, did (during the time aforesaid) often by Letters, and otherwise, counsell and perswade his late Majesty, to set at liberty *Jesuits* and *Priests* of the Romish Religion, which were imprisoned, according to the laws of the Land, and to grant the *Pa-pists* a Toleration of their Religion.

Sixthly, That by the said *Earls* false Informations, and Intelligences given to the late King, and now his Majesty, then Prince, they were put into hopes; and, by long delayes, they were put into jealousies, concerning the said *Treaties*, that there was not that sincerity in them which they expected: Whereupon the said Prince, his now Majesty, was enforced to undertake in his own person, a long and dangerous Journey into *Spain*, intending, either speedily

speedily to conclude the said *Treaties*, or to discover the feigned Intentions of the *Emperor*, and King of *Spain*; and thereupon to dissolve them. By which Journey, the Person of the said *Prince*; and, in Him, the peace and safety of this Kingdom was brought into apparent danger.

Seventhly, That at the *Prince* his first coming to the said Earl in *Spain*, he asked the *Prince*, *For what he came thither*: The *Prince*, at first, not conceiving the Earls meaning, answered, *You know as well as I*. The Earl replied; Sir, *Give me leave to tell you, they say here in Madrid, that you meant to change your Religion*; and added further, Sir, *I do not speak this, that I will perswade you to it, or that I will promise to follow your example, though you do it; but, as your faithful servant, if you will trust me with so great a secret, I will endeavour to carry it in the secretest way I can*. At which the *Prince* being moved, said unto him, *I wonder what you have ever found in me, that you should conceive I would be so base, as for a wife to change my Religion*: The Earl replying, desired the *Prince* to pardon him, if he had offended him, saying, *It was but out of his desire to serve him*: Whereas it had been the duty of a faithful servant to God and his Master, to have dissuaded the *Prince* from it, had he found him staggering in his Religion.

Eighthly, That he afterward having Conference with the *Prince*, about the Romish Religion, trayterously endeavoured to perswade him to turn Romish Catholique, using an Argument to that end, *That the State of England never did, nor could possibly do any great thing, but when obedient to the Pope of Rome*.

Ninthly, That during the time aforesaid, the *Prince* advising with the Earl, about a new Offer by the King of *Spain*, *That the Prince Palatine should marry the Emperours Daughter, be brought up in his Court, and so should be restored to the Palatinate*, The Earl said, *It was a reasonable Proposition*: And when the danger of changing his Religion was objected, the Earl replied, *That without some such great Act, the peace of Christendom could never be procured*.

Tenthly, That the *Prince* departing from *Spain*, and leaving the Powers of Disposorios, with the said Earl, to be delivered upon the return of his Dispensation from *Rome*; the *Prince* (fearing lest after the Dispensation, the *Infanta* might be put into a Monastery) wrote a Letter back to the Earl, commanding him, not to make use of those Powers, untill he could give him assurance, that a Monastery should not rob him of his Wife: which Letter, the Earl receiving, returned an answer, dissuading

Anno
1626.

disswading that Direction. Shortly after which, the Prince sent another Letter, discharging him of his former Command. But his late Majesty, by the same Messenger, sent him a more express Direction, Not to deliver the *Disposorios*, until a full conclusion, had concerning the *Palatinate*; adding this expression, *That he would never joy to marry his Son*, and to leave his *onely Daughter weeping*. In which Dispatch, though there was some mistake; yet in the next following, it was corrected, and the Earl tied to his former Restrictions, which he promised punctually to observe: Neverthelesse, contrary to his Duty and Allegiance, he after set a day for the *Disposorios*, without any assurance, or so much as treating of those things to which he was restrained; and that so short a day, that if extraordinary diligence, with good successe in the Journey, had not concurred, the Princes hands might have been bound up, and yet he never sure of a Wife, nor the *Prince Palatine* of Restitution.

Lastly, That in an high and contemptuous manner, he hath preferred a scandalous Petition to this Honourable House, to the dishonour of the late King, and his now Majesty; especially one Article of that Petition, wherein he gives his now Majesty the *Lye*, by denying, and offering to falsifie, what his Majesty had affirmed.

There needs no strain of partiality to implead the difference of these charges; assuredly if the *Earls* charge against the *Duke*, could have served the turn, It might have spared the *Commons* Impeachment, the other comming far short of the designe, which was, to do it to the purpose. And therefore, This weighty Cause was managed by six Members, Mr. *Glanvil*, Mr. *Herbert*, Mr. *Selden*, Mr. *Pim*, Mr. *Wansford*, Mr. *Sherland*; to them was added, Sr. *Dudly Diggs*, as *Prolocutor*, and Sr. *John Elliot* brought up the Rear.

And so, though the matter, of the Prologue may be spared, being made up with Elegancy; yet rather then it shall be lost, you may please to read it at this length.

My Lords,

There are so many things of great importance to be said in very little time this day, that I conceive it will not be unacceptable to your Lordships, if (setting by all Rhetorical affectations) I onely in plain Country language, humbly pray your Lordships favour

to include many excuses, necessary to my manifold infirmities, in this one word; I am commanded by the Knights, Citizens, and Burgeses of the Commons house, to present unto your Lordships their most affectionate thanks for your ready condescending to this Conference; which, out of confidence in your great wisdoms, and approved Justice for the service of his Majesty, and the welfare of this Realm, they desired upon this occasion.

The House of Commons, by a fatal and universal concurrence of complaints, from all the Sea-bordering parts of this Kingdom, did find a great and grievous interruption and stop of Trade and Traffique. The base Pirates of *Sally* ignominiously infesting our Coasts, taking our ships and goods, and leading away the Subjects of this Kingdom into barbarous Captivity; while, to our shame, and hinderance of Commerce, our enemies did (as it were) besiege our Ports, and block up our best Rivers mouths; our Friends, on slight pretences, made embargoes of our Merchants goods, and every Nation (upon the least occasion) was ready to contemn and slight us: So great was the apparent diminution of the ancient honour of this Crown, and once strong reputation of our Nation. Wherewith the Commons were more troubled, calling to remembrance, how, formerly in *France*, in *Spain*, in *Holland*, and every where by Sea and Land, the Valours of this Kingdom had been better valued; and even in latter times, within remembrance, when we had no Alliance with *France*, none in *Denmark*, none in *Germany*; no Friend in *Italy*; *Scotland*, to say no more, ununited; *Ireland* not settled in peace, and much less security at home; when *Spain* was as ambitious as it is now, under a King (*Philip* the second) they called their wisest; the House of *Austria* as great and potent, and both strengthened with a malicious League in *France*, of persons ill-affected, when the Low-countries had no being; yet by

Anno
1626.

constant counsels, and old *English* wayes, even then that *Spanish* pride was cool'd, that greatness of the house of *Austria*, so formidable to us now, was well resisted; and to the *United Provinces* of the *Low countreys*, such a beginning, growth, and strength was given, as gave us honour over all the *Christian World*. The *Commons* therefore wondring at the Evils which they suffered, debating of the causes of them, found they were many, drawn like one Line to one Circumference of decay of Trade, and strength of Honour, and of Reputation in this kingdom; which, as in one Centre, met in one great man, the Cause of all, whom I am here to name, the Duke of Buckingham.

Here Sir Dudley Diggs made a stand, as wondring to see the Duke present: Yet he took the Roll, and read the Preamble to the charge, with the Dukes long Titles; and then went on.

My Lords,

This lofty Title of this mighty *Man*, me thinks, doth raise my spirits to speak with a *Paulo majora canamus*; and let it not displease your Lordships, if, for foundation, I compare the beautiful Structure and fair composition of this *Monarchy*, wherein we live, to the great work of God, the World it self; in which the solid body of incorporated Earth and Sea as I conceive, in regard of our Husbandry, Manufactures, and Commerce by Land and Sea, may well resemble us the *Commons*. And, as it is encompassed with *Air*, and *Fire*, and *Spheres* Celestial of *Planets*, and a *Firmament* of fixed Stars;

All which receive their heat, light, and life, from one great glorious Sun, even like the King our Sovereign: So that *Firmament* of fixed Stars I take to be your *Lordships*; Those *Planets*, the great *Officers* of the Kingdom; That pure Element of *Fire*, the most religious, zealous, and pious *Clergy*; And the reverend *Judges*, Magistrates, and Ministers of Law, and Justice, the *Air* wherein we breath. All which encompassse round with cherishing comfort this Body of the *Commons*, who truly labour for them all; and though they be the Foot-stool, and the lowest, yet may well be said to be the settled Centre of the State.

Now (my good *Lords*) if that glorious *Sun*, by his powerful Beams of Grace and Favour, shall draw from the Bowels of this Earth, an *Exhalation* that shall take fire, and burn and shine out like a Star, it needs not be marvelled at, if the poor *Commons* gaze

Anno
1626.

gaze and wonder at the *Comet*; and, when they feel the Effects, impute all to the corruptible matter of it. But if such an imperfect mixture appear, like that in the last Age, in the Chair of *Cassiopeia*, among the fixed Stars themselves, where *Aristotle* and the old Philotophers conceived there was no place for such corruption; then, as the learned *Mathematicians* were troubled to observe the irregular motions, the prodigious *magnitude*, and the ominous Prognosticks of that *Meteor*; so the *Commons*, when they see such a *Blazing-Star*, in course so exorbitant in the Affairs of this Common-wealth; cannot but look up upon it, and for want of Perspectives commend the nearer Examination to your *Lordships*, who may behold it at a neerer distance. Such a prodigious *Comet* the *Commons* take this *Duke of Buckingham* to be against whom, and his irregular wayes, there are, by learned Gentlemen. legal *Articles of Charge*, to be delivered to your *Lordships*, which I am, generally, first commanded to lay open.

First, the *Offices* of this Kingdom, that are the eyes, the ears, and the hands of this Common-wealth, these have been engrossed, bought and sold, and many of the greatest of them, holden even in this Dukes own hands, which severally gave in former Ages sufficient content to greatest *Favorites*, and were work enough for the wisest Counsellors: by means whereof, what strange abuses, what infinite neglects have followed? The Seas have been unguarded; Trade disturbed, Merchants oppressed, their ships, and even one of the Royal-Navy, by cunning practice, delivered over into foreign hands; and, contrary to our good Kings intention, imploied to the prejudice (almost to the ruine) of friends of our own Religion.

Next, *Honours*, (those most precious Jewels of the *Crown*) a Treasure inestimable, wherewith your Noble Ancestours (my *Lords*;) were well rewarded, for eminent and publique service in the Common-wealth at home; for brave exploits abroad, when covered all with dust and blood, they sweat in service for the honour of this Crown. What back-wayes, what by-wayes have been by this Duke found out, is too well known to your *Lordships*; whereas anciently it was the honour of *England*, (as among the *Romanes*) the way to the Temple of Honour was through the Temple of *Virtue*. But I am commanded to presse this no further, then to let your *Lordships* know, one instance may (perhaps) be given of some one *Lord* compelled to purchase Honour.

Thirdly, as divers of the Dukes poor kindred have been raised to great Honours, which have been, and are likely to be

Anno

1626.

more chargeable and burthensome to the Crown; so the Lands and Revenues, and the Treasuries of his *Majesty* have been intercepted and exhausted by this Duke and his friends, and strangely mis-employ'd with strange confusion of the Accompts, and overthrow of the well established ancient Orders of his *Majesties* exchequer.

The last of the *Charges* which are prepared, will be an injury offered to the person of the late *King* of blessed memory, who is with God; of which (as your Lordships may have heard heretofore) you shall anon have further information. Now upon this occasion, I am commanded by the Commons to take care of the Honour of the King our Sovereign that lives, (long may he live to our comfort, and the good of the Christian world) and also of his blessed Father, who is dead; on whom, to the grief of the Commons, and their great distaste, the Lord Duke did, they conceive, unworthily cast some ill ordure of his own fowl wayes, Whereas, Servants were anciently wont to bear (as in truth they ought) their *masters* faults, and not cast their own on them undeservedly. It is well known, the King (who is with God) had the same power, and the same wisdom, before he knew this Duke; yea, and the same affections too, through which (as a good and gracious *Master*) he advanced and raised some Stars of your Lordships Firmament, in whose hands this exorbitancy of Will, this transcendency of Power, such placing and dis-placing of Officers, such irregular running into all by-courses of the Planets, such sole and single managing of the great Affairs of State, was never heard of.

And therefore, onely to the Lord Duke, and his procurement, by mis-informations, these faults, complained of by the Commons, are to be imputed.

And for our most gracious Sovereign that lives, whose name hath been used, and may perhaps now be, for the Dukes justification, The *Commons* know well, that among his *Majesties* most royall virtues, his Piety unto his Father, hath made him a pious Nourisher of his Affections ever to this Lord Duke, on whom, out of that consideration, his *Majesty* hath wrought a kinde of wonder, making *Favour* hereditary. But the abuse thereof must be the Lord Dukes own. And if there have been any Commands, such as were or may be pretended, his mis-informations have procured them; whereas the Laws of *England* teach us, that Kings cannot Command ill or unlawful things when ever they speak, though by their Letters-Patents, or their Seals; if the thing be evil, these Letters-Patents are void, and whatsoever ill event succeeds, the Executioners of such Commands must ever answer for them.

Thus

Anno
1626.

Thus, my Lords, in performance of my duty, my weaknesse hath been troublesome unto your Lordships: It is now high time, humbly to intreat your pardon, and give way to a learned Gentleman to begin a more particular charge.

The Prologue ended, Sr. Dudley sat down, and the Impeachment was read, so large, as that for method, we adjoyne it to the Dukes Answer, which came in some dayes after. In which time, the Commons sent a Message to the Lords, how mightily it did misbecome the honor of their House, to permit a man so deeply impeached, to sit in Council with them, whilest Sr. Dudley Diggs and Sr. John Elliot, the Van and the Rear of the Commons were beckened out to speak with two Gentlemen, who proved to be two Messengers of the Kings Chamber, having his Warrant to take them prisoners to the Tower; where they lay, till the Iudges resolved into one Opinion, that thereby (no reason given to the House) their Restraint was an Arrest of the whole Body; and a breach of Priviledge must needs follow: which was so remonstrated to the King, and they therefore released.

But what ground or Presidents had the Judges? a late law of their own making; for it is well observed, That in the Parliament 35. Eliz. Sr. Peter Wentworth and Sr. Henry Bromley by petition to the Upper House to be supplicants with them of the Lower House unto her Majesty, for entailing the succession of the Crown, the Bill being drawn by them. These two were summoned before Sr. Thomas Henage one of the Privy Council, and commanded to forbear the Parliament, and to stand secured to their Lodgings, and after further examination before the Council, were committed; Wentworth to the Tower, Bromley and other Courtiers to the Fleet.

Ob. p. 45

Another instance; Mr. Morice Attorney of the Dutchy of Lancaster, for moving against the justice of the Courts of Ecclesiastical Judges, Subscriptions and Oaths, was taken out of the House (so saith another Authour) and committed to Prison; for whose release, Mr. Wroth, humbly moved the House to be petitioners to her Majesty; But was answered, That the Queen must not accompt for actions of Royal Authority, which may be of high and dangerous consequence; nor can it become them to search into the Prerogative of Sovereigns. These Members were five in all, and might have been Precedents for the King and his five Members (in due place) hereafter.

But this course now, taught the Lords to resent the like indignity to them in the Earl of Arundels case, who lay committed to the Tower as before said, and so they would sit still without motion to any matter, till that he might be re-admitted, which was instantly done.

To ballance with the Dukes Enemies, Three Persons his confederates were made Barons, to compeer in the Lords House, the Lord

Anno
1626.

Hist. p. 45.
Ob. p. 49.

Lord Mandevil, the eldest son to the Earl of Manchester, created by Patent Baron Kimbolton Grandison son to the created Baron Imbercourt, and Sr. Dudley Carlton made Baron Tregate, being newly returned from his Trade of seven years Leiger Ambassadour abroad in Venice and Holland.

But it is said, [*That the Lords found out an Old Order to Counter-checque that designe. That no Creations, sedente Parlamento should have power to vote, but onely to sit, Not to Judge, but to learn to understand during that Session, so that their Suffrages were excluded*] But I am assured of the contrary; for they sate and voted.

Hence it is truly observed, , That in the late Parliament 1640. Seymour, Littleton and Capel were so created, *sedente Parlamento*; and Digby, Rich and Howard of Charlton, called by special Writ, were also admitted their votes; and afterwards the last of the nineteen Propositions to the King at York, for the King to passe a Bill to restrain Peers made hereafter to sit and vote in Parliament, unlesse with consent of both Houses; To which the King absolutely refused.

Hist. p. 45.

But however they were admitted, the Duke was put to his own Innocency, partially stiled [*impudency*] and lodges injustice on the Peers [*whose ill opinion* (he sayes) *deprest him, and* (partial) *affection elevated the other, who received the Attornies charge with undaunted spirit, and returned so home an Answer, as the House was amply satisfied*] of which, take his own so saying, for we hear not a word more, nor other of it, than, that he saies so.

But the Dukes defence came quick to the Lords the eighth of June. Who (he sayes) sequestered him from the House until his cause was determined [*upon which he was much dejected*] when really, of himself he had forbore the House. And therefore this morning had resolved to send it, but was advised to present it himself, which we shall finde to this purpose.

The Commons Impeachment and Declaration against the Duke of Buckingham.

FOR the speedy redresse of the great evils and mischiefs, and of the chief causes of those evils and mischiefs, which this Kingdom of England now grievously suffereth, and of late years hath suffered, and to the Honour and Safety of our Sovereign Lord the KING, and of his Crown and dignities, and

Anno
1626.

and to the good and welfare of his people; the
Commons in this present Parliament, by the authority of our said Sovereign Lord the King assembled, do by this their Bill shew, and declare against GEORGE, Duke, Marquesse, and Earl of Buckingham, Earl of Coventry, Viscount Villers, Baron of Whaddon, great Admirall of the Kingdoms of ENGLAND and Ireland, and of the principallitie of Wales, and of the Dominions and Islands of the same, of the Town of Calais, and of the Marches of the same, and of Normandy, Gascoigne, and Guyen, Generall Governour of the Seas and Ships of the said Kingdoms: Lieutenant Generall, Admirall, Captain Generall and Governour of his Majesties Royall Fleet and Army, lately set forth: Master of the Horses of our Sovereign Lord the King; Lord Warden, Chancellour and Admirall of the Cinque-ports, and of the Members thereof: Constable of Dover Castle, Justice in Eyre of all Forests and Chaces on this side of the River of Trent: Constable of the Castle of Windsor: Lieutenant of Middlesex and Buckingham-shire: Steward and Bailiffe of Westminster: Gentleman of his Majesties Bedchamber, and one of his Majesties honourable Privie Councel in his Realms both of England, Scotland and Ireland, and Knight of the most noble order of the Garter.

The Misdemeanors, Misprisions, Offences, Crimes, and other matters comprised in the Articles following: And him the said Duke do accuse, and impeach of the the said Misdemeanors, Misprisions, Offences and Crimes,

ARTIC. I.

Anno
1626.

His ingroff-
sing great Of-
fices.

ARTIC. I.

THat he the said Duke, being young, and unexperienced, hath of late years with exorbitant ambition; and for his own advantage, procured and engrossed into his own hands, severall great Offices, both to the danger of the State, and prejudice of that Service which should have been performed in them; and to the discouragement of others, who are thereby precluded from such hopes as their virtues, abilities, and publique employments might otherwise have obtained.

II.

By buying the
place of Ad-
miralty.

That in the 16. year of the Reign of the late King, he did give and pay to the then *Earl of Nottingham*, for the Office of Great Admiral of *England*, and *Ireland*, and of the principality of *Wales*, and Generall Governour of the Seas, and Ships of the said Kingdomes, and for the surrender of the said Offices, to the intent, the said Duke might obtain them to his own use, the summe of 3000*l.* and did also procure for the said Surrender from the late King, an Annuity of 1000*l.* per annum, payable to the said Earl, for which considerations, the said Earl surrendered the said Office, with his Letters Patents, unto the late King, who granted them

The Duke's I. Reply.

THat his late Majesty did of his own Royal Motion bestow them upon him, and he hopeth, and conceiveth, he may without blame receive, what his bountifull Master conferred upon him, if the Common-wealth doth not suffer thereby. Nor is it without precedents, that men eminent in the esteem of their Sovereign, have held as great and many Offices as himself. But if it shall be proved, that he falsely, or corruptly hath executed those Offices, he is, and will be ready to resign them with his life and fortunes to his Majesties dispose.

Reply 2.

That the *Earl of Nottingham*, then *Lord Admiral*, being grown much in years, and finding himself not so fit nor able to perform what appertained to his place, as formerly, became an earnest sutor to his late Majesty, to permit him to surrender up his Office; who, at length, being overcome by the Earls many solicitations, condescended thereunto; and his late Majesty, at the entreaty of others, without the Dukes privity, was also perswaded to confer it upon the Duke, much against his will, he being no way experienced in those Affairs; so that the Earl did freely surrender, and the Duke accept the grant of the said Office without any the least contract or proviso. But true it is, that his late

to the said Duke for his life; which is an Offence, contrary to the Laws and Statutes of this Realm, those Offices so highly concerning the Administration, and execution of Justice.

late Majesty, out of his Royall Bounty, did grant to the said Earl a Pension of 1000 l. per annum, as a Recompence for his former service to the Crown, and also the Duke himself did freely and voluntarily, with his late Majesties approbation, as an Argument of his honorable respects, to so Noble a Predecessor, send the Earl three thousand pounds, which he hopeth is not blame worthy in him.

III.

Reply 3.

That he the said Duke, in the 22. year of the late King, did give and pay unto Edward Lord Zouch, for the Offices of the Lord Warden of the Cinque-Ports, and Constable of Dover Castle, the sum of one thousand pounds; and granted also an Annuity of 500 l. per annum, during his life; and that for the consideration aforesaid, the said L. Zouch did surrender his Offices, and Letters Patents, to the late King; who granted them to the said Duke for his life: which Offices (so highly concerning the Administration of Justice) the Duke hath ever since held against the Laws of the Land.

That the Lord Zouch being grown in years, and unfit to manage the Office of the Warden of the Cinque-Ports, and Constable of Dover Castle; which are indeed, both but one, discovered a willingness to surrender it, and made severall Offers thereof to the Duke of Richmond; who at last, contracted with the said Lord Zouch, for his surrender, for the consideration of 1000 l. in money, and 500. l. per annum; and the said Duke of Richmond being prevented by death, his late Majesty directed the Duke of Buckingham, to go through with the Lord Zouch for it, upon the same terms, which he was the willinger to do, by reason he had found by experience, that the Kings service suffered much through the emulation, disaffection, and contention, arising between those two Officers; and he hopeth this act of his, in acquiring this Office, accompanied with such circumstances, the King also being both privy, and directing it, will receive a favorable

And Lord
Warden of
the Cinque
Ports.

Anno
1626.

Not guarding
the Seas.

IV.

That he hath neglected the just execution of those his offices, and violated the Trust reposed in, and committed to him by them; insomuch, as through his neglect, the trade of this Kingdome hath been of late much decayed, and the Seas ignominiously infested with Pirates and Enemies; to the great loss of both ships and Goods, and imminent danger of this Kingdom.

V.

Stay of the
St. Peter of
New-haven.

That, whereas about Michaelmas last, a Ship called the St. Peter of New-haven, laden with divers Merchants Jewels and Commodities, to the value of 40000 l. or thereabout, for the proper account of Monsieur de Villeurs, then Governour of New-Haven, was taken by the Ships of his Majesties late Fleet, and brought into the Port of Plymouth, as a Prize, upon probability that the said Ship or Goods belonged to the Subjects of the King of Spain; whereupon there was an arrest of two English ships at

construction; especially considering, he was altogether unacquainted with any law to the contrary.

Reply 4.

That the loss happening to the Kings Subjects by Pirats and Enemies, hath not proceeded through the Dukes default, as is suggested; but because those Pirats ships are built of a mould as fit for flight as for fight; being far too nimble for the Kings Ships. To prevent which inconvenience, for the time to come, there is present order taken for the building of Ships of the same shape with those of Dunkirk; and for the Pirats of Sally, that provision is taken either to restrain by Treaty, or to repress them by force, as will give good satisfaction; and this will clearly appear upon proof.

Reply 5.

That Complaint being made on the behalf of some French men at the Countel Table, concerning the Saint Peter, and some other ships; His Majesty then present did order that she and all other should be released, as were found to belong to any Prince or State in amity with him, provided, they were not fraudulently coloured. And accordingly, this ship was by Sentence in the Admiralty discharged. But within few daies after, new information came to the Lord Admiral, that this ship was laden by the Subjects of the King of Spain in Spain, that the Amiranthesio wasted her beyond the

Anno
1626.

New-haven in the Kingdome of France: after which, intimation was given to the Advocate in the chief Court of Admiralty, from his Majesty, by Secretary Coke, for the freeing and discharge of the said ship, and goods; and thereupon, by Commission under Seal, the said Ship and goods were released. The said Duke notwithstanding any such order, and decree, detained still to his own use, the Gold, Silver, Pearls, Jewels, and other Commodities, so taken out of the said Ship, and unjustly caused the said Ship to be arrested again, in contempt of the Laws of this Land, and to the prejudice of Trade.

the North Cape, and that Witnesses were ready to attest as much: upon which, the Duke acquainted his Majesty therewith and by his command, made stay of this ship, as he was assured (by the opinion of the King, and five other Advocates) he might do, and command was given to the Kings Advocate, to hasten the examination of Witnesses, in pursuance of the new information. But the French Merchants, impatient of delays; which the producing many witnesses would occasion, complained again to the Council-board, and obtained an Order from thence, for the delivery of the said Ship and goods, upon security; which Security was once offered, but after retracted; yet upon consideration of the testimonies produced, the Kings Advocate informing the Duke, that the proof came short for that Ship, the D. did instantly give order for her final discharge, and that all her goods should be re-imbarked to the Owners; which was done accordingly

V I.

Reply 6.

That the East-India Merchants, in the 21. of the late Kings Reign, preparing to set forth four great Ships richly laden in their usual course of Trade, the Duke moved the Lords then assembled in Parliament, to know whether he should make stay of those Ships for the Service of the State: which motion, being approved by the Lords, the Duke accordingly did stay

That the motion in Parliament, about the stay of the East-India ships, was onely upon apprehension, that they might be serviceable for the defence of the Realm. That the Action entred in the Court of Admiralty, against the East-India Company, was not after (as is suggested) but divers moneths before that motion in Parliament; yea, before the Parliament began. That the composition (mentioned in this

And of the
East India
Fleet.

Anno
1626.

those ships; and after procured a joynt Action to be entered in the Court of Admiralty in the name of the late King, and himself, as Lord Admirall, against 15000 *lib.* pretended to be Pyratically taken by some Captains of the said Merchants ships, and in the hands of the said Captains: and accordingly, an Attachment was served upon the said Merchants. Whereupon the said Merchants being urged to bring in the 15000 *lib.* or to go to Prison, made new suit to the Duke, for the release of their ships, who pretending that the Parliament must be moved therein, the Merchants much perplexed; and considering that they should lose much by unlading their ships, and the losse of their voyage; resolved to tender to the said Duke ten thousand pounds; for his unjust demand, who by colour of his Office extorted and exacted from them the said ten thousand pounds; and upon receipt thereof, and not before, released the said ships.

VII.

That the Duke, being great Admirall of England, did by colour of the said Office, procure one of the principall ships of the Navy-Royal, called the *Vant-guard*, and six other Merchants ships of great burthen, to be conveyed over with all their Ordnance, Am-

Article) was not moved by the Duke, but made by the late King, and that the Company, without any menaces, or compulsion, agreed to the Composition, as willing to give so much, rather then to abide the hazzard of the suit. That of the said sum, all but two hundred pounds, was imployed by his late Majesties Officers for the benefit of the Navie. And lastly, that those ships, were not discharged upon payment of the said sum of ten thousand pounds, but upon an accommodation allowed, that they should prepare other ships for his Majesties service, whilest they went on their Voyage; which accordingly they did.

Reply: 7.

That those Ships were lent to the French King without his privy; that when he knew thereof, he did what appertained to his Office. That he did not by menace, nor any undue practice by himself, or any other, deliver those ships into the hands of the French: that what error

Lending the
Vant guard to
the French.

hath

munition, and apparel, into the Kingdom of *France*; and did compell the said Masters and Owners of the said ships, to deliver the said ships into the possession and command of the *French King*, and his Ministers, without either sufficient security for their redelivery, or necessary caution in that behalf; contrary to the duty of his Office, and to the apparent weakening of the Navall strength of this Kingdom.

hath since happened, was not in the intention any way injurious to the State, nor prejudicial to the interest of any private man.

VIII.

Reply 8.

That the Duke knowing the said ships were intended to be employed against the *Rochellers*, and the *Protestants* else-where, did compell them as aforesaid, to be delivered unto the said *French King*, and his Ministers; to the end, that they might be employed against those of the Reformed Religion, as accordingly they were; to the prejudice of the said Religion, contrary to the intencion of our Sovereigne Lord the King, and to his former promise at *Oxford*; and to the great scandal of our Nation.

That understanding a discovery that those ships should be employed against Rochel, he endeavoured to divert the course of such employment: and whereas it is alledged, that he promised at Oxford, that those ships should not be so employed, he under favour saith, he was mis-understood, for he onely said, that the event would shew it, being confident in the promises of the French King, and that he would have really performed what was agreed upon.

To be employed against Rochel.

IX.

Reply 9.

That he hath enforced some who were rich (though unwilling) to purchase honours; as the Lord *Roberts*, Baron of *Truro*, who was by menaces wrought to pay the summe of Ten thousand pounds to the said Duke, and to his use, for his said Barony.

He denyeth any such compulsion of the Lord Roberts to buy his honour, and that he can prove that as the said Lord did then obtain it by the solicitations of others, so was he willing formerly to have given a great sum for it.

Selling of honour.

Anno
1626.

And Offices.

X.

Reply 10.

That in the 18. year of the late King, he did procure of the late King, the Office of High Treasurer of England, to the Viscount Mandevil, now Earl of Manchester, for which Office he received of the said Viscount, to his own use, the sum of 20000*l.* of money; and also did procure in the 20. year of the late King, the Office of Master of the Wards and Liveries for Sir Lionel Cranfield, afterward Earl of Middlesex, and as a reward for the said procurement, he had to his own use, of the said Sir Lionel Cranfield, the sum of 6000*l.* contrary to the dignity of his late Majesty.

That he had not, nor did receive any penny of the said sums to his own use, that the Lord Mandevil was made Lord Treasurer by his late Majesty without any Contract for it; and though his Majesty did after borrow of the said Lord 20000. pounds, yet was it upon proviso of repayment, for which the Duke at first past his word, and after entred him security, by Land, which stood ingaged, untill his late Majesty, during the Dukes being in Spain, gave the Lord satisfaction by Land in Fee-farm of a considerable value, whereupon the Dukes security was returned back. And that the 6000*l.* disbursed by the Earl of Middlesex, was bestowed upon Sir Henry Mildmay by his late Majesty (without the Dukes privacy) who had and enjoyed it all entire.

XI.

Reply 11.

Procuring hon-
ours for his
Kindred.

That he hath procured divers Honours for his kindred and Allies, to the prejudice of the antient Nobility, and disabling the Crown from rewarding extraordinary virtues in future times.

That he believeth he were rather worthily to be condemned in the opinion of all generous minds, if being in such favour with his Majesty, he had minded only his own advancement, and had neglected those whom the Law of Nature had obliged him to hold most dear.

XII.

Reply 12.

That he procured and obtained of the late King divers Mannors, parcels of the Reve-

That he doth humbly, and with all thankfulness, acknowledge his late Majesties bountifull hand

nues of the Crown, to an exceeding great value, and hath received, and (to his own use) disbursed great sums of money, that did properly belong unto the late King: and the better to colour his doings, hath obtained severall privie Seals from his late Majesty, and his Majesty that now is, warranting the payment of great sums of money by him, as if such summes were directed for secret service of the State, when as they were disposed of to his own use; and hath gotten into his hands great sums, which were intended by the late King, for the furnishing and victualling of the Navy-Royall, to the exceeding diminution of the revenues of the Crown, to the deceiving and abusing of his late, and now Majesty, and detriment of the whole Kingdom.

hand to him, and shall be ready to render back into the hands of his now Majesty whatsoever he hath received, together with his life, to do him service: But for the value suggested in the charge he saith there is a great mistake in the calculation, as he shall make evident in a Schedule annexed, to which he referreth himself. Nor did he obtain the same by any undue solicitation or practice, nor yet a Release for any sums so received. But having severall times, and upon severall occasions, disposed divers sums of his late, and now Majesty, by their private directions, he hath Releases thereof for his discharge, which was honourable in them to grant, and not unfit for him to desire and accept, for his future indemnity.

XIII.

Reply 13.

Lastly, That he being a sworn servant of the late King, did cause and provide certain Plaisters and Potions for his late Majesty, in his last sickness, without the privity of his Majesties Physicians; and that although those Plaisters and Potions, formerly applied, produced such ill effects, as many of his sworn Physicians did disallow, as prejudiciall to his Majesties health; yet neverthelesse did the Duke apply them again to his Majesty; Whereupon

That his late Majesty being sick of an Ague, a disease out of which the Duke recovered not long before, asked the Duke what he found most advantagious to his health; the Duke replied, a Plaister and Posset-drink, administered to him by the Earl of Warwick's Physician; whereupon the King much desired the Plaister and Posset-drink to be sent for. And the Duke delaying it, he commanded a servant of the Dukes to go for it, against the Dearnest request, he humbly craving his Majesty not to make use of

His applying
Phylick to K.
James.

Anno
1626.

great distempers, and dangerous symptomes appeared in him, which the Physicians imputed to those administrations of the Duke, whereof his late Majesty also complained : which was an offence and misdemeanour of so high a nature, as may be called an act of transcendent presumption. And the said Commons by Protestation, saving to themselves the liberties of exhibiting hereafter any other accusation or impeachment against the Duke, and also of replying unto what the Duke shall answer unto the said Article, do pray that the said Duke may be put to answer all and every the premises, and that such Proceedings, Examinations, Tryals, and Judgements, may be upon every of them had, as is agreeable to Law and Justice.

of it, without the advice of his own Physicians, and experiment upon others; which the King said he would do, and in confidence thereof, the Duke left him, and went to London. And in the mean time, he being absent, the said Plaister and Posset drink were brought; and at the Dukes return, his Majesty commanded the Duke to give him the Posset-drink; which he did, the Physicians, then present, not seeming to mislike it. Afterward the Kings health declining, and the Duke hearing a rumour, as if his Physick had done his Majesty hurt, and that he had administered Physick, without advice; the Duke acquainted the King therewith, who in much discontent replied, They are worse then Devils that say so.

This being the plain, clear, and evident truth of all those things which are contained in that Charge, He humbly referreth it to the judgements of your Lordships, how full of danger and prejudice it is, to give too ready an ear, and too easie a belief unto a Report or Testimony, without Oath, which are not of weight enough to condemn any,

Also, he humbly acknowledgeth, how easie it was for him in his young years, and unexperienced; to fall into thousands of errors in those ten years, wherein he had the honour to serve so great, and so open-hearted a Sovereign Master.

But the fear of Almighty God, his sincerity in the true Religion established in the Church of England, (though accompanied with many weakneses and imperfections, which he is not ashamed humbly and heartily to confesse) his awfulnessse not willing to offend so good and gracious a Master, and his love and duty to his Countrey, have restrained and preserved him (he hopeth) from running into any hainous misdemeanours and crimes.

But

But whatsoever upon examination and mature deliberation, they shall appear to be, least in any thing unwittingly, within the compasse of so many years, he shall have offended;

Anno

1626.

He humbly prayeth your Lordships, not onely in those, but to all the said misdemeanours, misprisions, offences, and crimes wherewith he standeth charged before your Lordships, to allow unto him the benefit of the free and general Pardon, granted by his late Majesty in Parliament, in the one and twentieth year of his Reign, out of which he is not excepted. And also, of the gracious Pardon of his now Majesty to the said Duke; and vouchsafed, in like manner, to all his Subjects, at the time of his most happy Inauguration and Coronation; which said Pardon, under the Great Seal of England, and granted to the said Duke, beareth date the tenth day of February now last past, and so here shewed forth unto your Lordships, on which he doth humbly relie.

And yet he hopeth, that your Lordships in your Justice and Honour (upon which confidence he putteth himself) will acquite him of, and from those misdemeanours, offences, misprisions, and crimes wherewith he hath been charged.

And he hopeth, and will daily pray, that, for the future, he shall by Gods grace so watch all his actions, both publick and private, that he shall not give any just offence to any.

Anno
1626.

Hist. p. 53.

Parliament
dissolved.

E. of Bristow
Committed
to the Tower.

Hist. p. 54.

However that, that an Authour hath descanted on this *defence*, It doth really appear prudential, modest and humble, and no doubt a *Reply* might be intended: In the interim the Kings affaires requiring a quicker supply for the publique, than these lingring proceedings could admit, he demands the speedy producing their *Bill* of Subsidy to be passed; to which they were forced suddenly to conform, not unlikely to prevent their present dissolution, which (otherwise) they suspected; And resolving to make work, they were hammering a tedious *Declaration* of *Grievances*, which was allowed by the *House*, before the *Bill* of *Subsidy*. Whereupon with huge indignation, the King, the very next day, *June* 15. dissolves them, with this positive answer to some Lords, that were sent to intercede for longer sitting; *not a minute*.

And the same day *Bristow* was committed to the Tower, and *Arundell* confined to his House, with a *Proclamation* for burning all Copies of the *Commons Declaration*, which was supposed to be framed before their dissolution.

Wee have been Ingenuous and clear in the particulars of *Buckingham* and *Bristow*; in which the Historian may be suspected partially affected with his distinctions, though he seems in his Paragraph of reference to his former Story, to vindicate the King and *Buckingham*; as if he meant to forestall the Readers judgement with his own opinion; such presumption not consisting with the duty of a just Relator. And he will seem to intimate that [*by this sudden Rupture of the Parliament the Duke scap'd a scouring.*]

And because *Bristow* may be thought to have hard measure, now imprisoned at the Kings mercy, where he lodged under the Notion of a high *Delinquent* to the King and State, for his former mis-actions in *Spain*: but time wrought upon his discretion, and by his private means and submission, he was afterwards reprimed to his Countrey House *Sherbourn*, and after, taken into favour, and became a faithfull servant to his Master, But to cleer this story, the passages are heretofore sufficiently laid open in the History of King *James*, (their proper place) where both in *Germany* and *Spain*, He and others acted so much in the Match, to which I refer the Reader. We shall onely conclude, That he was no sooner returned home, but brought under strict Examination of twenty *Interrogatories*, full and home, to which he gave Answer in writing to King *James* long and tedious, in twenty sheets of paper; And by that *Narration*, the several Treaties of the whole Match from first to last, are amply opened, and may hereafter see light by it self.

By

By which, it is apparent, that when able and prudent men, come to act their own parts, they are then (mostly) not of the clearest sight, and commonly commit such errors as are both discernable, and avoidable, even by men of mean abilities.

And it was thereupon considered, whether the tending him any further *Charge*, unto which he might be able to frame a probable satisfactory *Answer*, would not then, rather serve to declare his Innocency, than to prepare his Condemnation, and so instead of pressure upon him, reflect back with disadvantage, upon the proceedings against him, which were intended by *Star Chamber*.

Whether it were not better, to desist from further questioning him without blemish to the Princes honour, or prejudice to the service?

And though *Bristol*, in sundry places of that his intended *Answer*, seems diversly to violate the Rule of the provident Mariner, who in foul weather and storm, to prevent Shipwrack, rather puts down, than sets up his sails, Yet it was considered, either to have him quick and roundly put to it, or to proceed slowly and moderately, permitting him for a time to remain where he was reprieved to his own house, laid aside and in the way to be forgotten; a state of being, no doubt (by his complexion) and so apprehended by himself, equivalent to the severest and sharpest censure, that could be possibly afflicted on him. And in this condition he found means from the *Parliament* to set upon the *Duke*, to prevent the Kings design; who first by his *Attorney* accused *Bristol* of Treason.

And thus much of their quarrel, which ended with this *Parliament*.

And happy it was for *Bristol* to end so; for though it is supposed [That he had the better head-piece, and the other, only the better back] Certainly the *Dukes* head was too hard for him, and his brains more quick and nimble. Besides other advantages, for *Bristol's* own Creatures, stole his papers into copies from time to time, which were communicated to the *Duke*; who, had he lived, would have undone the Earl.

Lewis of *France* some years since having a designe against *Italy*, and the *Valtoline*, and upon that score, obtained of King *James* the loan of a gallant ship of his Navy-Royal the *Vanguard*; and the Merchants consent for six of their own ships to joyn with that; But in the *Interim*, before they was fitted for that purpose, *K. James* dies: He dead, and *Lewis* finding the cause of the *Hugonots* too strong and violent to be mitigated by Treaty, and the (*Card. Duke Richlieu*) intent to bring them under by success of former designs, plotted his main force against those of *Rochel* a strong maritain city in *France* for-

England and
France at dif-
ference.

Anno
1626.

countenanced into a firm revolt by the practice of Count *Subize*, upon Sundry Overtures heretofore, and now waxed formidable and fit for subjection. But this violent resolution had been palliated by Embassies of King *James*, and very lately by two more of King *Charles*, the Earl of *Holland*, and Sir *Dudley Carlton*, his Assistant, in Commission; who pacified that high difference, upon which the power and design of the *Hugonotes* depended. And gave a real resolution for *Lewes* to advance greater forces against the *Valtoline*, then very hotly pursued by advantage of Confederation with *England* in enmity against *Spain* also, and gave the suddain occasion to hasten those former ships lent to the *French* in that design; and Sir *John Pennington*, a Gallant Sea Commander, intrusted Admiral over them.

Subize an Out-lodger in Revolt, had gotten together a scattered number of small Ships, which unawares surprized the Isle of *Rhe*, and some Ships in that Harbour, even at the instant when the *French Army* was ready to March into the *Valtoline*; But the Duke of *Vendosm* not far off with Forces of the *French King* got thither some Troops, and prevented of the seizure of the Fort *Lewes* near *Rochel*: And now not trusting to any Overtures, evermore counterfeited from that City, for the time only to palliate their Rebellion. All possible speed was resolved upon to bring them under by power, and to turn the present Design for *Italy* upon *Rochel*. And first *Lewes* finds means to him, shipping of the *Dutch*, pretended for the *Valtoline*, demanding of *Pennington* now in the *French Port*, The delivery of those Ships agreeable to former promise, which he utterly refused. But was ready to receive a Commander in Chief, and a competent number of Land Men not exceeding the English, and so to be employed in the *French Kings* service. Nor could he be courted from this, into any other conditions of yielding up his Masters Ships, though he did at last, which was urged against the Duke of *Buckingham* as a great crime by his permission.

But the passages, we discover from *Penningtons* own Letters to the Duke from *Stokes-Bay*, and afterwards at *Diep*, in answer to Letters, sent Express to him, by his own Secretary *Nicholas*, peremptorily to deliver these six Ships to the hands of the *French Kings* Command, and according to his Masters pleasure, signified by Secretary *Conway*, and to take security of the *French* for their valuation dated 21. July 1625. And at that time a Letter from the *French King* to receive his Cousin the Duke of *Monmorancy* and his Soldiers aboard; to join with his great Fleet against his rebellious subjects; and to have possession that night.

Pennington offered to accept of all particulars, but not to quit his Ships, and dispossess himself of their Command.

Tis true, that *Nicholas* had order for *Pennington* to relinquish his Command and Ships, absolute to the *French*, which verbal War-

rant not being sufficient for a discreet Captain to obey, he acquainted the Duke, by a speedy Shallop; and had second order *not to depart with this charge*. Upon this, and the threats of the French, the Mariners in a conjured *Mutiny* weyed *Anchor*, hoised sail, and came safe to the Downs, 27. July 1625. where he had positive order to *consigne up his own and the six Merchants ships to the service of his brother the French King*, which was obeyed. These Ships and twenty more of the Dutch, (whose Commander was *Halstein*) with the French Navy was conducted by *Mamerancie*, faced *Subize* from his fastnesse, repriseth many of the *Lewis* ships which he had seized, and chaseth him to the Isle *Oleron* upon the French Coast.

King Charles had some reason to resent this misemploying of his Ships, to other use then against *Spain*: being presumed by the humble complaint and pressure of those Commissioners residing here for aid to the *Hugonotes* in general, and now enforced this particular of *Rochellers*. And *Lewis* returned this Answer: That he had no Enemies then but the *Spainard*, and his intent no other, witness the like contract with the *Dutch* Ships; but his rebellious subjects the *Rochellers* starting this necessity upon him, he was enforced to suppress the dangerous consequence with the advantage of those ships, against *Rebellion*, which he conceives, and he hopeth all *Christian* Princes conclude, such subjects the greatest Enemies to all Sovereignty. And indeed until some time of treaty had returned this Answer, the *English* had seized a rich Ship of *New-haven*, three hundred thousand pounds, which concluded a finall end of this difference, with the reinlarging to the *French* those ships and goods, and the return of the *English* seven ships, with reall satisfaction for their hire in May 1626. and this is the true story of that difference which needs no State-syllogism to unravel, nor so much dilation as an Author consumes time and arguments to discusse.

About two moneths after King Charles wisely considering these prime overtures of discontent, likely enough to occasion future differences, from the insolencies frequent here with the *French* tumultuary at Court, the remain of the *Queries* train, and others also flocking hither dependants upon welcom guests: He resolved upon this prudentiall Maxim, in due time to rid the Court from the danger of those Malignants, which usually infect all Courts suddenly after affinities of Mariage.

And truly it branched into sundry particulars long before the King was willing to apply any corrosive to the Recovery.

For first, the *Queens Priests*, and other *Papists* domesticques, being articulated upon Mariage, which be competent in Numbers and conditions for her Princely convenience, stood highly charged for imposing upon her Person publique and superstitious Novice duties

Anno
1626.

Hist. p. 56.

The French
Insolent here
at Court.

Anno
1626.

ties of Obedience, to their piaculary Injunctions, and not to insist upon such as were accustomed in private obedience, but it was enforced publicly, *to trace on foot from Somerset-house to St. Jameses, not unordinary amongst the Devotresses of Rome beyond the Seas; But more, She must progresse her Ambulations so far as Tyburn Gallows, to offer up her prayers for the souls of Jesuit Martyrs formerly trussed up there, for Treason.*

Another occasion of distemper proceeded from the *Queens* Bishop of *Mende*, whom she had named one of her Trustees in the place of *Steward*, for those Lands intended to be settled for her *Dower*, and *Mounfier de Fiat* Chamberlain of her Household, to be her *Treasurer*. Of these, and others the like, she was convinced, That for her good, it was more expedient, to intrust *English* Protestants; for being to be confirmed by *Parliament*, it could not settle on strangers, especially *Papists*, without her eminent prejudice.

And indeed, some of her *French* women, in confidence of over much familiaritie and boldnesse, insinuated by their neernesse and trust about her Person; had confirmed a disorderly impudency to perk up in place before the *English* Ladies of eminent ranke, who in grace and honour to her Majesty, gave her the more, to increase repute and value to themselves, in a distant degree of Observance. This the *French* liked not, and therefore endeavoured a neerer parity, and thereby jostled into the Coach with both their Majesties.

And this in truth was *Madam Saint-George*, and though of ordinary Extraction in *France*, yet for that Impudency being but put by, she plotted malicious revenge, pondering all possible means from thence, to raise suspicion in the young *Queen* of the the Kings disaffection to her, and over much favour to the *English* Ladies.

For these, and other Politique reasons, *Sr. Dudley Carlton* was sent Ambassadour to the *French* King, to redresse some dregs of former differences of State: And withall to complain of those distempers in Court, dangerously introducing a rupture between his Majesty and his great affection to his beloved Consort the *Queen*, whose tender yeers might too hastily relish such strong temptations. And therefore desired his Brotherly power and authority with his Sister, by Message or Letters, to interpose his directions to Her, and his Command to the others, to mend their evil manners, or to return home.

Carlton gone upon this errand, and missing the *French* King at *Paris*, progressed a tedious Journey after that Court to *Nantes* in *Bohemia*, and the necessity of these daily encounters at home necessarily not admitting long delay: The *Queens* Chamberlain *Monfieur Tylliers* suspecting some harsh event of this Embassie, without leave

*Sr. Dud'y
Carlton sent
to complain.*

leave of any, steals after *Carlton* to make him in his Remonstrance. And at the heels of him King *Charles* speeds an Emiffary to avoyd them both, and to post before them to the *French* King, with fresh complaints of the former and latter Crimes, with the Insolencie of *Tylliers*, now in office and duty subservient to their Majesties here, and yet to depart with warrant; And which inforced the King in prudence to resolve with all speed to acquit himself of the burthen of the rest of the *French* and to send them all within two dayes after.

And to act this, the King comes to *Somerset-House*, where the *French* were Ordered to repair. To whom He sayes.

Gentlemen and Ladies,

I am driven to that necessity, as that I am personally come to acquaint you, that I very earnestly desire your return into France. True it is, the deportment of some amongst you hath been very inoffensive to me: but others again have so dallied with my patience, and so highly affronted me, as I cannot, I will not longer indure it.

And when some, most guilty, offered their defence; if meant of them, to give answer; but the King replied, *I name none*, and so parted; and they commanded speedily to return to *France*.

But the Kings Messenger gets thither, and no sooner delivers his letters to the King, but was opposed by others from *Tylliers* who was lodged by the way in a desperate Feavour, His complaints bold and high as his disease, with the speedy posting news of the *French* their turning home, which for the present made a great rupture at Court, and much danger to the Messengers person being assaulted at his lodging, and forced to his refuge. Upon which, *Carlton* coming after did not expose himself to hazard, untill by publique Proclamations and Placands upon each post, His person and all other *English* there had Protection upon pain of death; and he received with all due respects and satisfaction mutual in each particular, answerable to his arrand, in which story the *Historian* is mistaken.

Indeed there was some time required to the necessity of the then imbroyled actions of the civil affairs of the *French* Court, for Count *Shally*, *Guard de Robe* having a handsom Wife somewhat wanton, and upon distast of the Kings drollery, who spared not to tell him so, he resolved to impoison his apparel, with the connivance of other discontented Courtiers against the Cardinal *Rich-lieu*: The Count upon summons before the Privy Council without more ado, was condemned and forthwith beheaded at *Nantes*; the

Duke

Anno
1626.

Merc. Fr. &
Du Chesne.

Hist. p. 61.

Ill news a-
broad.

Our fleet
comes home.

Hist. p. 63.

Duke Momerancie then under restraint suffered some time after; And Madam Chevereux as deep in the plot, had hopt headlesse then, had not the former Messenger from *England* (part of his arrand) advised her over night to fly from the danger, which she did, to the Duke of *Lorain* in much haste, which may excuse her neglect, not giving him thanks then, nor ever after.

And in answer to what is reported by the *French* [that they were cashiered without their wages] they received all their due, with large rewards, which amounted unto twenty two thousand and eight hundred pounds Sterling, and more remained, but the pestiferous brood, Madam Nurce and her daughters, whom the wicked parents bred up afterwards in all the tricks of insolent mischief.

To appease these distempers the *Marshal Ballampier* came over Extraordinary, and boldly demanded the *Restitution* and *Return* of the *Queens Domestiques*, but it took not effect, for at his being here, our Wine-Merchants ships were arrested at *Blay Castle* upon the *Gerond* returning down the River from *Burdeaux Town*, in *November*, by Order of the *Parliament* of *Rouen* upon very slender pretence. And as to this and that before, we may conclude that the *French* brake *League* with us first, without the *Nice* distinction [rather he brake his word then his Faith.]

And even now comes newes of the *Emperours* successe against the King of *Denmark*, with whom affinity of kindred and reason of State had kept a strict and narrow correspondence, with the late ayd from *England* of 6000 men under conduct of *Sr. Ch. Morgan* who on the seventeenth of *August* received a totall overthrow by *Count Tilly*, and in fear of utter ruine; The *Sound* like to be lost, the *English* Garrison at *Stoade* straightly besieged, and their trade and staple of Cloth at *Hamburgh* destroyed. In these we are now concerned, though abroad, and as desperate at home, the evil successe of our late fleet of thirty sail, Men of Warre in the beginning of *October* last, under command of the Lord *Willoughby* and the Earl of *Denbigh* were so scattered with an hideous storm, as with much difficulty they got to Harbour, being not far from shore, which hastened them home, and returned *Denbigh* to Court ere he was expected. In whose short time of absence the young *Marquesse Hamilton* espoused to *Denbighs* daughter, [took a resolution when he wed her, never to Bed her, upon which, he was divested of his place in the *spicery* worth 2500 per annum, and the *Marquesse* malcontent a week before *Denbies* return, departed for *Scotland*, bidding the Court eternall valediction, &c.] This story is mistaken throughout; for in the life time of the old *Marquesse* the young Couple were contracted, and often Bedded, in a wanton way of consummating the *Nuptials*; and *Hamilton* now grown man, alwayes under tutelage of the King, and filiall dependance upon his father in law, whose wife was sister to the Duke
of

of no such mean *Extraction* to be accounted *impar Congressus*, and no fit match; He indeed, had a minde to visit *Scotland*, for settling his estate there, taking this convenient opportunity of *Denbighs* absence; and with leave without any regret or cause at all.

After whom, *Denbigh* hastens to invite him back to Court, untill some short time might prepare them both to journey thither together; which for some conveniences, was deferred, and about two years after the proper time, for compleating the Marriage, his Fathers former office in the Spicery, was now exchanged for the *Mastership* of the Horse; a very considerable difference in value, for the better: and thus this *Tale* takes end.

The King in want of monies to forward his designs and now not to sit down with his mishaps, found himself under this *Dilemma*, either to oppose his Enemies abroad, or in short time, to endanger a storm upon him at home, for the miserable condition of the *Rochellers* strongly beleagured by their King, under conduct of the Duke of *Guise*, necessarily required more speedy relief, then the sudden summoning of a *Parliament*, and their tedious course of proceeding would admit, with the Religious consideration (if not Policy) of dangerous consequence, if not ruine, to that strong forresse of the *Hugonotes* the main defence of them Reformed, and so nearly concerning our *Profession*; though for the Persons and Faction of that *Town*, King *James* not willing to undertake their Patronage (so often solicited) whose disposition was, not to continue loyal, when they had power to revolt.

And indeed, since overtures made made to raise present monies by *Benevolence*, or by *Enhancing* Gold (*Coin* he calls it) two shillings in twenty; But concluded upon *Loan*, which he calls [*illegal Tax*] and is justly blamed for that false title; For in truth He summes it [*almost two hundred thousand pounds*] Which had it been referred to the hazzard of *perhaps*, the total might have come short of any certain dependance. But therefore the Commissions of the thirteenth of *October* instructed the officers not to go a begging for a Common-Boon, but to *require* it of duty, seeing those Subsidies of the Subjects, which the last *Parliament* had granted by *Bill*, though not passed it into an Act before their dissolution, and was in kinde of the Sovereign raised by way of *Loan*, untill the next *Parliament* should enable him to make payment, or confirm this way of Levy by their subsequent Act; And yet this way, had it been in Bias to liberty so much disputed, he was to be excused, the necessity of his foreign Ingagements requiring, which were put upon him as an Instrument, by the *House of Commons* to break into wars, which was now wilfully deserted, notwithstanding his former *Item* to the *Parliament*, not to be betrayed therein.

Loan monies.

Hist. p. 69.
Hist. p. 64
Ob. p. 41.

Anno
1626.

These proceedings brought with them miserable effects to the King, not answering his expectation, and enforcing desperate wayes and means to bring up the Refractory *Lords* and *Gentry* Prisoners to the *Council-Table*, who were encouraged by others to undergo any pressures, that might blazon the semblance of hardship, or Invasion upon the Subjects Liberties; which the very *Papists*, (in this the better *Partners*) seemed more really to resent; and offered in lieu of some favour to them in the penal Lawes (not *Toleration*) to contribute very largely to the safeguard of the *Narrow Seas*; which put the State into present condition rather to collect their Arrears of *Thirds*, due to the King by Law.

It appeared not for private gain, but extream necessity of State which involved all, and therefore with possible endeavours the *Naval Forces* were to be compleated for the *summer*.

Proposition for
a more Tolera-
tion of Papists
in Ireland.
Hist. pag. 65.

But let us passe over to *Ireland* to see what they do there: It was *Michaelmas* Term in *Ireland*, when the *Papists* there offered Propositions to maintain five hundred Foot for a more *Toleration* of *Religion*; but the *Protestants* to pertake in some measure of the charge; To that end, a great concourse of the Nation of both professions, appeared before the Lord Deputy *Fawkland* in the Castle of *Dublin*: but the *Primate*, and Bishops in their Assembly prevented their further proceedings, subscribing to a *Protestation*, as their judgement concerning *Toleration* of *Popery*.

The Clergies
Protestation
against Pa-
pistry.

That the Religion of the *Papists* is Superstitious and Idolatrous, their Faith and Doctrine erroneous and hereticall, their Church in respect of both Apostaticall. To give them therefore a Toleration, or to consent that they may freely exercise their Religion, and professe their Faith and Doctrine is a grievous sin; and that in two respects.

For first, It is to make our selves accessory, not only to their Superstitious Idolatries, Heresies, and in a word, to all the abominates of *Popery*; but also (which is a consequent of the former) to the perdition of the seduced people, which perish in the Deluge of the Catholique Apostacy.

2. To grant them Toleration in respect of any money to be given, or Contribution to be made by them, is to set Religion to sale, and with it the souls of people, whom Christ our Saviour hath redeemed with his most precious blood. And as it is a great sinne, so also a matter of most dangerous consequence, the consideration whereof we commend to the wise and judicious. Beseeching the zealous God of Truth, to make them who are in Authority, zealous of Gods Glory, and of the advancement of true Religion; zealous
resolute,

The Reign of King Charles.

67

resolute, and couragious against all Popery, Superstition and Idolatry. Amen.

Anno
1626.

Ja: Armachanus.	Mal: Casohellen:
Auth: Medensis.	Tho: Hernes. & Laughlin.
Ro: Dunensis. &c.	Geo: Deceuf.
Richard Cork, Cloyne, Rosses.	Andr: Alachadeus.
Tho: Kilmore & Ardagh.	Theo: Dromore.
Mich. Waterford, & Lismore.	Franc: Lymrick.

Conferred and agreed upon, 6 Nov. 1626.

And this their judgement in April 23 after, 1627. Dr. Downham Bishop of Derry at the next Assembly, and before the Lord Deputy Falkland and his Council, took occasion to publish in the midst of his Sermon: His preamble herein was, That many amongst us for gain and outward respects are ready to consent to a Toleration of false Religion, and are guilty of putting to sale their own and others souls, and so unwilling to deliver his own private opinion onely, but the judgements of the Arch-Bishop and Bishops, which he thinks good to publish to them to cleer themselves from consenting, To which the people gave their vote, Amen. But then he went on; Not hereby (said he) to hinder the Kings service, for we desire that not onely the sole Army of 5500 may be maintained, but also a far greater Army besides the trained Souldiers, onely he wished, that the King would reserve to himself the most of those peculiar Graces of late offered, and granted to the dishonour of God and the King, the prejudice and Impeachment of true Religion, and what is wanting might be supplied by the County, to which he exhorted all good Christians and faithfull subjects. The Text the Bishop took was Luke 1. 25. 23, 24, 25. verses, speaking against mens subordinating Religion, and the keeping a good Conscience for worldly respects, and to set their souls to sale for gain of earthly things.

The L. Primate preached the next day before the same Auditory, and took his Text 1 Job. 5. 15. Love not the World, nor the things that are in the World, when he made the like application as the Bishop did, rebuking such who for ready gain, like Judas sold Christ for 30 pieces of silver, or as Balaam following the wages of unrighteousnesse, &c. foretelling (as he had often) the judgement for these our Inclinations to such permissions and Tolerations, and spake as Jeremiah did to Baruch, of Gods being about to pluck up what he had planted, and to break down what he had built, and his bidding him not to seek great things for himself, he applied to these times.

Indeed the judgement of the Bishops, prevailed much with the Protestants that the Proposals sank by degrees, and therefore induced the Lord Deputy to desire the Primate, as the fittest person

Anno
1626.

of the *Assembly*, and a *Privy Councillor*, and so concerned, to promote the Kings affairs, to summe up the state of the Business; and to move them to an *Absolute Grant* of some competency to the Kings Necessities, without any such former Conditions; which was so done, with much prudence, and to this effect; his Speech followeth.

My Lords,

Primate of all
Ireland his
Speech.

THe refusal of those Gentlemen, to contribute supply to the Army for defence of this Nation, minds me of the Philosophers observation, That such as have respect to a few things are easily misled. Their minds so intent to ease themselves of a petit burthen, without regard to the desolation of a heavy war, which an Army may prevent; forgetting the lamentable effects of our late Civil War by famine, rapine, and what not? and now again the storm is foreseen, which if not prevented, our state may prove irrecoverable.

Abroad.

The Dangers are from abroad and from home: Abroad, we being now at odds with two potent Princes, France and Spain; to whom heretofore our disaffected persons have offered this Kingdom to their Conquest. In the daies of Henry the eight, the Earl of Desmond did it to the French King; the Instrument in the Court of Paris yet extant, expresses so much; and the Pope afterwards transferred the Title of Ireland to Charles 5. and so afresh confirmed to his Son Philip in the time of Queen Elizabeth, with a resolution to settle this Crown upon the Spanish Infanta. These Donatives though of no value, yet they serve for a colour to a potent Pretender, powerfully to supply what is defective. And of late, even when our Match was on foot with Spain, a Book was countenanced there, the Author a Spaniard, Philip O Sullivan, wherein he concludes the only way to establish that Monarchy, first to set upon Ireland; the Conquest of Scotland, then of England, and after of the Low Countries, will easily follow.

At home.

Nor is the fear more from abroad, then the like danger at Home, Domestick Rebellion; but lest I be mistaken now, as your Lordships have been lately, I must distinguish the Inhabitants. Some descended of the ancient English race, or hold of the Crown, and have of their own possessions to stick to, who may well be trusted against a Foreign Invader, although Papists; and this is proved in the late Wars of Tyron, when these persons, refused the powerful temptations from their Loyalty; for at that time, the King of Spain, did confederate with the Rebels, and landed their forces; The Popes Bulls likewise, and Breves solicited our Nobility and Gentry, to revolt from that Queen, imparting the same favour to them, as to such of his, that fight against
Turks,

Turks, and so seconded by a Declaration of the Divines of Salamanca and Vallidolid; but our Nobles, notwithstanding continued Loyal and were encouraged so to do by the Priests of the Pale though Papists; who therefore were vehemently taxed by the Traytor O Sullivan, and files our Profession, *Infanam et venenosam doctrinam et Tartareum dogma.* And besides those, there are a number of Irish grudging at the English planted amongst them, and being poor are apt to side with a Foreign Enemy. Indeed, our policies in planting have been defective from former times; which was, to plant new Colonies, but to translate the antient Inhabitants to other Counties; we have not done so; whereby they being strongly imbodyed for power, and numerously increasing, seeing themselves deprived of their former Inheritance, will readily disturb our quiet, at the first occasion. And so at Home or Abroad our danger, is eminent.

Nor may ye my Lords and Gentlemen that differ from our Religion, imagine, that your Community in profession, will exempt you the Common mischief of an Enemy; as the Duke of Medina Sidonia answered one in 88. That his Sword knew no difference of Catholick and Heretick, but he came to make way for his Master; and the kindness of your Countrymen in such a Confederacy is the same as ye find by their Carriage to you and yours; both in the Court, and in the Colledges abroad; as they advised their Councils unto Spain, wherein they would not have so much as the Irish Priests and Jesuits descended of English Blood, but all of them, taken for Enemies to Spain.

In the Declaration about the beginning of the Insurrection of James Fitz Morice in the South, the Rebels profess it, no part of their meaning, to subvert *Honorabile Anglorum solium*, their Quarrel was onely against Queen Elizabeth, and her Government: But now the Design is otherwise; To translate the very Throne of the English to the power of a Foreigner, and the re-establishing the Irish in their antient Possession; which by the valour of our Ancestors we gained from them.

This ye may assure to your selves, *Manet alta mente repositum*, and make you more hated of them than any other of the English Nation; and therefore let us unanimously join our best helps to avoid the danger.

It was wont to be said, *Iniquum petas ut æquum feras*; and such perhaps, might be the intent of the Project, the other day propounded to you; but now I observe, your distast against that hardly admits your ears to any equal motion. The exceptions are partly General, made by all, partly Special, only touching particulars. Of the Former there are Two; The quantity of the sum demanded, and the time unlimi-

The Reign of King Charles.

unlimited. The proportion for the maintenance of 5000. foot, and 500. Horse, you alledge too Great, and your means too Small; not able to undertake it; you shall delude his Majesty, and disappoint the Army of their expected pay; and though you were able to bear it for a time, yet you doubt it may conduce to a Custome, and continued as a constant Revenue to his Majesties Exchequer, unwillingly to be charged on your Posterity.

The Exceptions of the Second kind are against the Grants annexed to the former demands, which seemed rather to hinder, than to further the Service as not equitable. For first, Some have the full benefits of the Grant, as those Counties which pay Composition, and during the time of new payments are suspended. Secondly, Others that have the Charge of the payments to the full are not partakers at all, of the benefit of the Grants; as the Brittish planted in the 6. Escheated Counties of Ulster. Thirdly, such as are forward to further his Majesties service, and to contribute with the most, are troubled in conscience to yield upon the terms proposed, whereby the execution of the Statute against Recusants is offered to be forborn.

Wherein if some of my Brethren the Bishops, are supposed to be too forward in preaching against this kinde of Toleration; I hope the great Charge laid upon them by your selves in the Parliament 20. Eliz. will plead their Excuse; Requiring and Charging all Arch-Bishops and Bishops, and other Ordinaries for the due and true execution of this Statute through their Diocesses; So that if in this Case they had been silent, they might have been the worse censured.

But if for these Reasons, the Project will not be admitted, we must not therefore discharge our selves, from the care of our own safeties: Where the burthen is born in common, by Subjects of different Judgements in Religion, it stands not with common reason, to annex such conditions to the gift, as must of necessity deter the one party from giving at all, upon such terms, as are repugnant to their Consciences. As therefore the Recusants should join with us in a Common aid; we must not put in the condition of executing the Statute, which they will never yield unto; So, if they expect that we should join with them in the like contribution, they ought not to require the condition of suspending the Statute to be added, which we in conscience, cannot yield unto.

The way then will be to grant freely, without any manner of condition that may seem unequal to any side, and to refer to his Majesty how far he pleaseth to extend or abridge his favours, of whose limits in the execution of the Statute, our Recusants have found so much experience, as makes it the same freedom, in giving any thing that is demanded.

As for the fear of this voluntary contribution, to be made a Matter of necessity, and imposed perpetual upon posterity, it may easily be helped, with such a clause as we find added in the Grant of an Ayd made by the Popes Council, 13. H. 3. out of the Ecclesiastical profits of this land, Quod non debet trahi in consuetudinem; as other examples also of later memory. And for proportion of the sum of money, which you say is too great, it is my Lords desire, to know what you can well bear, and will voluntarily proffer. To say you are not able to grant, as was demanded, may be some reason; but therefore to give nothing, is neither agreeable to reason or duty.

You offer to serve the King, as your Predecessours have done, with your bodies and lives, as if the Kings supplies with monies, were unknown to our forefathers.

Search the Pipe Rolls, for only the Marying of H. 3. Sister to the Emperour, you shall find their Names in the Records of England.

And his Letters Patents directed hither into Ireland for aid money to pay his debts unto Lewis, Son to the French King. In the Rolls of Gascony we find the like better directed by King Edward 2. unto the Gentlemen and Merchants of Ireland; a list of their Names set down for his aid in his expedition into Aquitaine, and defence of his Land (which is now the thing in question) Besides, an Ordinance Pat. 44. Edw. 3. in Tur. Lond. for the personal taking them that lived in England and held lands and tenements in Ireland.

Nay in this Case, give me leave as a Divine, to tell you plainly for to supply the King with means for the necessary defence of your Country is not a thing left to your discretion, either to do, or not to do; but a matter of duty, which in conscience you stand bound to obey. The Apostle Romans 3. affirms, That we must be subject to the Higher powers, not onely for wrath, but for conscience sake, and adds this as a reason, for this cause ye pay Tribute also, as if the denying of such a payment could not stand with conscionable subjection. Thereupon he infers this conclusion, Render therefore to all their due, Tribute to whom Tribute, Custome to whom Custome, is due. Agreeable to that known lesson, which he learned of our Saviour, Render unto Cæsar the things which are Cæsars, and unto God the things which are Gods; Where you may observe, that as to withhold from God, the things which are Gods, Man is said to be a Robber of God, whereof himself thus complains in case of substracting of Tithes and Oblations, so to deny a supply to Cæsar, of such means as are necessary for support of his Kingdome, can be accompted no less, than A Robbing of him of what is his due, which I wish you seriously to ponder, and to yield to this present necessity, that we may not return for you, an undu-

Anno
1626.

Pat. 13. H. 3.
in Tur. Lond.

Pat. 13. H. 3.
membran. 9.

Pat. Gascony
1 Ed. 2. memb.
25. in dorso.

Anno

1626.

undutifull Answer, justly displeasing to the King.

But nothing could prevail with the Assembly to supply the *King*, and therefore they were dissolved. This and other such endeavours, to perform his duty for the Kings service, indeered the Primate to the Lord *Deputy Falkland*, who being called back into *England*, at the Water side served his last leave of the *Primate*, falling on his knees in the sand, to beg his blessing; which reverent respect gained him the like of the Lord *Deputies* after.

Bishop Andrews dies.

And now returning to *England*, we find Doctor *Lancelot Andrews*, that most eloquent and learned Bishop of *Winchester* to be dead. He was born at *Alhallowes Barking* in *London*, Schollar, Fellow, and Master of *Pembroke Hall* in *Cambridge*. Then he was preferred by King *James* Dean of *Westminster*, Bishop of *Chichester*, after of *Ely*, and lastly of *Winchester*. He was excellently experienced in all Languages, specially *Oriental*: which makes some to conceive, that had he lived at the time of the Confusion of Tongues he might have served the people for an Interpreter. His gravity gave awe to King *James* in that sometime freedome of rebuke, when he too frequent was moved into passion. His admirable method in preaching, moved the King more reverent and attent to him, than to any other, as meeting with rare, and new matter. His *Sermons* collected into a Volume, were set out since his death, by command of King *Charles*, a Pattern to *Preachers* and *Preaching*. He lyeth buried in the Chappel of *Saint Mary Overes* with a very honourable Tomb, and a right true *Epitah* inscribed.

He hath been unjustly since his death, accused of *covetousness*, though he was neither *Rapax* to get, or *Tenax* to hold, being a perfect enemy to *Usury*, *Simony*, and *Eribery*. He repaired all places to which he had been preferred, for I find no *Delapidations* challenged by any his Successors, he left his estate to pious uses, but to order his actions in all his estate, he would give it for a truth, That *Good Husbandry was good Divinity*. And as for his Chappel *Ornaments* they were indeed such as might justifie him and them; and in all of him, it were wished such as succeed, would follow his foot steps.

At his death the Court was suddenly filled, with the access of *Bishops*, who knowing that by Removes, preferments would follow to many; each one, having charity to their merit, expect advancement in degrees. Which occasioned the Court Bishops to advise them not to appear, till they were sent for, and not prevailing they had command to return home, with those Instructions to be observed and put in execution, by each of them, which were directed to the *Arch-bishop* of *Canterbury*.

Charles

Charles Rex.

1. That the *Lords* the *Bishops* be commanded to their several Sees, to keep residence, excepting those which are in necessary attendance at *Court*.

2. That none of them reside upon his land or lease that he hath purchased, nor on his *Commendum* if he hold any, but one of his *Episcopal* houses if he have any, and that he waste not the Woods, where any are left.

3. That they give charge in their triennial visitations, and at other convenient times both by themselves, and their *Arch-deacons*, that the Declarations for setting all *Questions* in difference, be strictly observed by all parties.

4. That there be a special Care taken by them all, that the Ordination be solemn, and not of unworthy persons.

5. That they take great Care concerning the Lectures, in their several Diocesses for whom we give these special Directions following.

First, That in all parishes, the afternoon sermon may be turned into *Catechism*, by Questions and Answers, when and wheresoever there is no great Cause apparent to break this antient and profitable order.

Secondly, That every *Bishop* ordain in his Diocess, that every *Lecturer* do read divine service according to the *Liturgy* printed by authority, in his *Surplice* and *Hood* before the *Lecture*.

Thirdly, That where a Lecture is set up in a Market Town that may be read by a Company of grave and orthodox Divines, near adjoining and in the same Diocesses, and that they preach in Gowns, and not in Cloaks as too many do use.

Fourthly, That if a Corporation do maintain a single Lecture, he be not suffered to preach till he profess his

L willingnes

Anno

1627.

willingness to take upon him a *Living*, with Cure of Souls within that incorporation, and that he actually take such Benefice or Cure as soon as it shall be fairly procured for him.

Fifthly, That the *Bishops* do countenance and encourage grave and *Orthodox* Divines of their Clergy, and that they use means by some of the Clergy, or others, that they may have knowledge how both Lecturers and Preachers within their Diocess do behave themselves in their Sermons, that so they may take order for any abuse accordingly.

Sixthly, That the *Bishops* suffer none under Noblemen, and men qualified by the Law, to have any private Chaplain in his house.

Seventhly, That they take speciall care that Divine service be diligently frequented as well for *Prayers* and *Catechism* as for Sermons, and take particular note of all such as absent themselves as *Recusants*, or otherwise.

Eighthly, That every *Bishop* that by our grace and favour, and good opinion of his service, shall be nominated by Us, to any other *Bishoprick*, shall from that day of Nomination, not presume to make any Lease for three lives, or one and twenty years, or concurrant Lease, or any estate, or cut any wood or timber, but meerly receive his rents due, and so quit the place; for we think it a hatefull thing, that any mans leasing the *Bishoprick*, should almost undoe the Successor. And if any man shall presume to break this Order we will refuse him at our Royall assent, and keep him at the place which he hath so abused.

Ninthly, Lastly we command you to give us an *Accomp*, every year the second of *January* of the performance of this our Command.

Dorchester.

Our Naval forces now Compleat, the *Duke of Buckingham* is resolved to satisfy their expectation who heretofore complained of his great neglect (being *Admiral of England*) in committing the late *Expeditions* at Sea, to other Commanders, and stay behind himself. He is now therefore made *General* also of six thousand Horse and foot, in ten ships royall, and ninety Merchant-men, and set sail from *Portsmouth* the 27. of *June*, and his *MANIFESTO* came out the one and twentieth of *July* following, as it was there published in *France*, declaring,

The emergent causes of his Majesties present Arming: What part the Kings of *Great Britain*, have alwaies taken in the affairs of the reformed Churches of *France*, and with what care and zeal, they have laboured for them, is manifest to all, and the Examples of it, are also as ordinary as the occasions have been: The now King my most honored Lord and Master, comes nothing short of his *Predecessors* therein, if his good and laudable Designs for their Good, had not bin perverted to their Ruin, by those who had the most interest for their accomplishment. What advantages hath he refused? VVhat parties hath he not sought unto; that by his alliance with *France*, he might work more profitably and powerfully the restitution of those Churches into their antient liberty and splendour? And what could be best hoped by so strick an alliance, and from so many reiterated promises, by the mouth of a great Prince, but effects truly royall, and sorting with his Greatness? But so far fails it therein,

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that

The Dukes
Manifesto.

Anno

1627.

that his Majesty in so many promises, and so strait obligations of Friendship, hath found means to obtain Liberty, and surety for the Churches, and to restore peace to *France*, by the reconciliation of those, whose breath utters nothing else, but all manner of obedience to their *King*, under the liberty of the *Edicts*; that contrarywise they have prevailed, by the interest he had in those of the *Religion*, to deceive them, and by this means, not only to untie him from them, but also to make him (if not odious to them) at the least suspected, in perverting the means, which he had ordained for good, to a quite contrary end. VVitness the *English Ships*, not designed for the *extirpation* of these of the *Religion*, (but to the Contrary, express promise was made, *That they should not be used against them*) which notwithstanding were brought before *Rochel*, and were employed against them in the last *Sea-fight*; what then may be suspected from so puissant a *King*, as the *King my Master*, so openly eluded, but thorough feeling, equal and proportioned, to the *Injuries* received? But his *Patience* hath gone beyond *Patience*, and as long as he had hope that he could benefit the *Churches* by any other means, he had no recourse by way of *Arms*; so far, that having been made an *In-*
strument

Instrument and *Worker* of the late *Peace*, upon *Conditions* disadvantageous enough, and which would never have been accepted, without his *Majesty's* Intervention, who interposed his credit and interest to the Churches to receive them (even with threatnings,) to the end to shelter the honour of the most *Christian King*, under assurance of his part, not onely for the accomplishment, but also for the bettering the said conditions, for which he sends caution to the Churches.

But what hath been the issue of all this, but only an abuse of his goodness? and that which his *Majesty* thought a Soverain remedy: For all their forces, hath it not brought almost the last blow to the ruin of the Churches? It wanted but little, by continuing the *Fort before Rochel* (the demolishing whereof was promised) by the violence of the *Souldiers* and *Garrisons* of the said *Fort* and *Isles*, as well upon the Inhabitants of the said *Town*, as strangers; In lieu, whereas they should wholly have retired; they have daily been augmented, and other *Forts* built; and by the stay of Commissioners in the said *Town* beyond their *Term* agreed on, to the end to make broils, and by the means of the Division, which they made to open the gates to the Neighbouring *Troops*, and by

Anno

1627.

by other withstandings, and infractions of *Peace*. Little, I say, failed it, that the said *Town*, and in it all the *Churches*, had not drawn their last breath. And in the mean while, his Majesty hath yet continued, and not opposed so many Injuries, so many faith-breakings, but by *Plaints* and *Treatings*, until he had received certain advise (confirmed by intercepted Letters) of the great Preparation that the most *Christian King*, made to shewr upon *Rochel*. And then, what could his Majesty do less, but to vindicate his Honor, by a quick arming against those, who had made him a Party in their Deceit? and to give Testimony of his Integrity and zeal, which he hath alwayes had for the re-establishing of the *Churches*, which shall be dear and precious to him above any other thing.

This was not published until the first assault of the Castle of *Saint Martins* in the Isle of *Rhe* about the 21. of *July* following.

And because I have laboured the Truth of this *Expedition* from the calumnies of our Adversaries, I shall name them now to direct the Reader in the examination, and crave the patience to excuse the length of the story, in some measure to vindicate our Honour. The first is *Anonymus*; and the Title, *Ladiscence des Anglois*, somewhat ingenious. The *French Mercury*, or *Vulgar Fragmentarian*; herein, despicable, the brand of Malice and Immodesty, The third was *Isnardus*, the *Parisian* Advocate; whose contumelies (even the best of them) were censured culpable, as being published after a perfect *Peace* was established by the polite Polititian *Cardinal Richlieu*: And the last of them was *Monetus*, a *Fesuit*; more close and wary, yet blasting the beauties of our best *Martialists*.

Anno
1627.

The cause of
this War.

lists. But because this Action of the *English*, might not lodge upon mistakes of our too hasty quarrelling without just cause, I shall enter the *Reader*, by remembring former passages, and state the cause, as it now stood between *Us* and *France*.

King James succeeding *Q. Eliz.* his Neighbors, and Him, courted each other into friendship and confederacy, so that no plot or frame of domination invaded each other, by jealousy or envy: and so soon as *Henry 4.* was murdered, how often and sundry waies did *King James* assist *Lewis* the 13. his Son and Successor, quieting his Civil Wars; and after such a League entred into with the *Emperour*, as neither affinity with the *Palsgrave*; utility with aiding the *Spaniard*; or Religion by assisting the *Hugonotes*; could in him any way dissolve, and so became *Arbiter and Umpire of Europe*.

Yet cause we had to use the help of the *French*, in the publique affairs of restoring the *Palatinate*. Our *Auxiliary Forces* granted to *Mansfield* to whom the *French* promised free passage, and to joyn with some horse, were miserably frustrated, and forced upon the coast of *Holland*, where they suffered in life, and loss of that design.

Then, of late, neer 100 of our *Merchants* ships imbarqued at *Bourdeaux* no just cause given. And lastly, the afflicted estate of the *Reformed Religion* in *France*, for whom the last *Peace* was granted, and *King Charls* warranting the observance; yet their prestures and Injuries, were exceeding the power of those poor people to indure.

And therefore a War was necessary, and against the Isle of *Rhe* concluded, as lying at the mouth of *Rochel*, the most famous Mart of the *Reformed*, and so a ready passage thence upon *Spain*, in case the *French* were forced to a Peace, and so the *English* began to Master an Army, and Rig a Navy. But *Lewis* the 13. having intelligence, prepares store of Foot and Horse, ready upon the frontiers of *Poitou*, and the *Duke of Angoulesme*, set down with 3000. Foot, and 300. Horse; for security of the *Fort Lewis* upon the continent neer *Rochel*, and had cunningly taken up more Quarters in the Neighbour Villages, than would contain 15000 men; which startled the *Rochellers* in fear of far greater forces, and forthwith the *Duke of Buckingham* had intelligence: for over into *England* comes *Sobiez*, and hastens the expedition to *Rhe*, who upon former slaughters made there, was now fled and banished; and no doubt, was able to act as much as he promised, but much more, than he performed. But the Summer season affording but Gentle gail, and such as lagged, (coming late); only two and twenty Ships appeared at the Isles of *Oleron*, who supposed them of *Dunkirk* attending for the fleet of *Hollanders*, their enemies then in the Road; who not taking *Alarum*, and their number increasing, they were known to be the *English*; and forthwith a dozen ships fell down to guard *Port Breton*, the rest sailed on to the *Fort de la Prie*, upon the *Isle Ree*, making approaches, with their Canon, so near, as Musket shot of the

Isnardus pa. 1.

Isnard. p. 16.

Anno

1627.

The English
land upon the
Ile of Rhe.

Isnard, pag. 36.

Page 37.

Slain of the
French.

And English.

St. Martins
Town taken.

the Shore: and though *Sieur de Toras*, Governour of the *Citadel St. Martin*, sent out all his Forces to hinder the *English*, the Ordnance keeping them off for freedome to land; yet *Sir John Burroughs*, *Sir Alexander Bret*, *Sir Edward Conway*, and *Sir Charles Rich* (the first that set foot on shore) landed 1200. which incountred 1000. in seven partitions, horse and foot, that came on, like *French Gallant* voluntiers, whom our *English Cannon* saluted traverse, all the advantage we could make to mate their fresh and sodayn *Sally*; This was quick, and the fiery *French* fell, either slain, or prisoners, and upon the second *Sally*, the accompt is thus cast up.

Isnardus names the *French*, *Restringler* brother to *Toras*; *Chastalois*, *Canfes Naval*, and worthy *Tatlian*, *Bassacies Son*; *Mountain*, *Savignie Heustebie*, of the noble and first Rank, 60. in number. A hundred and fifty of the foot; *Boisoneer*, *Condamine*, *Captaines*; and sundry *Lieutenants* and *Ensigns*, Scarce one of the *Captains*, and officers of the better note without some wound. So saies he.

Of the *English* we confesse *Sir Tho. York*, *Sir Wil. Heyden*, *Sir Tho. Thornay*, *Sir Geo. Blundel*, Kts. and of lesser note, *Courtney*, *Glyn*, *Whalley*, *Powel*, *Woodhouse*, *Goring*, *Blundel*, and with them six *Captains* *Reformadoes*; and of the *Common-souldiers* 100. And these *Isnard* calls 500. But it is confessed, we kept the field, and the dead bodies of both sides, and so can best accompt for them. And amongst the wounded, that we may remember their merits, who yet recovered, were *Rich*, *Conway*, *Hawley*, *Greenvile*, *Abraham Rainsford*, *Wellome*, *Thorp*, *Marileus* and *Bennet*.

The Duke removes his camp, to make good his publication there in *French*, of the reasons of the War (as before is said;) which he was to perform with so small Forces; and by report of their fugitives, the whole Island was furnished with *French*, and their main Army on the Main. This Island is stored with *Wine* and *Salt*, and *Villages*; in which (the Islanders being driven out) the *English* plant *Garrisons*. But though they found no forage; yet it is said to be plentiful in provisions, and seemed commodious to the *Merchants* of *Rochel*, being seated at the mouth of their *Mart*, who gaped after it, and was reduced by *Gallant Momerancy*, but two years since under the power of that *Lewis* 13. and for the advantage of his affairs, built two Castles, *St. Martin* a Kingly structure; the less called *Mede*, but of like strength, against which, the chief *Martialis*ts advised the siege, but the voices carried the design against *St. Martin*, which being won, the other would yield.

A Messenger from *Toras*, hastened our Journey, who affirmed that his Master would meet the Duke, who marches to *St. Maries Church*, thence to *La Flotta*, a small *Village*, resting that night, the Enemy not appearing, and the next day to *St. Martin*: where were 120. men, and 3. marching out before, which *Cunningham* accepted and dared any to single *Combate*: the Town set up ensigns of *Peace*, being

Anno

1627.

If. 64.
Description
of St. Martin
Castle.

Four Bul-
warks.

French army
on the Main.

being so forsaken by four hundred, who were to defend this *Town*; Their fortifications and out works with twenty great Guns were thus soon rendred up, a miracle of cowardize in so many men, their custom to vaunt, and vail in a moment; And now returns *Sabier* with but three hundred from *Roche*, gallant men of the noblest, not answering the great number expected and promised, and did as little advantage to any affairs.

The *Castle* is in figure quadrangle with four great *Bulwarks*, sharpened on the top by degrees with deep trenches, that part excepted, against which the sea washes, and being no longer then a musketeer may reach; at the extreame thereof the water courses brought back a certain safeguard for the souldiers, which secured them from all, saving overthwart shot: Of these *Bulwark* s the first called the *Kings* sconce, the *Queens*, *Toras*, and *Antioch* are of so great a *Pile*, as to contain certain bands of souldiers, which with *Galleries*, and *Parapets* hurdled and twiggged together, stuffed with earth, preserve them safe from all shot. Neer the *Trench* from the deepest walls of the *Tower* (which are mounted very high) is a lesser wall (as a *fast*) securing the *Tower* round about, and serves for an obstacle to all counter trenchings. At the *Skarfe* there is a certain *Rebate* near the bank of the *trench* made strong with proper defence; where, as an Invironed or covered station, they might be furnished against all *Counter-Skarfs*, and defends them in their watches, both against assistants and defendants. Lastly, without those were certain fortresses raised in shape of *half moons*, into which, as safe *Refuges* they might retire, if by us overcharged: And betwixt all these, other works were raised crooked, in form of an Elbow; every one of them environed with *trenches*, hindring any passage at all, because every where the *Tower* was defended with great guns aloft, and water workes below.

It was indeed a *Royal* worke, finished not more then 13 *moneths* before: Such a magnificent *piece*, and so well provided, as might stand the shock of mighty forces, whether within or without. And to these, all warlike provisions that could be imagined for many moneths, Lastly, a most excellent *Garrison*, strictly manned and commanded by *Toras*, of an undaunted and gallant spirit: And yet *Buckingham* durst dare this *Frame*, upon the Coast of *France*, and now fortified by a numerous Army on the Main; and all, with a handfull of *English* far from home.

After debate, whether by *assault* (because the further side of the *Tower* was not finished, or furnished with fresh supplies) or *famine*? for all men can defend by fight, and either the weaker parts of the *Isle* to be laid waste, and so to move from place, or to besiege by a *trench*; But then, some danger of an Enemy, to hem them in, unless the *English* ships of war failed to discharge their trust: But *Buckingham* the mist of Humanity, meant, rather to correct, then so

Anno
1626.

The siege.

cruell to destroy such a people, from whose Royall Race, a *Queen* so lately and so Excellent was delivered into the Heart and hands of his Majesty and Master, the King of *England*: And so, rather resolved upon these perswasions.

He gives order for the *Circumvallation*, the ships disposed to encompass the *Island* without: A *Trench* drawn round, and a *Rampire* just against the *Tower* bank with *Bulwarks* in equall distance perfected the inmost. Lastly, for great Guns in *Artillery* so disposed with *Gabtrions* and *blindes* on high, either to batter the forts and yet hinder an *Enemies* landing, or any hostile vessel. Some *Garrisons* in several villages to restrain the poor *Inhabitants*, and all irruptions from the *Continent*.

Buckingham shews the largeness of his heart; and desired requital with necessary supplies; but whom hope allows, mischance deceives, spent three moneths this way, to discover his meaning to be merciful, as a friend not foe; yet not so unwary, but promoted his designe, which was daily occasioned by his *Canon*, which played on the fort, that kept in the besieged.

The French
power.

The *French* King in the *Campaign* is seized of a feavor, A *Person*, fit for action, is forced away, and leaves the command to *Cardinal Richelieu* whom the *Reformed* commend for his fair dealing; He tells them their danger to hazard all their happiness upon false hopes; and so their wavering brains were brought about, to depend on his promises and to neglect themselves.

And by this time, the *Universal* face of *Europe* changed, the single pretence which scarcely was upright at home, reached to all foreign, and strook at their own *Grandeess*. And the *Cardinal* with all his power, for the welfare of *France*, sends to *Haver de Grace* for ships, and to the *Isles* and other places for provisions into the *Castle*, and some auxiliary ships from *Spain*; forces some of our *English* ships intercepted at *Blois*, now made fit for use: And, to their aid comes thirty frigots with ready money and Arms, and the Command upon *Bellimount*; and for *Belly-fare* or victuall, *Marsilane* the Abbot had the manning; Their *Sea Council* also concluded to fire our ships; and *Pompeius de Faragoe* the famous *Ingeneer* at *Dunkerk* is solicited hither. And all this in fear; for the *English Duke* was set down to do somewhat, as is confessed by *Isnardus*, pag. 83. So that our small forces exercised all *France*, and their *Confederates*.

Buckingham, mounts his six great Guns to overthrow their *Windemills*, that served the *Castle*, and the *Besieged* oppose with theirs, to defend them which were overthrown and made unserviceable, and many of the *Garrison* destroyed.

A numerous Navy now gathered by the *French*; the Abbot *Marsilane*, advises some friends of *Toras*, to adventure into their Narrow Seas; but they affraid, come under the safety of *Bellamont*; The same time that *Chasilvalin* guarded with small force of foot and horse, not far from the *Castle*, is sent to guard some Mills (by order of *Toras*) but meeting with ours, he instantly rendred up himself and them, unto our power. The *Duke* having entertained these some three or four dayes, returned them to the Continent.

The day after (by *Marsilanes* procurement) another Conduct is furnished, whom some Nimble *Gallies* are to carry; but the swiftest of them falling into our hands; the rest retired, and increased with them of *Bellamont*.

The *Trenches* now open, and our *Bulwarks* so placed at distance, that our shot might certainly reach them on either side; The *Circumvallation* reaching from *St. Martins Church* in frame of a half-Moon, ended at the furthest side of the *Castle*, very near the Port it self; the Enemy making no opposition, suffering themselves thus to be shut up (of a good number) and fearing famine (if the fugitives speak truth) They privily sent out of the *Castle* Mounsier *Sangrene* to hasten the Conduct: but he, coming to Court where their King lay bound of his disease, received this answer, that he should exchange his Prayers into thanksgivings, that all things were in readinesse for the relief of the besieged: Onely, he besought that *Bellamont* might be sent privily to give them aid. And with like subtilty, came to *Buckingham* an *English Monk* (being slipt aside out of the *French Tents* about *Rochel*) but pretends from the Court of *Great Brittain*; reporting withall, what a numerous Army was in readinesse over all *France*, and at Sea, above three hundred and fourty sail; And that the subsidiaries of the Confederates might appear the more, speciously is *Chatafe* a Baron sent, that those ships might be received into the neer *Harbours*, with all signalls and Maritime Pomp, and that some ships built in *Holland* were to come hither.

In the mean time some light skirmishes happened, before the *Castle*, of those many ships adventuring into the *Island*, onely one, by a little winding crooked course, came into the *Castle*, (the rest put to flight) another hovering further off, crept into the *Meden Tower* in a dark and quiet night; the winde that helped them, dis-severed and hindred us. These Provisions refreshed the besieged; who sent forth fourty horse, to skirmish with the like number of ours, that kept the watch; but they were put to flight, and some men lost on both sides.

Then, on the Main, the King in some recovery raises large forts and holds nearer *Rochel*, fearing, lest if we got the *Island*, we might meet with a stop upon the Main, and the Towns-men full of Inconstancy, might, with more ease be bridled, who sent us food and cattel underhand.

Some ships relieve the besieged.

If. p. 95.

Fourth onset for relief.

Anno
1627.

The fourth onset for *Relief*, was committed to Mounſier *Reyme*, *Du Cloſſe*, and others of their chief Nobility: They did not do it by craft as the *Jnuier*, but down-right, with their force-ſhip towards the *Caſtle*, and paid the price for his boldneſſe, being the moſt ſlain, drowned, and made priſoners: and amongſt them the *Baron Reyme*, who had ſo much favour, that he ran away, the gentle Nobleneſſe of *Buckingham*s nature, diſdaining the advantage of a *Prison*, ſcarce one of theirs from the lodging in our durance, but eſcaped.

Our Reformado's eager to fight, uſed this Strategem to draw them out; The low ditch neer the *Tower*, where the *Befieged* came often for water, was of more ſtrength then they could well maintain, and to impoyſon that water, they came forth with three Companies, *Sanigur* a *French* Baron leading the way, and meeting, fought gallantly on both ſides, and mutually withdrew; amongſt whom, *Shugburn* an *English* Captain, having his arm broken, died four dayes after; a more cruell terrible fight had ſeldom been ſeen, done upon Emulation of either gallantry.

Then another *French* fleet well appointed with proviſions, made ſtay a while at the mouth of the River *Tramba*; but the *English* ſhips, being prepared to oppoſe them, they kept aloot, an for that time this ſuccour made unſerviceable. *Lirgeadi* returned out of *Spain*, aſſures the *French*, that fourty great ſhips, and eighteen ſeverall veſſels were ready to ſet to Sea, for their aid, which made *Buckingham* ſay, That ſince he had Authority to war againſt *Spaniſh* and *French*, and whether by an honourable Sea-fight againſt both; or by land, or either, he wiſht the deciſion of the Warre, and glory. And yet the diſtance of ſhips were ſo apart, that we could hardly joyn our Sea forces together, as *Iſnard* confeſſes, pa. 99.

The ſiege is now become more hot, being a Moneth old, a fight happened neer the fortreſſe *Antioch*, with ſome ſlaughter, but not notable. The news of the *beſieged*, are ſent to their hulbands, either into the *Caſtle*, or to the Main, a milde and gentle way of *Buckingham*; though *Iſnard* is angry, and counts it upon the ſcore of the *English*, as *Tyrannous*; becauſe, by chance one of them was killed with their own ſhot, which had been but *Tyranny*, if we had done ſo by them all.

A Letter of *Toras* to *Bellimount* was intercepted, which ſaies, That the *Mills* could not long ſtand, all their *Corn* ſpent, inforced the ſouldier to feed on their ſtore of *Bisket*, not laſting above tenne dayes, which is confeſt to put them in great fear; Whereupon Command is ſent to the *Duke of Angoleſme*, *Marrillac*, *Bellimount* to help *Toras*, and *Belcebate* (a Captain) is commanded forthwith to conduct Ten well appointed ſhips. elected out of their whole number, to the relief of the *beſieged*, and ſo to make a cleer paſſage for thoſe ſent before, which were an hundred

Letters intercepted.

The Reign of King Charles.

85

Anno

1627.

dred and nine ships. All the care of *France* was not to put us to flight, but to assist the *Castle*, which they attempted by an hundred wayes, but all against the Art Military; and therefore they bid adieu to all hopes, since no Age ever knew a lesse Army of *English*, nor a greater of *French*; They consisting of thirty thousand, sufficient to beat the other, and closely to besiege *Rochell*, as by their very large *Trench*, and strong *Forts* almost inclosing that *City*. The *Garrison* secured with these, the rest might privily have been sent unto the *Isle* of *Rea* exceeding the *English* by Ten parts; The Emulation also of a famous victory, not long since gotten, and hope of booty might invite forth supplies of *English*, probable enough; for there was a rumour in *England* thereupon, to sent Colonies thither to plant.

Before therefore this should happen, It was necessary, that from the *Continent* and *Isles* of *Oleron*, and some eruption from the *Castle* at the same time must prevent. Nor could our *Naval* forces be any obstacle, for the large compasse of the *Island* did enforce our ships far assunder, and no winde assisting us, besides the night, and that space, denied us sufficient time to perfect that work, and advised the Enemy to recollect their Courages: their repaired Army could not have been broken, by any supplies out of *England*, if the *Reformed* had time to take Arms, and to joyn in league with the *English*.

This was gallantly considered, and souldier-like levelled, but not fit to be told abroad; for such a fear possesse the *French*, that they attempted nothing till our departure, and the hoysing our great *Artillery* into our ships.

Those delayes thus joyning together, They kept themselves (unexampld in any age) three Moneth within their skonces; let their own *Heroes*, which envy not our glory, speak the truth.

About this time, came the *Duke of Orleans* (the Kings onely brother) to lead over thirty thousand from the *Isles Oleron*; yet nothing done, for help of the *Castle*; But why nothing done? Ask the Honour of *France*: Yet the King writes to *Toras* with wonderfull comfort, to incourage the besieged; Mean time, the Bishop of *Nants*, brother to *Toras*, finding *Bellimount* too slow to send succours, induced *Desplane*, with money in hand, to relieve *Toras*. He writ also to *Bellicabe* (a famous Sea-man,) with promise of a mighty reward, to convoy victualls into the *Island*. And the same day, the *Cardinal* sent a bond obligatory, and signed with his Seal, to pay ten thousand pounds sterling to any that would passe over, to release the besieged; Nor were these the first, for sundry letters had passed before, with *Prayers* and *Menaces*, which it seems were not of value, till gain should hire them; yet nought prevailed.

Harvest now at hand, frequent Rains steeped the earth, the souldiers

Duke of Orleans indeavours.

Anno

1627.

souldiers on all sides drowned in dirt; which yet the besieged prevented in some sort, with coverings of *Planks* and *Pavilions*; but the *English* suffered all hazzards; Open air, mirey dirt, bred into sicknesses of severall diseases, *Catarrhes*, short breath, feavors ending in incurable distempers of *bloody-flux*; Our number diminished, not to be recruited from *England* and *Ireland*: *England* so abounding with all Necessaries, either by nature or by purchase, that our fresh water souldiers (all these were no other) warring in another soyl, do ill brook the Inconveniences of a stranger Nation; the true cause of our Army mouldring away; not by their *sallies*, which were often, for we fought them within our Munition; Nor did it please their King, that those within the *Castle* (more than a well compacted Number) should be too much wasted with hunger, being feazable to overcharge us on a sudden, we not exceeding the halt of those besieged; besides their advantage of having *Meden-Castle* at our backs, and the very *Islands* (forced to our sides) unfaithful, entrapping us on all sides, which takes off the mighty glory that the *French* assume to themselves, to be the *Kill-Cows* of all others. Otherwise, they might be ashamed after but five weeks hard siege, to rely upon *Treachery*, to hire a *Cuthberte* to stab *Buckingham*; which, though the *French* fail to mention; yet the truth is justified by the fellows confession under his hand, shewing the *Duke* the very knife, which clears the story to be true: We lodge it not upon *Toras*, though the *villain* confest that too. He scaped that fate then, which followed, and fell upon him after, by one of our own.

Three souldiers perswaded by *Toras* to swim over that *Narrow-Sea* to the Main. with Intelligence from him: One of them failing, fell into our hands; A second (prevented in the water) perished: The third, landed at fort *Lewis* neer *Rockel*, half dead but recovered, well rewarded with Annuall Pension. He relates from *Toras*, their provisions quite spent, the Mills destroyed; each souldier but an ounce of bread a day; the misery of their souldiers lodging uncovered; having but five hundred boards; Gallant *French-men*, when the *English* had none at all, and yet continually in the open air.

Buckingham, now begins to summon *Toras*; but thus, Civilly.

SIR,

That Naturall good affection I have to all Men, when occasion calls for it, shall alwayes call me to attest, in what esteem, I place Choice and Illustrious souls, and render me

Buckingham
summon to
Toras.

to them, benigne and courteous; Conceiving, that I have carried my self after that form, in what concerns you, so far as the laws of arms would allow me: With this intent, that before I would utterly destroy, by enforcement of the necessity of war, to intreat you, To consider with your self, those heavy chances you have indured, with an excellent and earnest courage, and are likely to suffer more, if you rely on the vain hope of Relief, and refuse the offer of safety; which will trouble me to put upon you: And therefore I thought fitting freely to offer you, to render your self, and those who serve under you, upon such honourable conditions as you may not expect hereafter; if by opposing, you judge it better to dispute it at the swords point in our hands. Expecting your Answer, I subscribe,

Your very humble

and obsequious servant

BUCKINGHAM.

To which, *Toras* makes quick Answer.

SIR,

Your Excellent, and virtuous disposition, is known to all men, which as your Custom is, you present with delight, to render them puissant, doing all which is praise-worthy: But to me, Nothing is, or can be imagined more praise-worthy, than to sacrifice my life, for my Princes safety. To this end, here I am, thus guarded, with stout Souldiers; of whom the very meanest and most unmanly, should be accounted unworthy of his Charge, if he did not, with undoubted courage defend this Castle against the worst of difficulties. In-somuch, as no distrust of promised Aid, nor extremity of present danger, nor fear of death, shall affright me, from this noble resolution. I can not imagine my self to have premerited the oblation of this honour by you, unlesse I should betray my trust; of which, be the event whatever it must be, glorious to me, And the more that honour shall be considered by you, the more obliged you shall finde

your most humble and obsequious servant

TORAS.

Toras his answer.

Anna
1627.

Recruit from
England and
Ireland.

These Letters exchanged into Ceremonies; *Toras* demanded of the Messenger, whether the *Melons* in the *Island* were preserved, which being told *Buckingham*, he sent *Toras* Twelve, which he rewarded with twenty Crowns to the bringer; and the next day, sent *Buckingham* six pots of *Orange-Flower-Water*, twelve boxes of *Cyprian perfume*; which *Buckingham* rewarded with Twenty *Jacobus* in gold: so that in fine, it was said, That their friendships were in earnest, and the War in jest.

Auxiliaries arrived from *England* and *Ireland*, under command of *Sr. Ralph Bingles* and *Sr. Piercy Crasby*; yet *Buckingham* thought fit, not to alter his former Resolve, to force the Enemy by Hunger; Others perswaded to assault the *Meden-Castle*, defended by *Baniere*, But our men were spent by death, and weak by sicknesse, and those left, out to be spared: Therefore, the *English* erect an *Engine*, in form of a *Block-house*, and a moveable greater instrument for nearer approach, made of the *Keels* of ships, handsomly joyned together; upon this, poized with *Anchors*, he mounts seven great *Guns*, fencing them with twigged *Baskets* stuffed with earth, and advanced towards the *Tower*: Ordering his small *Barks* in safety, under defence of his greater ships, which were to batter the *French Navy*, and so to hinder the Enemies violent Assault from the *Main*. But the *Engine*, battered and shaken with winde and waves, fell in pieces; then some *Masts* of ships and large pieces of *Timber*, bound together with *Cables*, crosswise, as a hedge or inclosure, should be set as a defence of the *Sea*, which yet was ript and torn assunder; At length, ships with ships are fastened together, with some empty *Vessels* bound with ropes and so disposed, that by the ships motion they might sink, or swim, above, or under water; But the windes stormy and tempestuous, they were separated and unserviceable. Lastly, we sunk some small ships, laden with stones, at the Mouth and Haven, but not of such bulk, or Number, as to stop the Enemy from all entrance.

Some relief to
the Castle.

Sixteen ships procured by the *French* from *Spain*; First 6, and then four of ours met them, but though plying sails and oars, they got into a neighbour Port; And *Abbot Marsilane* furnishes a fresh subsidiary Navy, under command of *Valine*, but wanted Mariners, and why? *Isnard* saies, [That the bodies of the Sea-men which the *English* had taken, bound them, two and two together; and so, drowned, and dead, were cast on shore so gasty a spectacle, that few men could be got on ship-board] But with these, and thirteen *Pilots*, he adventures the sea; The nights still and dark, a great calm, the passages was evermore attempted, and their way directed by Torch light on the top of *St. Martins Tower*; diligent at their sails and oars, their small ships sometimes compassing, or passing by Ours of burthen, now at Anchor, strangely deceiving us, and our small shallops crossing uncertain aims, and some of our ships waying anchor,

Anno
1627.

chor, the Enemy sooner got into Saint *Martins*, then we could possibly reach them. No great piece of work or mastery in the *French*; for at the siege of *Ostend*, both the *Hollanders* and Auxiliary *English* Ships at noon day, in spite of *Bucques*, and his deadly Guns, at the very mouth of the *Channel*, relieved the *Town*. But the *French* here never attempted any passe by Moon shine. Many other attempts of theirs were frustrate, and some fell into our hands.

The besieged, by this means refreshed, they send out all their sick or wounded, and women with *Valiane*, and *Ambelville* to the Duke of *Orleans*, who sayling as silently as they could by the shore of the *Island*, escaped us, and got safe to the Continent, which *Valiane* boasted to be able to do at pleasure. And told Mr. *Ashburnham* (then, at the Kings Court (of whom anon) the very time, when in despite of us, he would carry another supply, which so vexed our Sea men, that were heedful, we intercepted some of their Convoies, laden with provision, their *Pilots*, *Souldiers* and *Sea men*, wounded or slain.

Ashburnham
sent into Eng-
land.

Great scarcity also afflicts our own souldiers, all provisions of the *Island* exhausted; The succours so often desired by Messengers into *England*, and as often promised, still failing; Mutinies (not without cause) suspected; To wrest and deliver himself, *Buckingham* sends Mr. *Ashburnham* (his Kinsman) into *England*; And a fair occasion is offered by *Toras*, who suffering under the same mischief, desires that *Sanserine* might passe from the *Castle*, to the Court, and to return again. And to obtain his desire, the witty *Mourfier*, makes some Overtures of *Surrender*; To which it is assented, upon conditions, that *Ashburnham* might journey through *France* into *England*; and so they departed both for *Paris*. *Sanserine* at Court declares, first the affairs of the *Castle*, then the Contract concerning *Ashburnham's* voyage, and addes, that he could say something not unwelcome to the King; But it was concluded by the King and *Council*, That it could not conduce with the honour of *France* (an hostile Army in the *Isle* of *Rhe*) to hear any thing from One of that party. Yet *Betras* himself, comes armed with complements, to whom *Isnard* sayes, some Overtures of Peace from *Buckingham* were proposed; and sought a dishonest way of departing and a fair end of the War with the *French*: But *Ashburnham* then, and often since denies any such offers. And however, is denied to passe into *England*, or to return with *Sanserine* into the *Isle* of *Rhe*; where *Sanserine*, provided with all necessaries for *Toras* had not free passage into the *Castle*, but was detained; And though *Isnard* is very angry at this detention; when in truth he deserved to suffer punishment, for breaking publique Faith, and not to be civilly entertained free at *Buckingham's* Table, and convenient lodging.

pag. 135.

Anno
1627.

Toras purposed to send his Companies into the *Meden-Castle*, (hitherto free from siege by the neglect of the *English*) and proposes that by the way, which leads to the *English* Camp, Trenches might be made, with continued Bulwarks, whereby their Souldiers (though ten for one of Ours) might be defended; And then, himself to sally out, kill the *English*, and quit the *Island*: To this end, two hundred vessels were in readinesse to convoy Provision and Men to that *Castle*, not to suffer the *English* to commence an Age in that *Island*. Bravely design'd!

A wonder to me, we never had above an hundred Sail there, and they so many more; and ten times Ours in land men (or thereabouts) should never dare to bid Battel at Sea or Land, during all our stay in that *Island*! And yet the *Isle* of *Rhe* of so great concernment, to suffer so much danger! for it being once subdued easie enough to be Masters of *Oleron Isles*, and from both, to make Incurfions at pleasure in *France*, and to lay an open passage for the *Rochellers*, and so to be kept in spight of *France*; and we Masters at Sea; Nay our own Merchants (at the beginning) undertook to hold it, for the profits of *Wine* and *Salt*: And certainly if *Valine* (by hope or fear, art or hap) had not with crooked compassing of places, got to the *Tower*, there had been an end of their *Island*, and the *French* might have cast their Caps at it, for ever after.

The King is come post from Court to the Camp, and their further designs over to the *Castle*, is attempted *Thrice*, in Ten dayes.

Sir John Burroughs dies. ✓

And now dies brave Sr. *John Burroughs*, the twentieth of *September* 1627. Who viewing his souldiers works, was shot through; but led to his *Tent*, where the *Duke* visits him, and asked, what reward of his Merits he would demand for any of his friends? He answered, he had a debt to pay to Nature, and to his Kings service, which he had done at once; but for desert, he knew none; it was his duty to die for his Countreys honour, which he hoped the *Duke* would prosecute as he had begun.

The French fail of their designs.

The third day following, the last Repulse of their Navy, In the second watch of the *Night*, the *French* with sundry Ships makes to the *Castle*, which were fought with, and *Monsene* brother to *Toras* and many killed; and some of ours of very good rank; onely one of them got in.

Their Ships destroyed.

The eighth day a fresh Fleet is set forth; and of them all, seven were taken, others burnt, and the rest flying, were many of the men slain. *Toras* in distresse, and many attempts failing, his bread not for four dayes furnishing, he considers of Surrender; for the last Ship of Relief served not for a breakfast; and to choke them they knew the *English* had supply, by the diligence of Sr. *Henry Palmer*.

In

The Reign of King Charles.

91

Anno

1627.

The French
sends to Sur-
render.

Buckingham's
Answer.

In their strait four Gentlemen are sent to treat with the Duke, who returned with this resolution, not to talk without present Surrender of the Castle: A sharp dispute followed, in which, some on both sides fell. *Toras* under a Moneth's sicknesse, promised to his Captains to Surrender, unlesse supply came within 8. dayes, when he sends *Moulande* to *Buckingham*; That it was hoped his Grace according to his singular Humanity, would impose no other conditions to the besieged, than what stood with the honour of *Armes*, and at last submit to what conditions he pleased. *Buckingham* overcome with courtesie to be counted Victor, seeking how to outvie the humility of the French in this their Misery. And Answers (as *Isnard* confesses) *Hee doubted not but they were too couragious and of greater fidelity to their King, than to render their Castle; Yet, since it was so, that they yeelded to necessity they should have honourable termes as might well become them to accept, and against the Morrow to be ready and Published.* But it being the Nones of October, *Moulande* falling sick; *Soubrane* and Another are sent to *Buckingham* for conditions, which he referred to their own purpose. A wonder to our Enemies as the French conclude. In which, though nothing could be more dangerous than delay; yet the Duke sought for delay, when he might have put a period to uncertain affairs. This occasion overslipt, turned the Tables; now Our Game, anon the French. But, that the time might not run at waste, *Buckingham* contracts it onely to three hours space to present their desires orderly disposed. Nor, could the Beacons fired upon all the Coast of the Continent, nor the Higher light in the Tower, nor yet the prosperous Winde which served their turns be discerned by us,

But, to gain yet a little time, *Toras* sends a Drum to tell *Buckingham* of four sorts of people in the Castle, *Holy Order, Volunteers, Sword-men, and Islanders, and not having time to consult withall, he craved time till Morning; To which was Answered, No difference of Prisoners but what proceeded from his Clemencie.* And therefore commands his Canon to batter, and his *Granado's* to be cast into the Castle; But even now, in this desperate condition, twenty ships laden with supplies, Men and Meat, arrived that very night.

The manner of this service was thus; *Manpise* (you may remember) with other Pilots heretofore, had sounded the shelves, and designed the station for the ships, that the whole Expedition might be his: He resolved to passe neer the shore, beyond our Watch; Then with Oars and full sail in the dark, to steer to the Castle and so appearing before us, he might be taken for one of the English, untill he should get into the Haven. And for the way, it was cleer enough by the Lights, on the one hand, from the Continent, and on the other from the top of the Ca-

The besieged
Relieved.

And the man-
ner.

Anno

1627.

He. He was helped forwards by the Winter nights, long and dark: yet he spent twelve hours in his voyage, which might have been done in one. And that no Artifice may be wanting, he sent some dissembling Renegadoes to tell us, that he passed a contrary way, and to compound some truths with some lies, the better to deceive us.

This Fleet was of 35. sail, 150. Mariners, 300. Souldiers, 60. of chief Nobility, and many Noble Commanders: At four a clock at night, they set out which was Sun-setting, they stuck in the way all night and day following. The night come, and the word given *Vive le Roy*, pass or perish; about eight a clock they spread sayl; yet, here remained, till the second watch; *Manpase* leading the rest, and got by day light, into *St. Martins Haven*, onely one ship fell into our hands; yet some of our ships upon the Renegadoes report, kept watch with all silence; The Earl of *Lindsey* in his Ship-boat without Company, drawing somewhat nigh, made the first discovery of their fleet, and alone pursued them; but, their nimble ships far out-went him.

The light appearing, and *Buckingham* on the Watch, and at the first view, observing the Enemies nimble vessels; He entred into a Ship boat with Sir *William Courtney*, and shewes himself to them all; who suspecting the *English* fleet might be neer them, hastily got into the next *Haven*, easier for them to escape, then we to follow.

Now did the *English* abound in the want of all thing, especially *Health*, and therefore sent a fire ship instantly towards the midst of the *French* Fleet, which fired it self to nothing, ere it came to them: But when day light was open, we paid their Fleet with our *Great Guns*, as their own letters intercepted, do specifie, to their miserable losses. They confesse a score of their Ships spoiled, and we retreated.

The *English* angry at the heart: for though it were in the power of *Buckingham* to give, or receive conditions of *Surrender*, and so voted by the besieged themselves, and so promised to *Buckingham*. That very hour wherein *Stancius* and *Scubrane*, promised to return with the conditions signed, they insolently shewed us their Rundlets of *Wine*, *Turkies*, *Capons*, and other *Viands*, upon the head of their *Pikes* and *Spears*.

For an Enemy to alter Resolutions, as the fate and affairs of War admits, and sometimes to falter in their promises; but basely to forswear, and deny a Contract, and to boast thereof, is perfect perfidy!

But *Buckingham*, now too late repents his gentle clemency, not so fit in a Commander, as never seasonabler, then when an Enemy falls under his foot, and to hug a *Viper* in his own Bosome. And therefore, to recover himself, he hastily supports his *Mine*, with traverse *Timber-beams*, and reducing it into water banks, and filling

The ill condition of the English.

filling it with barrels of powder, with fire match. under all, blew up it self with the earth: but being not enough, vanished in smoke, without any hurt at all.

That night is spent in Council, and concluded with all speed to raise the siege, and be gone out of the *Island*: and preparing publick removes and Carriages, gave the enemy assurance of our neer departing. Which the *Rochellers* also foreseeing with *Subiez*, humbly beseeching, not to desert the siege, to which they were ready to contribute all assistance.

But they were told the consult of Council had concluded, and their general necessities enforced; yet, the Arrival of *Dolbier* from *England* at this instant, assured; that the Auxiliaries were at hand, being to disembody when he came away.

The siege is renewed, fourteen of our lesser ships, and as many *Rochellers*, are to anchor before *St. Martins Port*, to guard it against Supplies. To sink some ships laden with stones before the *Haven*: and now (too late) the *Rochellers* are forward in all aid, with an eye also (and evermore) to their own more special affairs. But a long time spent in expectation of supply, and none come from *England*, the Cannons were again shipped.

The scene, thus often altered, King *Lewis* comes to the *Camp* to add more courage, to his Army there, and *Abbot Marfillane* dispatch a new subsidiary Fleet; for indeed, though we were in shew, and too likely to depart, yet the fame of fresh supplies from *England* published over all *France*, to be coming, under command of the Earl of *Holland*, gave the *French* good caution to secure their affairs in this *Island*.

And therefore this their fresh Fleet, consisted of 15. good Ships, and 19. smaller Boats, part to *Saint Martins*, and the rest to the *Medow-Castle*; and thus got in, increased the *English* trouble. Nay seven more, got to the *Medow Fort* by *Bellamounts* command. But *Manpasius* in his return from his last auspicious supply, with all his fellow-helpers, perished in the Sea.

Fresh Companies are sent to the *Medow Castle*, with all manner of provisions, and to lengthen the ditch and Trench without, to raise the Towers, and all forsooth, for the *Kings* Army of 6000 foot, and 300 horse, to be received with all speed; which shew that the *French* were afraid we meant not to steal away; for now again *Buckingham* continues the siege in hope of the certain, and neer approach of *Holland*, and again began to batter; and with all, wisely to provide for his departure, with certain Muniments and places of safe retire, all which was discovered to the Enemy.

In the mean time upon some mischievous mistake, one *Refuge*, was preposterously raised at the very mouth of a Narrow Causeway, which denied all Entrance in the *South Isle*, by which, we would

Anno
1627.

29 September.
9 October
The English
rise from the
siege.

The siege re-
newed upon
hope of supply.

nei-

Anno

1627.

Toras his
Plot.

neither fight on our side, nor retire on the other. And when the besieged saw our *Ensigns* remove, and our great Guns drawn off, they with ingenious fear suspected some fresh stratagem or deceit. And therefore *Toras* having a strong imagination of good strength at the *Madow Castle*, sends four Gallants, *Samprelle*, *Lougalin*, *Ravinione* and *Villachartres* an Islander, (as by a sudden Eruption) to break through our *Camp*, and so to make an escape to the *Madow Castle*. And at the instant, when some issued out on our part, counterfeiting an Eruption and sudden assault upon us; Another part pursued, as though they fought under ours, and not their colours, crying, *Kill, Kill*. At length to make their free escape, they shot (but sure enough above their heads) so long, till they got beyond the reach of our watch: for we first saw them upon the land, near the Sea, whither, we indeed, did often retire to provoke the enemy to fight, and so mistrusting some of their party to be our own, and loth to indanger ours to hurt them, we suffered them all to escape but *Lougalin*, who by a fall from his Horse, fell into our hands: the rest got clear away.

The French
designes.

The *French King Lewis*, wondrous diligent in his *Camp*, and so set out by his own Authors; by over acting his part shews him ridiculous: Their ignorance in *Arts Military*, affording his Attributes of Industry, improper for a General to act himself. But to ballance, both Enemies see their different Forces: Their Fear and our Courage; what mighty designs they had to drive us a way, that were departing.

Their great
Forces.

The King himself Orders all things; *four thousand* elected out of all the Host, besides *Volunteers* of the first rank that in all *French Wars*, catch at all occasions for honour and fame, to whom came all the besieged, whom *Samprule* Numbers 11100. and all the *Islanders* to gain them favour of their old Masters. We had not 3300 foot, scarce 60. horse, half starved with their Grooms, so that their foot exceeded Ours by two parts, and their Horse by five: I reckon not, by colours, or Captains; some not 20. Or not 12. in a Company, and those sickly. If in all these hardships, the *French* had but the heart to try Mistry in open field, we should never have denied there, some glimpse of glory.

This last fresh collected Army for expedition was mustred in the Haven of the Continent, the shortest cut over to the *Island*, and committed to the *Duke Shawbergh* with *Marilane* his *Lieutenant General*, who would needs be landed with 80 Ships at *Oleron*, less guarded by the *English*, on that side. Nay, a third Fleet is preparing under command of brave *Bassompierre*, and *Halitre*, with 800. of their *Kings Life Guard*, 150 of the Country thereabout, 30. of the Kings horse, and 3. great Brass pieces, land at the *Madow Castle*: and their Authors, *Fr. Mercury* pag. 114. and *Isnard* pag. 193. assure us there were one hundred thousand loaves of bread, and

and other proportionable provisions; so it seems they were in fear to be rid of the *English*.

Bold *Buckingham* begins the assault, selects 500. foot, and 40. horse, and holding it a high point of wisdom to be quick. Near the approach, the *French* under the *Meden fort*, and newly landed, take the *Alarm*, The first Rank meet the Charge at a distance with some loss, which drew up the rest to battail, and coming close to the fight, the *French* were put to it to fly into the *Castle*, with such fear as *Isnard*, who saw it (he says) and never saw the like, and as our *English* generally reported at their return home, for in the flight of the *French* a Reformed *French* man on our side pursues his Countryman with *kill, kill*; Another of theirs, encourages his Runawaies to stand to it with *Courage Messieurs, Se ne sont que de françois*; as if the *English* were terrible: And in a word had totally routed them, had not their Guides directed them their waies, which the dark night, drove us into durty quagmires. *Isnard* saies fifty of ours fell. The *Mercury* saies but 38. how many of theirs, we may guess (in the dark) by their own number of their principal Commanders, *Monfane, Persemore, Baviile, Pensamonte*, and others; and so with this Victory *Buckingham* retreats to his Camp, where finding our former Trenches possessed with the *French*, he sends *Stanley* to recover them, with a fierce fight near the *Bulwark of Antioch*, and with main force, beat them out again, with loss on both sides.

As we were packing away. A Party of our Horse, commanded by the Lord *Mountjoy* took a small Troop of theirs; this Person *Isnard* terms *Emeritus; Miles qui jam functus est suo munere*; but it may be scandal. Him they endeavour to surprize, with six Horse in show, who were chased to the *Meden Castle*, when we discovered their Ambuscado of many more, but we retired.

The *French* came over from the Continent by *Shoals*, it was ingenious gallantry for us to stand our ground, yet we assailed them. Among many *Approaches*, this for one; We fell upon a Party in a dark night, not discernable each from other, and so mingled, that by mistake we fell into their *Camp*, a prey to the Enemy: and so invincible Necessities enforced us to depart (whether Conquerors or conquered from the Isle of *Rhe*) Soldiers and Seamen so infeebled that sickness was the Physician of our want, and want our sickness, and death the onely cure. So that Noble *Buckingham* had no other cause to stay, but only that which might put any other to a flight) ashamed to go away. He denounces the Battail, and the very set time, and that by an Herauld, resolving to assault *St. Martin Castle*; to enjoy their Victual in despair of flow supply from *England*; Upon intelligence that they were weak within, decayed by death, and their walls on the further side, not finished to their in-

Anno

1627.

Both sides encounter.

The *French* fly.

English retiring.

And fight.

And assault
St. Martins
Castle.

Anno
1627.

intended height. The *French* Prisoners (many Gentlemen) were commanded aboard; and from thence to bring some scaling Ladders; and other materials for use.

Toras hath this by intelligence, the night before, commands his shot to their stations in Coats of *Male*, and his Guns in order, and signified so much to the *Meadow-castle*, who upon our three times discharge of our Cannon should march up to the *English*; which by their discovery would be about midnight. Our Ladders but 40. and too short in one place, we assailed in another, and in another also: At *Toras* Fort, which yet we set up two yards under, which we boldly assaulted, not so ambitious perhaps of victory, as of honourable death, climbing to the upmost round, there we stuck unmoveable, untill oppressed by shot, which felled us to the ground, not with one or two shot, and other wounds, but till they all together became deadly, and then more dropt; and not, till *Isnard* confesses, That *Toras* himself considered our Gallantry in impossibilities; so much our valour wrought upon wonder.

And Retreat.

Somewhat we did too, for by the force of but eight hundred we drove the besieged from their place of strength, fenced with a ditch and fort, and thence into their inner Compass, where they lay hid in the very foot of their Castle to their great loss, and hitherto only as impossible any more, our fury became abated. And so unwillingly (not therefore because unwilling) we withdraw: but not till brave *Buckingham* was assured of the Enemies sudden supply he commanded a Retreat by sound.

Early the next Morn, in a well composed figure, their Army with the new come *French* marches towards our Camp; At *La Flotta* they met a small Troop of our Horse, led by the Lord Mountjoy, who with leisurely order retreated, before the enemy, untill time brought assistance of our other Souldiers before the Tower, who suddainly marshalled into order, the enemy in our face, they make a Holt, and streight way they turn to the *Meadow-castle*.

Buckingham, pursues this moving Army, as far as *La Flotta*, but only with five hundred, and recovering that Village; supposing our selves far enough, and freed from the *French*, we passed to our Camp; I say not how easie it had been for their numbers, and advantages to have done much more then they did, if they durst to have dared our Resolution; though we dropt one hundred forty seven dead, saies *Isnard*, and of theirs he names many Gallants, and a score more, but our accompt reckons them far above ours, which it seems he consents unto, not killed, but by heat of fight fell down dead.

Buckingham will be gone, and what the Enemy could not do, he does, demolishes his works, fills his Ditches; levels his Trenches.

And

Anno
1627.

And now again, as often before, the *Rochellers* beseech him not to depart untill he had gathered contribution from the villages of the *Isle*, or else they were undone; In compassion to them, he makes not his going away so speedy as convenient.

Canophie; (Commander in absence of *Schombergh*) to sound the depth of this mystery of staying thus long; Sends two or three Noble persons to *Buckingham*, for leave to convey their wounded away to the Continent; To which (*Isnard* sayes) *That brave Buckingham made Answer*,

Canophies
Messages.

Ere long, both sick and sound should be sent them, for he resolved to take ship, before more forces came to the Island; unwilling to hazard himself or them, to fresh men, being already wearied with long siege, that they might not boast to force him thence. That the glory of the Castles safety was due to *Toras*, by whose invincible patience and gallantry, sustaining so many miseries, he acknowledged himself rather overcome than conquered.

Buckingham's
answer.

Toras was told this (if *Isnard* devises not all of his own brain) for the other Authors (from whom he steals the most) speak not one syllable hereof; Onely *Mercury* pag. 188. gives us *Buckingham's* Letter to *Canophie*, *That after three dayes he would give free pass to all, That the French could purchase small glory to fight with his few forces.* The sickness and constancy of *Toras* (to whom all honour was due) perswaded him to think of departure, notwithstanding he would afford him another Paradox *sin rason*, nothing more acceptable, than to meet *Toras* with his sword in his hand, to determine the quarrel in battail or combat.

The next night comes *Schomburgh*, and his Fleet, I say not how many ships, with how many men, and horse, their own Authors are at difference, and we minded not the many, there being too many before; but in earnest, it was a very choice well ordered Army, that night disposed far enough from us. *Marilane* the next Morning meets *Schomburgh*, and thus united, they consult, being seasonably instructed by the *Islanders* for their advantage.

In the Mid narrow way, between both Castles the French Army was thus marshalled. The front contained a part of the Kings guard, with a band of *Navar*, *Champaine*, and *Piemont*.

The second; consisted of some *Champains*, and those Forces commanded by *Rambure* and *Bellimont*.

The French
Army mar-
shalled.

Anno
1627.

The English
depart in this
manner.

Rich and Rat-
cliff gallant
men.

Page 196.

The descripi-
on of the caul-
way.

Du Plesse and *Melleres* bands, concluded the third, some volunteers armed with Halberts, appointed for the wings; The Horse divided into two companies guarded each side of the Army. *Bussey Lamele* with 25. horse, marched some two hundred paces before their whole Army: the whole horse 250. the foot 4000. compleat; the whole, we reckon not the *Garrisons*, *Islanders*, and others, exceeding ours double, and their horse five times.

Buckingham was not ignorant of these new forces, and yet lay long a bed this morning, as *Mr. Hackluite* Captain of the Warch reported. But up he gets, timely enough to depart, about nine a clock the forenoon; his sick Soldiers packing away before, divides his forces into seven parts, neer a Windmill; challenges the *French* to battail; his Number 3000. foot, and 58. horse, and here he stands; but the enemy will not budge.

He views his Gallants, and amongst them *Sir Charles Rich*, and *Sir John Ratcliff* deadly sick, whom he desires to withdraw to the Ships. No, they came to fight, and leaning on their Pikes, challenge death it self. *Buckingham* marches on, and sees the Enemy follow at a fair and far distance, and turns his Guns backward upon them. And being come neer the village *Coarda*, he offers them a second challenge, confessed by their own *Authors*, many thus excused, *Marilane* feigned a Holt, and therefore we stood still.

Toras (they say) having lost two of his brethren grew fierce, to force the fight, lest we should recede unhurt, that slew so many at our Coming; but *Marilane* was of another mind, rather to build us a Golden bridge to be gone: and therefore they moved after our Motion, we keeping ours, and they, their stands. Being marched out of the plain to the *Village Coarda*, and there saies *Mercury*, *A la entre de Coarda Les Enemies presentarant une autre fois la battail*.

We went on, through the village, disposing some shot for safety behind the old Walls, Walks, Hedges, and Ditches. *Schomburgh* was come up to *Marilane*, and both of them followed us slowly, having past half our journey, three miles; and here again rallied, marching on to the Causeway to *Anserine* not far off. And here, I know not with what wanton wile, again we made a fourth stand, thinking it might concern our honor, to provoke a fight; but they being faint and dull, the day past four a clock, and at the very entrance of the Cause-way; the very cause of our inevitable slaughter.

The Causeway was in length 300. paces, in breadth about four, on eithers side ditches, which mostly end at *Salt pits*. The strait way led on, to about 300 paces, which then the Wooden Bridge entercepted, from this Pass about eighty paces, the same cross way runs on; Hence on the left hand it bent with an Elbow, turning;

Anno
1627.

ing; and with another 'also to the very bridge; whence lies an entrance into the *Anjerne Isle*; which bridge was built upon Ferry-boats.

At the Flood the water not fordable, the banks more dangerous, and neer the Bridge a monstrous mire not to be imagined, and no passage but at lowwater.

On the left hand, by reason of the mouth of the *Causway*, was a Village or Farm, called *Damier*, and before that a Court-yard, big enough for a band of men; encompassed with a Ditch: On the right uneven ground, a Marsh with standing Motes, long waies and broad. And thus the *causway*.

Upon the greater Bridge, where both the *Islands* met, was raised that unfortunate and preposterous Fortrefs, but neither so high nor so strong as to defend us, or hinder them; when we had stayed now a whole day without fighting; a careless temerity hastened us to this *causway*, in a long, not loose, nor orderly march, which had we but abated till *Twilight*, we had not felt the danger.

And now comes our last but not alone Error: for though our Refuge was raised at the further end of the Bridge (which had been better at the entrance of the *Causway* for our Harbour) yet at present (by military order) that was to be attempted. Here therefore we should have staid with our colours, or withstood the Enemy by often incursions, until our safety had been raised behind us. (For so it is said *Archduke Albert* had baffled a *French Army* neer *Ambianie*) And the enemy knew full well, that two Companies of ours commanded by *Connoway*, *Baste*, and *Spry*, had past the bridge, and were come to the *Anserne Island*, And those commanded by *Rich*, *Bret*, and *Morton*, these all sick, were to pass the *Causway*, and with these four small Guns, to make good the bridge, and therefore they had onely to deal with two remaining, commanded by *Courtney*, *Hawley*, and *Bingley*.

Part of these two Companies about two hundred a piece, stood at the mouth of that *Causway*, which bore not above five a Brest. The other part, was placed at the side of the *Causway*, not far from *Damier*. Our horse, in the mean time (by reason of these companies) so dispersed, one Troop thereof consisted of not above 30. and the other but 38. to receive the enemies first charge; amongst those were some of the *Reformed*, as it were to inclose the Companies, and all this the enemy knew; and what companies could not come to assistance.

To *Schomburgh* comes *Marilane*, and requires the word, yet he intended not presently to fight us, but to afflict and take our last, as a noble Gallant confessed: for there, they appear to approach the *Causway*, not so by a strait, but by oblique course. The *French* now advance a pace, and are stoutly received by us; but overprest by multitude, they underwent diverse fortune. For one part of

The un-
viceable For-
tresse.

English over-
sight.

Both parts en-
counter.

The English
defeated.

Anno

1627.

And killed.

our Horse fell, amongst whom, was that gallant and unrevenge'd *Cunningham*. Another part yielded, amongst whom was the Lord *Mountjoy*, and he civilly used. Others by the Enemies numerous power, and their own weight in a steep place were forced to fly; and whiles thus hurried, through the straits of the *Causway*, into *Ditches* and *Salt pits* we were thrown. The way thus opened, the *French* pursue, and made no small slaughter upon us; For with very long pikes they pierced some of us already in the dirt, whose face not long before they scarce durst behold. And those by our own horse (to whom onely they could give place) were thrust besides the top of the *Causway*, and so pierced by the enemies spears. Those Companies next the horse at *Damiere* with their colours flying, fought a while, but as the former (overpowred with the number) fell or fled. Amongst these the *Reformed*, by uneven, and turning paths, made their way to the further bridge with much danger; For the Enemy spared none that they met with.

And in truth here was a very great Slaughter. *Buckingham* did much by direction and example. Nor did the diversity of their thoughts suite well, some endeavouring to fly, others forbad it, they rendred themselves by turns to the enemies pleasure; and endeavouring by heaps to pass the Bridge, one stopping another, and so forced the contrary way, until mutually knitting together, they were thrown into the Sea.

And (in truth) *Rich* and *Bret*, and many other Noble souls defending that bloody bridge, encombred and prest, perished in the waters, and as many as fell to the *French*; were surely destroyed.

Some French
slain.

Beyond the Bridge was ammunition, for which *Crosby* contended, but by a promiscuous torrent of fliers and pursuers, forced away, having no leasure to distinguish Friends from Foes. But upon a turn of fortune, the *French* were forced beyond the Bridge. *Marilane* leading them; whom Sir *Thomas Fryar*, and *Hacksvil* with gallant Spirits, fall upon, and *Crosby* with the next stand, and rallied force assist, and so wrested the victory from the enemy. And herein not to be partial, consult with their own writers, they confesse it; and name their gallants slain.

This nimble victory, makes us consult to pursue the *French*, but the paucity, and fewness of our men, night also come, caused us to forbear; and themselves say, *Their return so disturbed, and altered the French affairs, that Marilane forsaken by his runnawayes could neither by fair means, nor force of Sword detain them.*

It may be suspected, so few to put to flight the *French*, but remember heretofore the battails of *Cresie*, *Poitiers*, *Agencourt*; small handfuls of ours vanquished theirs; the *French* Naturally, (they must confesse it;) spend all their fury at *Assault*, and with-

out

Anno
1627.

out fear given, create fear to themselves: for they chill their internal strength, and run headlong into danger, the cause in themselves.

I must confess, the victory which we claim, was as I may say, but lamentable, which yet the Law of Arms allows us; No man perished of ours but who desired to dy, pent up to fight, not to fly, we fought for *French* against *French*, theirs, not our own, quarrel.

The number of ours, lost, are now in question; We say but 500. they reckon of us 1100. and how? *By the old Breeches which we cast off, and the miserable beseeches bought of the Islanders to make a shew, and fill up their Accompt.* And for their purchase of our number of Colours; (an oversight of us, not to send them away with our Guns) I told you before how we were weakned, not a dozen left to an ensign; and for the *French* who buried their own, accompt but two or three hundred; we cannot disprove them.

The number
slain.

The night, as I said, came on, they are fled, we not able to pursue, We were to make good our design to depart the *Isle of Rhe*, not to be forced to be gone. Yet, still we stand expecting fresh Assaults from the *French*, which they might easily do; but did not, and returned.

We went on and *Crosby* had the Watch Guard that night, and order at the third Watch to burn the bridge, which he did without damage.

The next day *Buckingham* minding his departure, sends *Fryar* and *Bret* to demand the dead bodies, and *Dalbier* to treat about Exchange of Prisoners. *Schomburgh* consents to the first; but refers the second to his *Kings* pleasure; and so some time after, all were returned without rancome to either friends.

We make aboard, but here the question, the glory of the field, who of our own to stay last upon the shore? to avoid dispute, it was ordered by lot, and on ship too, we weighed not anchor, till eight daies, dared the enemie, with their numerous fresh Fleets to fight.

The English
make aboard
their ships.

And so saies *Schomburgh* to the King, *He intends himself to declare to his Majesty the English state and stay in the Anserne Island ere they departed.*

Buckingham aboard, calls a Council, and demands their opinions freely, if enough had been done in honour to depart. All consented in one, and that truly, we had done well; But *Buckingham* offered his desire to land and force the Continent, and somewhat might be conceived in safety to the *Rochellers*, and their affairs, who were concluded under such a condition (no doubt) as rendred them in appearance, as yet *Nenters*, to our Design; or at least under pressure of submission, and so to secure themselves might betray us.

And consult.

Rochellers
false Friends.

The

Anno

1627.

English hoise
sail.

Hist. pa. 71.

Censure the
expedition.

Hist. page 71.

Observ. pa. 54.

The 9. day we hoised sail, and met the *Earl of Holland*, neer our Western Coast, where at *Plymouth*, the whole Fleet came to anchor, and our *Duke* posted to Court to the *King*, who received him with extraordinary welcome; after three Moneths stay in the *Isle*, and some weeks, and odd daies from the hour he went from *England*.

The ordinary Prisoners on both sides were upon former Treaty to be returned home. And therefore it is not well recited to say, [That *Lewis* graciously dismiss them as an offertory to his Sister the *Q.* of *England*, and refused the Lord Mountjoys round sum of his ransom for two couple of Dogs from *England*] When it was certain we had of of theirs here, that came prisoners to the *Duke*, and of greater quality, to be exchanged for him and others; and only the Common men returned free. Nor does any of all our Adversaries Authors, whom I have named; that spit their malice most, make the least mention hereof. Only this our own writer defames us.

At this time *Pens* and *Tongues* were set on work, to scandal and descant on this Expedition; I have answered these our Adversaries; Some of our own too do say [It was, *propter Inscitiam & temeritatem Ducis*] But *Buckingham* himself and others, that lived to suffer under obloquie, lodge the loss of the Design upon the *Earl of Holland*, not seconding the expedition, with recruit of Men and Victual, with those ten Ships committed to his command for strengthening and continuance of the Siege, and guarding the Passes to the *Island*, which might have prevented the Relief of the Besieged. And which Ships were ready, part at *Plymouth*, under oversight of the Lord *Wilmot* Vice Admiral; the other Squadron made up at *Chatham* were to take in provision there, and the *Earl of Holland* admiral of all. Tis true, he failed of his time to attend the Wind, which afterwards he lost so long, that the *King* was returned his Summer progress, ere *Holland* was got out of *Portsmouth* Roade; but was aboard, where he received the *Kings* angry Order. That the Vice Admiral the Lord *Wilmot*, hast post command at *Plymouth*, to be gone with his Squadron; and *Holland* might now stay his own leisure; which so astonisht him to be left behind, that instantly he quits his ship and all, but his Secretary, and one of his Chamber; and with the help of a small fisher Boat skews the Wind to the *Coves*, in the *Isle of Wight*, in imminent danger of drowning by the way; and the next day by Post to *Newport*; from thence, he got into the weather and wind, and so gained of the way, and landed again in the west, posting to *Plymouth*, timely enough to put to Sea.

And

And by the way he met with the Duke, returned from the *Ile of Ree*, for which, he hardly escaped resentment and jealousy (during life) that *Holland* could have been content with his feigned hopes to succeed him favourite.

Thus ended this Design, with loss of blood and honour [*Which had it succeeded (saies one) to our desire would not have rewarded the charge*] but he is much mistaken in this account; for besides the preserving *Rachel*, and the advantage to us of those *Isles*, *Rhe* and *Oleron*, and so footing in that part of *Aquitain*. Besides, the mid-way and conveniency of carrying on our Fleets and Forces towards *Spain*, upon all occasions of quarrel with that Monarch.

But the Duke returned, having an eye of Jealousie upon the Earl of *Holland*, for retarding his necessary Recruit, and for relief, which indeed for the present had slender apology. However the Duke posting to Court, and heartily received of the King, *Professing that this neglect of Relief must lodge on his Friend and Confident Holland*. To which he acknowledged, *That indeed he had very affectionately intrusted him in ordinary affairs, but never in such an esteem, as to second him in Arms*.

And accordingly it being now in the Dukes power to reward his wilfull negligence, *Holland* had orders to stay by the way and remain at *Portsmouth*, under the notion of ordering the Ships and Souldiers there, untill the Dukes further pleasure, which was so long in resolve, as lodged *Holland* under suspicion to find the effects of utter ruin, prevented only by his humble *Remonstrance*, and submission to the Duke. But the Landmen, many strangers (*Irish* and *Scots*) were billeted by parcels in the County Villages, and to the great regret of their Hosts, that never felt any such burthen before, nor could this give any just cause of murmure at all.

And to boot Sir *William Balfore* a *Scot*, Commander of Horse, in the *Netherlands*, and *Dalbier*, a *Dutch* Commissary, heretofore under Count *Mansfield*, joined in commission with bills of Exchange (*thirty thousand pounds*) to buy and transport horses from beyond Seas into *England* for the Kings service; which occasioned the more muttering in fear (forsooth, as the *Turkish Janizaries*) and terrour to force obedience of the people, which report was fain to be palliated by *Protestation*, *That as they might be useful for suddain and foreign service, so he willingly endeavoured at his own charge to ease their purses*; and so the Design took end with these Jealousies.

In the time of the Expedition to the *Ile of Rhe*, the *French* had a gallant great Ship built at *Texel* in *Holland*, named the *Sancta Esprit*, and furnished with all materials necessary for War; Captain *Trevvere*, a worthy *Englishman* in his return from *Hamburgh*, had Command to seize any Ships of the *French* upon the

Hist. page 71.

Anno

1627.

the coast which lay there, in the mouth of that Haven, and this in the *Harbour*. The night, most proper for *Trevers* enterprize, he procured a Dutchman *Hollander*, for a round sum of money, to direct him in the dark to aboard this great Ship (which *Toras*, the Governour of the Isle of *Rhe*, caused to be built at his own charge.) upon the approach, the *French man* let fly his great guns, suspecting this Ship advancing so neer, but *Trevers* made up with courage under this others upper Tire, and shot the *Frenchman* through and through, boarded her bravely, and brought her away. And fitting her with his own Men, summoned the rest of his own consorts, and so fell upon the whole *French Fleet*, who in fear by the noise of the *Cannon*, and ignorant of any event, weighed anchor, and got away to Sea, in great confusion.

Spesse, the *French Agent*, complains to the *States*, of *Trevers* boldness to seize any Ship in their Chambers of *Harbour*, under their Protection. To which *Trevers* tells them, the Articles of Amity between his Royal Master, and them to pursue Enemy in eithers *Harbour*, which you have done (said he) by the *Dunkirks* out of *English Ports*. But whilst they disputed, *Trevers* hoists sail, and comes home with his *Prize*, and 20. whole brass *Culverins*, two brass *semi-Culverins*, two other great brass *Guns*; sixteen large Iron *Guns*, and two less. In the *Hold* for Ballast, was twelve great *Guns*, arms of 1100. Souldiers, eighty barrels of Powder. And though a general command kept all the *French Ships* in *Harbour* not to stir whilst the *English* were Masters at Sea; Yet *Pennington* the *English Vice-Admiral* took thirty four of theirs homeward bound, rich Merchant men; without loss of any of ours; and others were forced out of their *Havens*, under their very *Castles* and *Forts*, to the terrour of the *French*.

Hist. page 71.
Ob. page 55.

At this time *Abbot Arch-bishop* of *Canterbury* was sequestred from those services, which he could not at that present personally attend, otherwise proper, for his cognisance and jurisdiction, and which as *Arch-bishop*, he might and ought in his own person to perform and execute: and a Commission to five Bishops, *London, Durham, Rochester, Oxford, Bath and Wells*, or to any two of them, to execute *Episcopall Jurisdiction* within his Province.

Arch-Bishop.
Abbot seque-
stred.

Tis true, he had lain six years under censure for his mishap heretofore, *Mistaking the Dear*, killed the *Keeper*, and though King *James* his Christian consideration of his Age and Reverend esteem then in our Church, remitted him to Sentence of some Bishops, who for these reasons, was favoured into connivance of not irregular, yet the most of the elect Bishops that followed, refused consecration from him, and other Reasons there were, for some

some time connived at; now, not so excusable; this Commission was awarded, for regulating the service of his Province. See Hist K. James fol.

In *Michaelmas Term* the Lady *Purbeck*, daughter and heir to the Lady *Hatton* by her former *Husband*, and wife to the *Viscount Purbeck* brother to the Duke, passed her tryal for *Adultery* with Sir *Robert Howard*, and found guilty, to pay the Court 500. Marks and imprisonment, during the pleasure of the Court, and to do penance at the *Savoy Church*, to which being pursued by the Officers, she was rescued by the *Savoy Ambassadour* her next neighbour, and so escaped; she had the favour for some hours, privately to dress her self in her Chamber, where beating down the wall into the *Ambassadors* lodging the next house, disguised into the habit of one of his *Pages*, she escaped into his Coach, whilst the Officers watched at her Chamber door.

But in truth, She was an heir, and a rich Marriage which the Duke ingrossed for his brother, whose light brain inclining to whimsies, increased with over much jealousy of his very handsome wife, whom her Stepmother getting into custody shamefully abused, and forced her to get freedom, and loving entertainment of Sir *Robert Howard*; which continued in despite of the Dukes power, to the day of her death, some years after.

This Winter quarter made much for the *Emperours* forces, now ravaging about *Hamburgh*, having the Ice his friend without fording, to fall upon the Garrison of *Stode*, twenty miles from *Hamborough* on the other side of the *Ebb*, now governed by our Countrey man of *Wales*, Colonel *Morgan*, a stout old Souldier of *Holland*; and at this instant in great hazzard of their submitting, and was forced to surrender in May 1628. And the King of *Denmark* on whose safety all depended, now reduced in his own Territories even to despair; These exigents lodged upon the others score of confederates against the *House of Austria*, whose successful Armies led on by *Tilly*, and others; mastered where ere they came; and King *Charles*, the paymaster for the most part, must in likelihood find the evil effects of losing the power of so kind a *Kinsman*.

Nor could King *Charles* do more; for since the *Dukes* return from the *Isle of Rhe*, the *French King*, resolves upon a formidable siege against *Rochel*; and to force it by famine, which he could never effect with the Sword; and to begin his main and mighty work, the *Cardinal of Richlieu* commands in chief, with an entire Circumvallation landward of *Nine Miles* in circuit, not distant from the *Town*, more than a Musquet shot: raising three strong *Forts*, and many *Redoubts*, with *Intrenchments* deep and wide, and for the *Sea-Harbour*, to prevent relief to the *Town*, he attempts a wondrous Design, not as *Alexander* at *Tyre* with many hands to

Anno

1627.

The Viscountesse Parbeck censured and escaped.

Stode taken by Tilly.

Rochel besieged by the French King.

Anno

1627.

choak the Current, but with Engins of Art, a Barracado and Travers cros the Channel, 1400. yards, leaving a convenient space for the Flood and Ebb of Tides.

The Rochellers see this, and in fear send over Count Subize, and others, Deputies to England, for fresh Supplyes to them; No doubt, *The King was affected with their miseries, rather to protect them, than enable them*, and so assured them his assistance, though in truth in much necessity for himself. And for all his former arrears of Loan, was put to it to borrow more: of the Common Council of London, *one hundred and twenty thousand pound*, upon Mortgage of his own lands, of *one and twenty thousand pound per annum*; and of the East India Company *thirty thousand pound*; Then upon Privy Seals, of some Hundreds of abler Men; and a Commission dated the beginning of February, for a Levy by Excise: and last of all, the hazzard of all, inforced him to call a Parliament; which he had little hope to find effectual for him, though he resolved to affect them with all Princely and imaginary complacencie; to meet the 17. March.

Parliament
begins.
Hist. p. 75.

Here begins the busle, the Worthy Patriots (saies one) of the Peoples affection, were accounted the refractory; Men that refused the Loan, now under restraint, and they the prime men which the Freeholders cryed up for Representatives of their sufferings, *which made them of eminent remark for noble Courage*, and such men most true to be members, were likely to resent their own concernments first, being now made free, to quarrel their confinement.

Hist. p. 75.
Obl. p. 58.

This was indeed a Parliament, where most men of abilities were curious to come in; for now they were made up of curious brains, full of faction, with liberty and freedom to speak, and do what they list. The consideration transported an Author to intitle them, [Lords and Masters, and Petty Kings] but to miscount their abilities of estates beyond due proportion: for he supposes that these [Commons modestly estimated (being 500) to buy the House of Peers, the King excepted, (being 118) thrice over] and so, each Gentleman to be able to purchase his two Lords, and a half Lord one with the other. Which being but Hyperbole, the Observator seems over curious to quarrel it for a truth, which was not meant in earnest.

However then, there followed a change more strange; not long after a sort of upstarts, and yet appearing so mean and poor, that the Ballad offered the sale, a Parliament man for a penny, and many of them, worse than nothing. But then to censure the accountant for [excluding the Bishops] out of the reckoning, and to sentence the King as not well done to exclude them ever after, and to insist thereupon by the unhappy exigents that followed; which he might have spared to remark upon the Kings Act, unless he had prosecuted the story, and the affairs publick to those after times,

times, and then to have offered his counsel, how the King could have avoided his after consent therein; which we shall refer to the subsequent time and place fitting, as also to answer his Observation of the Kings strange improvidence in a Message from York, June 17. where he reckons himself as one of the three Estates, a Member of the House of Peers, But of those in their due place hereafter.

We are told of a [Discovery of a Colledge of Jesuits at Clerkenwell] but whereabouts is this Fabrick? [In a Lobby behind a New Brick wall, which being demolished, they were unkennel'd.] How many trow you? truly [Ten] a Notable Story worthy Record.

H.p. 78.

The time appointed brings the Parliament together; March 17. and Sir John Finch, the Queens Attorney chosen Speaker of the Commons house.

The Parliament sits.

And thus the King Salutes them.

My Lords and Gentlemen.

THese times are for *Action*, for *Action* I say, not for *Words*; therefore I shall use but a few; and (as Kings are said to be exemplary to their Subjects, so) I wish you would imitate me in this, and use as few, falling upon speedie Consultation. No man is, I conceive, such a stranger to the common Necessitie, as to expostulate the cause of this Meeting, and not to think supply to be the end of it; and as this necessitie is the Product and Consequent of your Advice, so the true Religion, the Laws and Liberties of this State, and just Defence of our Friends and Allies, being

*Anno**1627.*

so considerably concerned, will be *I* hope, arguments enough to perswade Supply; for if it be, as most true it is, both my Duty and Yours, to preserve this Church and Commonwealth, this exigent time certainly requires it.

In this time of Common Danger, I have taken the most antient, speedy, and best way for Supply, by calling you together. If (which God forbid) in not contributing what may answer the quality of my occasions, you do not your duties, it shall suffice *I* have done mine, in the conscience whereof *I* shall rest content, and take some other course, for which God hath impowred me, to save that which the folly of particular men might hazzard to lose.

Take not this as a menace (for *I* scorn to threaten my inferiours) but as an admonition from him who is tied, both by nature and dutie, to provide for your preservations; and *I* hope, though *I* thus speak, your demeanours will be such, as shall oblige me in thankfulnessse to meet you oftner, then which nothing shall be more pleasing to me.

Remembring

Anno
1627.

Remembering the distractions of our last meeting, you may suppose I have no confidence of good successe at this time, but be assured, I shall freely forget and forgive what is past, hoping you will follow that sacred advice lately inculcated, to *maintain the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace.*

The present Cause for supply of the Kings Necessities, was for the Religious defence of our Reformed friends now in present danger; And though the *Parliament* were convinced for their speedy Assistance, yet they looked a squint upon themselves, and but for shame had a minde first to do their own work, *the Peoples Grievances*, which were suggested to be many, or else were made so by themselves. But to put the King upon an after-game was not reasonable: and so they gave him five Subsidies with unanimous consent *Nemine contra dicente* as Secretary Coke told him: Whereupon (sayes One) *the King wept for joy, and bad him assure them, he would deny them nothing of their just Liberties.*

1628.
Subsidies granted.

This the *Observer* notes, as the fourth *Prefage*, taking it for granted that the King cried, and which tenderesse of his, the *Parliament* ever after made use of to his great dammage. Therein insisting, (it seems) by their continuall exacting upon the Kings Grace; the more he gave, the more they crave, demanding to his death. For indeed, He denied them nothing either what was their due, or what his favour could in reason afford them.

Hist. p. 77.

Obs. p. 30.

Prefage four.

And forthwith they fall upon the peoples *Liberties*. No free-man to be imprisoned by King or Council without legall cause alleged; As being an unreasonable thing, To send a Prisoner, and not withal to signifie his Crimes laid against him, Acts 25. 27. But this their Opinion indured large debate in the *Upper House*: wisely considering where the Prerogative should be suppressed in the King (their interests depending) would soon bring them low, and at last contemptible; And withal, having the Kings Counsel to defend his right, where the chief of them, his *Attorney General* (it is said) *pleaded impertinent for his Majesty*, but in what he doth not notifie, and so we suppose him here to be partial; for he confesseth that the *Ducal or Royal party* were so prevalent, as that the other popular party, or (as in truth they were stiled) *the Lower House Lords of the Upper House*, durst not venture upon the Orderly Vote, but moulded

Anno
1628.

ded themselves into a Committee, until the Lord Say (which is understood to be such a Lord) made his motion: *That they who stood for the liberties (not fifty) might make their Protestation upon Record, and that the other opposit party (the greater number, but the weaker Head-piece) should with Subscription of their Names, enter their reasons upon Record; that Posterity might not be to seek, who they were that so ignobly betrayed the freedom of our Nation; and this being done, then to proceed to Vote.* Indeed, the Court-party might be daunted at such a designe, which would have involved them in the danger, to be stoned to death by the ignorant Multitude, who were wilde to have liberty in all things, and might be easily drawn to do to those Lords as they did after in my Lord Sraffords case, post them up, to be knockt on the head, for dissenting Lords.

Thus was Personal liberty settled, against all presidents of former Sovereignty, or future use and Custom; Themselves the first breakers of this their Ordinance, as we shall hereafter have too too sad occasion to mention: but certainly their meaning was evermore, to excuse themselves from positive laws, though of their own devising.

Then whilest it was warm, They crouded in all complaints, upon liberty of goods, unbilleting of Souldiers, and nulling of Martial law, in time of Peace; To which indeed, *Magna Charta*, and six other Statutes which explain it, affords them law; for which they now petitioned, and were answered (by the Lord Keeper) *That the King consented those Evidences to be all in force, and he would govern them accordingly; His Royal word and promise being as binding to his conscience, as any laws they could make whatever, which he hoped would encourage them to proceed to the effecting of their necessary businesse.*

This not so sufficient, begat a question very modest, *Whether or no His Majesty should be trusted upon his word?* for his Coronation Oath swears him to maintain the Laws of the Land, more of force then any Royal word could be: and should it be voted in the Negative, all foraign people would lodge that on them as dishonourable, *not to trust their King;* When up starts Sr Edward Coke, We fit (sayes he) to take his Majesties word, but in a Parliamentary way, sitting on his Throne, in his Robes, with Crown and Scepter in full Parliament (both Houses present) thus to be done with Ceremony makes his Royal word in Parliament, and not a word delivered in his Chamber, or sent to us by his Secretary, or Lord Keeper. And so he moved that *More Majorum* the House should draw a Petition (*de Droit*) of Right to his Majesty, which should be confirmed by both Houses, and assented to by the King, and that Word be as firm an Act as any.

And so they framed a Petition, presenting it to the Lords; and after the severall Statutes were verbatim recited, the substance of the Petition was this.

They

Anno
1628.

1. **T**hey do pray your most excellent Majesty, that no man hereafter be compelled to make or yeeld any Gift, Loan, Benevolence, Tax or such like charge, without common consent by Act of Parliament; and that none be called to make answer, or to take such oath, or to give attendance, or be confin'd, or otherwise be molested, or disquieted concerning the same, or for refusal thereof.

2. And that no freeman be taken, and imprisoned, or be disseised of his free-hold or liberty, or his free customs, or be out-lawed or exiled, but by the lawfull judgement of his Peer, or by the law of the Land.

3. And that your Majesty would be pleased to remove the Souldiers and Mariners now Billitted in divers Counties, and that your people may not be so burthened in time to come.

4. That the late Commissions for proceeding by *Martiall-Law* may be revoked and annulled, and that hereafter no Commission of like nature may issue forth to any person or persons whatsoever to be executed, lest by colour of them any of your Majesties subjects be destroyed, and put to death contrary to law and the franchises of the land.

All which they most humbly pray of your most excellent Majesty, as their rights and liberties according to the Laws and Statutes of this Realm, and that your Majesty would also vouchsafe to declare, that all awards, doings, or proceedings to the prejudice of your People, shall not be drawn hereafter into consequence and example.

And now indeed their *Lordships* Eyes were opened, and fearing the eminent mischief to the King, and in him to themselves, as having more interest in Prerogative (then the Commons) their first existence & present subsistence, and yet not altogether to leave the
publique

Anno
1628.

publique, without remedy they annexed to the Petition this addition of *Salvo*, *We present this our humble Petition to your Majesty, not onely with care to preserve our own Liberties, but with regard to leave intire tht Soverain Power wherewith your Majesty is trusted for the Protection safety and happinesse of your People.*

But the Commons refused this, and procured a Conference, and Mr. *Noy* is sent with reasons and resolutions of the *Lower-House*, which signified little: but at a second meeting managed by Sr. *Henry Martin* and *Serjeant Glanville*, the *Lords* did comply, and so presented without that, saving. To which the King took a little leasure ere he returned them this for answer.

The Kings
first Answer.

THe King willeth that right be done according to the laws and Customs of the Realm, and that the Statutes be put in due execution, that his Subjects may have no cause to complain of any wrong or oppressions contrary to their just Right and Liberties, to the preservation whereof he holds himself in conscience as well obliged as of his Prerogative.

Certainly the sense was as the very *Essence*; the matter being the Main, and was excepted against, as too firm but not full enough, without their own formalities of the old Model, for which they agreed to Petition, but were surprized with this *Item*, from the King.

Second Answer.

My Answer was made with so good deliberation, and approved by the judgement of so many wise men, that I wonder it hath not satisfied you to the full; but to avoid all ambiguities, and to clear my just meaning, I am willing to please you even in Words as well as Substance. Read your *Petition*, and receive an Answer I am sure will please you. *Which was,*

Le

Le droit soit fait comme il est desire,
This I am sure is full, yet no more than in
my first; you may see now, how ready I
shew my self to satisfie your demands, so that
having done my part, if this Parliament
have not a happy conclusion, the sin is yours;
I am free.

Hereto the Houses shout with mighty acclamations of joy, te-
stified also with the usuall consent of the publique; Bonfires, and
Bells ringing over all the Cities, and the Upper-House finding this
a fit time of reciprocal contexture, the King glad to see them sa-
tisfied, with little a-doe procured his Majesties Grace to extend
even to those Lords in former disfavour, To Abbot Arch-Bishop of
Canterbury, William Bishop of Lincoln, the Earl of Essex, Lin-
coln, Warwick, Bristow, and him (that was alwayes out) the
Lord Say.

This did the King do, the fifth Prefage, [from the King vai-
ling his Crown to the Parliament] which doth so astonish the Hi-
storian, that he breaks out into Ravishment, *That this session that Gal-
lant Standard of Common Liberties, the Petition of Right, was grant-
ed, That never did Arbitrary Power since Monarchy first founded
so submittere fasces, so vail its Scepter, Never did the Prerogative
descend so much from Perch to Popular Lure, as by that Concessi-
on; a Concession able to give satisfaction even to supererogation,
for what was amisse in all the Kings by-past Government.*

Obf. p. 31.
Hist. p. 87.
Prefage 5.

But what did they do, having now thus sentenced all Ille-
galities, they fell to Execution of Commission of Loan and Excise
and cancelled them in the Kings presence. And now thus se-
cured, they yet ride on, ripping up all manner of Grievances and
Grievors, in a large Remonstrance.

1. **T**He danger of Innovation and alteration in Religi-
on. This occasioned by, 1. The great esteem and
favours many professors of the Romish Religion receive
at Court. 2. Their publique resort to Masse at Den-
mark house, contrary to his Majesties answer to the Par-
liaments Petition, at Oxford. 3. The Letters for stay
of proceedings against them. Lastly, the daily growth of the
Arminian faction favoured and protected by Nele Bishop
of

Anno
1628.

of Winchester, and Laud Bishop of Bathe and Wells, whilest the Orthodox parts are silenced or discountenanced.

2. The danger of Innovation, and alteration in Government, occasioned by the Billetting of Souldiers, by the Commission for procuring one thousand German Horse and Riders, as for the defence of the Kingdom, by a standing Commission granted to the Duke to be General at land in times of peace.

3. Disasters of our Designes, as the expedition to the Isle of Rhe, and that lately to Rochel, wherein the English have purchas'd their dishonour with the waste of a million of treasure.

4. The want of Ammunition, occasioned by the late selling away of thirty six Last of Powder.

5. The decay of Trade by the losse of three hundred ships taken by the Dunkyrkers and Pirates within these three last years.

6. The not guarding the narrow Seas, whereby his Majesty hath almost lost the Regality.

Of all which evils and dangers the principall Cause is the Duke of Buckingham his excessive power, and abuse of that power. And therefore they humbly submit it to his Majesties wisdom, whether it can be safe for himself, or his Kingdom, that so great power both by Sea and Land as rests in him, should be trusted in the hands of any one Subject whatsoever.

This and the Bill of Subsidies went cheek by joll, and were presented to the King in the Banqueting house at White-Hall, which being read out with some regret in the Kings looks; He told them plainly, He expected not such a Romance to answer his gracious consent to their Petition of Right. But for their just Grievances, they would deserve his consideration: And so suddenly rose up, and stepping down short, from the degrees of steps raised under the Cloth of State; the Duke stayed him by the hand, which now, is supposed to be given him to kisse, in spite of the Parliament; or otherwise rather but his low Congie to his Majesties hand, which in Court-complement was too much. But in truth I saw that passe, and that other Lords near the King offering

as much as the *Duke* did, which I well know, was then devised to lodge upon him, against whom their inbred dislike increased to all exceptions even of Circumstance or Shadow.

But how suddenly the *Commons House* incroach upon the *Lords Liberties*, excluding the words, *the Lords spiritual and Temporal*, in the very *Grant* of the *Bill* of Subsidies, which they resented with very high Indignation, though the *Commons* were known to be cunning enough to palliate the designe if discovered, with an excuse of bare *mis-omission*; yet the most of them stood it out, pretending (ever more in such cases) *That heretofore some Acts had so passed*, which they knew well enough how to avoid the proving. *But if their good Lordships would return the Bill, their names should be inserted*, as if they were not able to put themselves in, as the others were cunning to leave them out.

During these disputes, and the Kings necessities in *purse*, was the main caule of his consenting so much to raise the Parliaments and lessen his own *Power*.

One Doctor *Manwaring* observing the *Clench* meant to mend all by marring it with his two false Assertions, The one to be preached before the King, *That the Kings Royal Command imposing (without common consent of Parliament) Taxes and Loans doth so farre binde the conscience of the Subjects of this Kingdom, that they cannot refuse the payment without peril of damnation.*

Dr. Manwaring questioned.

The other he preached at his Parish Church, *That the Authority of Parliament is not necessary for the raising Aydes and Subsidies.*

To these he was questioned by a Committee, and in reason justly sentenced.

1. Imprisonment during the pleasure of the Parliament.
2. Fined one thousand pounds to the King.
3. To make such submission as shall be set down in writing at the Lords Bar, and Bar of Commons.
4. To be suspended three years from the exercise of the Ministry.
5. Never to preach at Court hereafter.
6. Never to have Ecclesiastical dignity or Secular Office.
7. To move his Majesty for calling in of his Book, and to be burnt.

And truly, I remember the Kings answer to all, *He that will preach other then he can prove, let him suffer: I give them no thanks to give me my due*, and so as being a Parliament businesse he was left by the King and Church to their Sentence, But why this case must be marked out for a sixth *Presage* from the Kings *vailing his Crown to the Parliament*, by suffering the House of Commons to set up, sayes he, a Committee for Religion, to question *Manwaring* and *Sibthorp* and others, for Doctrinal matters, more proper to be censured in the *High-Commission* or *Convocation* to

Obf. p. 31.
Presage 6.

Anno

1628.

June 26.

which Courts the cognizance do belong, and not unto a Consistory of *Lay-Elders*, which perhaps, wise men, but never the greatest *Clerks*. We may consent to his opinion in the Main for matters of *Divinity* and *Orthodox* points: But that the Preacher is *Fure Divino*, not to be censured but by themselves, smells of the Presbyter or Papist, both alike their Tenets, and so to ingrosse all into their General Assembly which was wont to be above *Privy-Counsel*, *Parliament* and *King*.

But the King bent his busie time to frame an Answer to their late *Remonstrance*, so tart, that the Commons resolved to double upon him against *Tonnage* and *Poundage*, which he would not endure, but prorogued the Parliament unto the twentieth of *October*, delivering his minde to them before his Assent to their Bills.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

IT may seem strange that I come so suddenly to end this Session, therefore before I give my assent to the Bills, I will tell you the cause, though I must avow I ow an account of my actions to none but God alone. It is known to every one that a while ago the House of Commons gave me a *Remonstrance*, how acceptable every man may judge, and for the merit of it I will not call that in question, for I am sure no wise man can justifie it.

Now since I am certainly informed that a second *Remonstrance* is preparing for me, to take away my profit of *Tunnage* and *Poundage* (one of the chief maintenances of the Crown) by alleadging that I have given away my right thereof, by my Answer to your Petition.

This is so prejudicial to me, as I am forced

to end this Session some few hours before *I* meant it, being willing not to receive any more Remonstrances, to which *I* must give an harsh answer.

And since *I* see that even the House of Commons begins already to make false constructions of what *I* granted in your Petition, lest it be worse interpreted in the Country, *I* will now make a Declaration concerning the true intent thereof.

The Profession of both Houses, in the time of hammering this Petition, was no waies to trench upon my Prerogative, saying, *They had neither intention, nor power to hurt it.*

Therefore it must needs be conceived that *I* have granted no new, but onely confirm the ancient Libertie of my Subjects. Yet to shew the clearness of my intentions, that *I* neither repent nor mean to recede from any thing *I* promised you, *I* do here declare, That those things which have been done, whereby men had cause to suspect the Liberty of the Subject to be trencht upon (which indeed was the true and first ground of the Petition) shall not hereafter be drawn into example for your prejudice; and in time to come (in the word of a King) you shall not have the like cause to complain.

But as for *Tonnage* and *Poundage*, it is a thing *I* cannot want, and was never intended
by

Anno

1628.

by you to ask, never meant (*I am sure*) by me to grant.

To conclude, *I* command you all that are here, to take notice of what *I* have spoken at this time, to be the true intent and meaning of what *I* granted you in your Petition; But especially you my Lords the Judges, for to you onely under me belongs the interpretation of the **Laws**, for none of the Houses of Parliament joynt, or separate, (what new doctrine soever may be raised) have any power, either to make, or declare a Law without my consent.

This Session were enacted these Laws, and first of all,

For further Reformation of Divers abuses committed on the Lords day, commonly called Sunday.

2. *To restrain the passing or sending any to be Popishly bred beyond Seas.*

3. *For the better suppressing unlicensed Ale-House Keepers.*

4. *For continuance and Repeal of divers Statutes.*

5. *For the establishing of the Estates of the Tenants of Brumfield and Yale, in the County of Denbigh, and of the Tenures, Rents and services thereupon reserved, according to a late composition made for the same with the King then Prince of Wales.*

6. *For the confirmation of the Subsidies granted by the Clergy.*

7. *For the grant of five intire Subsidies, granted by the Temporality.*

There was a *Design* in the King to lay it up under deck, amongst other

ther Crimes fit for *Star-chamber* Censure; that when the State should have been at leisure, their *Charter* might have paid for all, and I know the *Attorney Generall* had Order in these.

In *July* dies *Doctor Preston*, an excellent *Preacher*, of whom something hath been said in the *Historie* of the *Church*, which concludes his *Character*, A *subtile Disputant* and great *Polititian*, having large parts, of sufficient Receipt to mannage the broad Seat, which, if the Condition had pleased, was proffered unto him; and might have been the *Dukes* right hand (Or rather lesse then his little finger) who despairing of being *Patriarch* of the *Presbyterian* party, used the Duke no longer: Excellent parts (no doubt) he had; His pieces are in Print, His *Posthumus*, And his *Pupil* left nothing unsaid of his life, to give him merit, and eternall memory.

Somewhat must be said as to his *Politiques*: He was esteemed indeed a proper *Patron* for the *Puritan Presbyter*, which now got head to prick up: And all the Plot was to bring him in; forsooth, to make the Duke in that Ministry, which they durst intrust to his Management: And first, to appear aloof (the manner of Court observers) his addresse must be to the *Dukes* Confident, the Earl of *Holland*, made easie to him by favour of that family: But yet a *Remembrancer* was thought upon to move by the by, a dependant of that Lords, who in truth dealt Ingeniously; Intimating to the Duke, *Doctor Prestons* power and interest with the *Presbyters* in that time, more necessary to be sought unto, then to be put by; To which the Duke answered with an Oath, *The King knows him too well, and hath no good opinion of him*. If so (replied the Other) and already known, the advantage the better, to make alike use of him; so they did. In which truly the *Dukes* head was not too easie for the Doctors; for in shew he was carressed to undo him, which wrought the effects; suspected of his own followers, lest he should be, not onely besprinkled, but drencht in Court *Holy-water*. And in very earnest, somewhat tainted he was, and tempted with ambitious hopes, and (if I may speak it) himself was brought to accept it. But it was very necessary for him, to undeceive his Disciples, and there to intrust One, in whom *Obedience* and *Blindnesse* met together; A being made to do as he was bidden. To him the Doctor writes a Letter under hand to be communicated onely unto special friends, wherein to blazon himself, he relates what he thought fitting to be believed, more to his own glory, and disparagement of the weaknesse of Court wits (as he stiled them) then many vain men might be thought to imagine. That, not enough, he vents therein his own policy, working upon the witlesse *Statists* at Court, bestowing on each of them by Name such characters as he conceived would careffe his *Pupils*; with a *Stanza* or two, short and *Satyrical*. This Letter sealed was found in *Smithfield* broken open,

Anno
1628.

Dr. Preston
dies, and his
Charecter.

Anno
1628.

pen, and carried to the *Duke*; But by a noble friend of his, handsomly descried to him, *How witty he was in Rhimes*; and bidden to look about him: Of which when he had but a hint, He clapt his hand on his heart, and confessed *he was undone*.

But his party, to procure their *Patrons* peace of minde, and to silence such a *Witnesse*, they dealt subtilly indeed; down-right Bribes, to the *Dukes Barber*, to finger the Letter out of the *Dukes* pocket, and so being brought to the Doctor, to bury the obloquie, before his death, not much time after. This I say, to shew how partially *Mens pens* put down private Actions which they guesse at: Other such I could unravel. And for this with the Testimony to boot of a *Person*, then his disciple, and since, of that eminency in honour and justice as we shall fail to finde out his example.

The third
Fleet to *Rochel*.

Sithence the return home of the *second* unfortunate *Fleet*, designed to *relieve Rochel*, this whole *vacation* took up the time, with those ships and others appointed for a fresh *Expedition* thither; The most accomplished *Armado* that was set out by *England*. And the *Duke* designed himself to be the *General* Commander, once more to give adventure for the fatal effects, or final end to their languishing misery. And because the Earl of *Marlborough* had been a dull and unactive *Treasurer* for raising money to the *Exchequer*; he was removed to be *President* of the *Privy Counsel*. And *Sr Richard Weston*, lately created *Baron*, supposed more solid for the weight of that *Staffe*! And in truth the King was put upon it to seek for such men, whose abilities might recover him from the hazzard and defection he was fallen into, both in his *Purse* and *power*; He for the one, and *Sr. Thomas Wentworth* of the *North* was made a *Lord* ready for the next *Session* to sit with the *Peers*. He had been too heavy against *Prerogative*, and this was a way to bring them in for the King.

The Fleet now in readinesse; the King draws down his *Guests* of *Progresse* towards *Portsmouth* where the Ships were, and from thence to *dis-embogue*. The *Town* so full of Gallants, and so pestered with lodgings that the King kept aloof, and made his *Court* four miles distant. The *Duke* very diligent to hasten his designe, treating daily with the Commissioners of *Rochel* and *Soubize*, in *Portsmouth*, with his *Duchesse* and Family, when He took his last leave of this life.

And because the *Historian* is much mistaken in relation of the *Dukes Murder*, I shall ingeniously and truly (not upon surmize or *Hear-say*) resolve all the particular.

That fatall morning the three and twentieth of *August* the *Duke* having fitted himself to wait upon the King, he hastily called for *Breakfast*. His servants attending the *sewer* to bring in the meat; the *Duke* came down stairs from his upper *Chamber*

to

The Duke
murdered by
John Felton.

Anno
1628.

to eat in a lower *Parlour*, turning in at the foot of the *Stairs* in a narrow *Entry*. And Sir *Thomas Friar* one of his *Colonels* following him to the *Parlour* door, stooping to take his leave, the *Duke* declining imbraced *Friar* with these words, *Honest Tom*. and so turning into the *Room*, one *John Felton* at that instant, shadowed behinde them, stabbed him to the heart with a back-blow of a *Coutel-knife*, which stuck in his body till the *Duke* dragg'd it out, and so enlarged the *orifice*, that streamed with the effusion of so much *bloud* and *spirit*, that instantly he died, not able (it seems) to utter a syllable; and certainly no soul there present, for he fell backward into the *Parlour*, and the *Assassinate* fled: nor could any creature discern the *Murderer*, but by several suspicions of those that were left last above with the *Duke*: and therefore some cried out upon *Soubiez*, the *Frenchmen*, *Friar*, whilest *Felton* having no power to fly far, uncertain what to do, stepped aside into the *Kitchen*, near at hand; hither the uproar and search followed, some cried out, *Where's the Villain?* *Felton* mistaking the words for *Here's the Villain*, suddenly started, and said, *I am he*, whom they seized, and with much ado to preserve alive from the fury of the *Servants*, Mr. *Stamford* the *Dukes* follower tilting at him with a *Rapier*, which others put by, that missed but little of his intent, to repay him to the full.

This being the truth, we can scarce give credit, that any one, much less that the *Earl of Cleveland* and some others, who were in the hearing of the thing, reported, [*that the most religious Murderer in the very act of striking, said, Lord have mercy on thy soul, a Speech which the Duke had scarce ability to say himself, but was onely heard to say, (some report with an Oath) The Villain hath kill'd me.*]

Hist. p. 50.

We must observe the *Authours* easiness to believe *Reports* so improbable, that the *Earl* and others (*Witnes enow*) should be so near to hear the thing, and the several *sayings*, and yet could not meet with the man till he discovered himself.

How very *Christian-like* he stiles the *Malefactor*, *The most religious Murderer*, and grounds his faith (no doubt) upon his charitable *Requiem* for the *Duke's Soul*, which he had *scarce ability to say for himself*: and yet with the same certainty he assures us, that the *Duke was heard to say* much more, and that *with an Oath, The Villain hath kill'd me*. This *Oath* was either an *Assaveration* which needed not, or a *Curse*, more wretched, and both alike unlikely to be true.

Strange *Reports* are seldome of certainty, which wise men justly forbear without good proof. To say upon hear-say that *A. B.* hath hang'd himself, is an abominable untruth, if he be living. Yet in such case, the party belied, hath time and means hereafter personally to recover his good fame by disproving the Report. But to create and chronicle a fatal *Scandal* upon the very *Soul* of a noble

R

person

Anno

1628.

person dying; and that irrecoverably beyond the reach of repair, is no doubt most unbecoming an *Historian*, or a good *Christian*.

And for his two especial, almost [*singularly observable things*] are thus mistaken, that [*the Corps was* (he says) *totally abandoned by each living man*] Indeed he dead, the inquisition for Murder made every good man a party in the search, as in such distraction is always needfull; and besides, the *Duke's Dutcheſs* and other *Ladies* in the upper *Chamber*, hastened all mens affections and charity thitherward, to preserve them and others in desperate agony. And for the other, ill news hath wings, carried to Court by Captain *Charls Price*, who found the King in the Presence-chamber at his publick daily *Prayers*, and the Company about him on their knees, over whose heads he unhandſomly beſtrid, to make his way to the King, rounding his ear, *The Duke is murdered*; which being thus paſſionately acted, and ſo obſerved, the *Chaplain* he made a ſtop till the King bid him *go on*, as not to interrupt his Devotions with any outward accident. [*But others* (he ſays) *thought, he might diſlike the mode of the Dukes diſpatch, yet was well pleaſed with the thing, as if Providence had rid him of the ſubject, whom he could not prefer with ſafety, nor deſert with honour*] an unhandſome character of the Kings conſcience.

Many Meſſengers poſted to Court with this ill News, more haſty than able to ſatiſſie the particulars therein; and as paſſionately the Courtiers poſted to *Portſmouth*: There was one had command to inquire of the Fact, to ſee the man, and to ſearch out ſomewhat to ſatiſſie the King, and with his Warrant to the Governour, was put in to the *Prisoner*, a little, timber, meagre, gaſtly, frightfull face Fellow, already clapt into a ſmall Centry houſe upon the *Guard*, horribly laden with manacled Irons, neither to ſit, nor to ly down, but to be crippled againſt the Wall, with him thus in private, and to ſweeten his devilish conditions, the party pretended, that in affection to ſome of his Friends he came of this viſit, to adminiſter comfort with his *Prayers*, the beſt effects of Charity to him. But he answers, that *he was not ſo ignorant to believe, that a man in his condition ſhould be admitted ſuch comforts; but I rather receive you an Examiner*, (ſaid he) *impowred to make inquiſition of me and this Action of mine*.

Felton's con-
feſſion.

And after ſome diſcourſe, *Sir*, (ſaid he) *I ſhall be brief, I killed him for the cauſe of God and my Countrey*. Nay, (ſaid the other) there may be hope of his life, the Surgeons ſay ſo. *It is impoſſible*, (he replied) *I had the force of forty men, aſſiſted by him that guided my hand*. And being interrogated to ſeveral Queſtions, he made theſe Answers. *That he was named John Felton, heretofore Lieutenant to a Foot Company under Sir James Ramſey: that he had endeavoured for a Commiſſion to be Captain in this Expedition, and failed therein, but without any regret upon the Duke, (from whom he had*
found

Anno
1628.

found respect) nor for any private interest whatsoever; that the late Remonstrance of Parliament published the Duke so odious, that he appeared to him deserving death, which no Justice durst execute. That it was not many days since he resolved to kill him, but finding the Duke so closely attended, that it should be his business to pass a Voluntier, and do it in this Voyage. Somewhat he said of a Sermon at St. Faiths Church under Pauls, where the Preacher spake in justification of every man in a good cause to be Judge and Executioner of sin, which he interpreted to be him. That passing out at the Postern-gate upon Tower-hill he espied that fatal Knife in a Cutlers Glass-case, which he bought for sixteen pence. It was the point-end of a tuff Blade, stuck into a cross Haft, the whole length Handle and all, not twelve Inches, fastened to his right Pocket, and from that time he resolved therewith to stab him. That some days after he followed the Train to Portsmouth, and coming by a Cross erected in the High-way, he sharpened the point thereof upon the stone, believing it more proper in justice to advantage his design, than for the idolatrous intent it was first erected. That he found continual trouble and disquiet in minde untill he should perform this Fact, and came to Town but that Morning. That no Soul living was necessary with him by any ways or means of the Dukes Execution. That he was assured, his Fact was justified, and he the Redeemer of the Peoples sufferings, under the power of the Dukes usurpations, &c. And his Paper tackt in the Crown of his Hat seemed to satisfie his Conscience that he was thereof well pleased.

A little assurance may serve the turn to satisfie any charitable person, that the Duke [might premeditate of death, besides the leaving of his Will behinde him] a greater wonder for a person of his high quality to hazard himself in a publick Expedition of Sea and Land, without settling his Estate for his Wife and Children. And therefore he bequeaths her the fourth part of his Lands. His Debts sixty thousand pounds. His Jewels indeed were of good value, but under-rated at three hundred thousand pounds, yet this is mentioned by one, that thought it [too much gain] though the Favourite of two Kings; when we are assured Duke Cardinal Richelieu's Estate was left certainly sixty Millions of Francks, accounted in English six Millions of Pounds Sterling.

His Bowels were interred in Portsmouth by his dear and onely Sister the Countess of Denbigh, and a handsome Memorial of him erected there. His body brought to York-house, where his effigies lay sometime in an illustrious manner upon a Hearse, and after sumptuously intombed at Westminster in St. Edward's Chapel, without any such stir, as the Historian would infer concerning his Funeral, for his Executours paid for all, and it cost not the King a Penny, and a stately Monument erected over his Grave for his lasting memory.

And Felton found guilty at the Kings Bench Bar was hanged at

Hist. p. 90.

Hist. p. 91.

The Dukes
Funeral and
Tomb.

Anno
1628.

Felton hanged
in chains.

Hist. p. 94.

Verfes on the
Duke.

Hist. p. 88.

Of Prophecy.

Tiburn, against which time he was taught so much charity to his own soul, as with remorse to acknowledge his Fact damnable, without Gods great mercy; laying the guilt directly upon the *Parliaments Remonstrance*, the immediate motive to his devilish Design.

His Body was sent to *Portsmouth*, where without the Town upon the High-way it was gibbeted in Chains for some years, which I often saw, [*not stollen away, as one relates*] but after the *Carkase* was consumed, or piece-meal rotted and fallen down, the *Gibbet* by request of a Friend to the Dukes Family, was taken away, being but a Sign-post to the memory of that Murder, and to be cause of discourse concerning the Dukes fame, of which a wise man thus expresseth.

*Nunc quia pauca domi non sunt bene gesta, forisque
Paucula, successus non habuere suos:
Creditor esse dolus, fuerat quæ culpa, putatur
Esse scelus, lapsus qui juvenilis erat.
Rumpatur livor (dicam quod sentio) certe
Imprudens, potius quam sceleratus, erat.*

We are told [*of ominous observations in reference to the Duke*] and what may we suppose them to be? [*that on the same day when Dr. Lamb was slain, the Dukes Picture fell down in the High-commission-chamber at Lambeth; but that which is most memorable (he saith) was the Lady Davis foretelling, [that his time was not to come till August]* Her Predictions were sundry, concerning this *Parliament*, and other her mad-brains Prophecies, never seriously observed by any so remarkable as our *Authour*.

Prophecy is not all of one and the same value, either for the authour or manner. Some were *Relaters* onely, by the writings or conversation of *Prophets*. Many stole their Predictions from *Prophets*; and the *Pagans* and *Infidels* might take those passages, not understood by themselves, and so by them also ambiguously transmitted.

The *Sybills* Prophecies were most famous among the ancient *Pagans* and *Christians*, speaking plainly of the *Resurrection*, *Judgment* of the *World*, *Life everlasting*, *Glory*, and reward of *Righteousness*, concerning *Christian Faith* and *Religion*.

Sibula, signifying *Women of counsel with God*; *Sios quasi Theos Bule* is *Council*. All women *Prophets* generally are called *Sibyls*, but for their Number, (of whom we mean) they were but *Ten*.

The one of them *Cumena* offered her nine Books in three *Tomes* to sell to *Tarquinius Priscus*, who refusing the price, she burnt the first *Tome*, yet asked the same value for the other *Two*; burnt the second also, and had her first demand for the third *Tome*; and so she

the vanished. They were laid up in a Chest of Stone in the *Capitol* with wondrous care, but were burnt in the flame of the *Capitol*, Anno 671.

Another, *Cumea*, she lived in the Wars of *Troy*, for *Aeneas* had access to her at *Cuma* in *Italy*, and her Cave or Cell remained untill Anno Christi 1539. when by the general Earthquake her Cell was swallowed: she prophesied of our Saviour Jesus, born a King of the royal House of David, to reign as a King upon the House of Jacob for ever.

The Books of *Sibylls* were transcribed from hand to hand, and used as Reasons of State by the *Romans*, and were read, used, and commended by the learned Fathers of the Church. And God himself in goodness had a special regard therein, to procure credit unto those Predictions, which in after-ages the *Christians* vouched against the *Pagans*, as being no new Doctrine to them; and God renewed their esteem, when the Saviour was born, for *Tiberius Caesar* (tempore Christi) caused a second review of their Books, to distinguish them from others corrupt. The ancient Fathers used them against *Infidels*, which the *Romans* received but as reasons of State.

They were not all *Virgins*, nor could their Prophecying be *Premium Virginitatis*; why not indifferent *Virginibus*? But because the other were holy and righteous. Those righteous and just men of old, *Job*, &c. could not possibly have been made so righteous, so just, by being cleaned from their sins, without faith resolved in and upon the Incarnation, Death, and Resurrection of Christ, through the grace of God made manifest unto them. Why not as these righteous ones, remembered in Scripture, or of such not spoken of there, but yet assuredly were, and lived before or after the Flood, untill the giving of the Law by *Moses*, not onely such as lived in *Israel*, (the Prophets) but such as were without the Pale of *Israel*, (holy *Job*?) And so, why not of some Gentiles, as *Trismegistus*, *Histaspes*, *Orpheus*? Etenim ipsorum corda eadem mundabantur fide Mediatoris, & diffundebatur charitas in iis per Spiritum Sanctum; as saith *Austin*. Ask not how: God is various and admirable in his ways, and wondrous in his works, not *Merita sequitur, sed facit merita*.

That God spake by the *Sibylls*, (though wicked) and not the Devil, *Potest prophetia haberi sine charitate, & gratia gratum faciente*.

The Devils tremble, *Balaam* was wicked, yet he prophesied, not by the Devil, (with whom otherwise he wrought) but by God; for the Devil loquitur e propriis, even then when he speaks not propria, and so speaks Lies intermingled with Truths, either in the matter, manner, or end; he can foretell, inspire, suggest, (unto his own) things to come, which in respect of us (not of him, nor themselves) be predictions. He can inform and advise concerning us, but the things of God, secrets of his counsel, he cannot see. God may

Anno

1628.

may and doth sometimes reveal, such things to him and his, as he doth to blessed *Spirits* and good men, but in a different sort; *God* takes possession of his *Prophets* soul, speaking to them intelligibly. *Spiritus Domini qui in me, & Verbum quod loquitur per os meum.*

The others are driven to what they say, and so understand not what they speak; truths against their wills, and to give evidence to that they would not do, *Balaam* did so, and yet it was no act of *Satan*. And though the *Sibylls* were as bad, yet, why the act of *Satan*, that they foretold of *Christ*? The Devil was not so ill affected to his own State, as to foretell the ruine of it; nor could teach men honesty, which he knew not himself. He might know, that *Christ* was to come to be born of *Judah* of the House of *David*, but to be born of the *Virgin Mary*, Daughter of *Anna*, Wife to *Joseph*, and his Name to be *Jesus*, &c. untill he saw the event, he could not. Those and many such are in *Sibylls*, which makes some conclude them counterfeits, *postnatis*, forged by *Christians*.

In a word, *Arreptiti* and *Enthusiasts* amongst *Pagans*, those possessed of unclean spirits, are distracted, enraged, carried, haled, distorted in body and minde. The true *Prophets* spake words of knowledg and understanding, used gestures of modesty, sobriety, and gravity. It is against reason, that by the Spirit of understanding a man should be divested of his former understanding; that light should make a man blinde. But certainly such were not those Dames, the Lady *Davies* and Mistris *Carew*, their words and writings always vain, full of whimsies, uncertain, full of mysterious expressions, they knew not what, and so assuredly were from and by the Devil, knowing by several designs of wicked men, what the Event was likely to be, but not certainly what to be. But to our History.

The last Fleet
to *Rochel*.

The *Duke* being dead, the *Kings* personal presence hastened all the *Necessaries* fitting for the *Fleet*, and the great Expectation on whom that Honour would be conferred, all men in amaze, the Earl of *Linsay* was assigned for the Command. Certainly he was a person of no likely presence, but of some experience, by his last Expedition thither, and hereafter to the last of his life made good his faith with gallantry and courage. So that on the eighth of *September* he set forth from *Portsmouth*, and came to the Bar of the *Haven* with reasonable speed of winde and weather, where he findes that the *Duke Cardinal Richelieu* had finished his monstrous Work with *Boom* and *Barracado*, exceeding all the mighty Designs that ever were effected, by narrative of any History: yet none of these, nor all the Enemies Land-works, Forts, or Strengths, could deter this brave Man from dangerous Attempts; having passed the Out-forts and Bulwarks, even to the Mouth of the Bar, untill a cross Winde returned them foul of each other.

And

The Reign of King Charles.

127

And so it appeared impossible, the *Town* viewing the sad effects, without more dispute, called in their *King*, with the greatest submission that *Revolters* could express, and had mercy accordingly to the remain which *Famine* had left, for otherways they lost none by the *Sword*; the *King* entring with all mercifull mildness the eighteenth of *October*, and found but *four thousand*, the remain of *twenty two thousand Souls*.

The prodigious Works and Fortifications were instantly slighted, and for the ignominy of the *Inhabitants*, the very name *Rochel* was sacrificed to oblivion, and a new Title given to that *City*, *Borgo Maria*, in honour of *Queen Mother*, the *Cardinals* dear *Patroness*.

Thus ended that quarrel between King *Lewis* and his rebellious *Rochellers*, for whose cause King *James* somewhat (but King *Charles* much more) endeavoured their relief; first by *Treaties*, and after by *Forces*: the Grounds and Reasons I have endeavoured to assure from observation of the particular causes since their first difference, and which reasonably the Duke of *Buckingham's* Manifesto seems to satisfy: somewhat may be said to the Design in policy, but for that score of *Religion* it is truly noted; That not onely that very *Seet*, but of that very *Church*, for whose Protection King *Charles* was so solicitous, and whose supportation he now so ardently endeavoured, became afterwards none of the meanest sticklers and fomenters of his own and his *Churches* troubles. A document to Kings to be wary whom they aid. And so the *Fleet* returned safe home again.

The *Parliament* met the twentieth of *January*, and convenient for complaints against the *Customers*, for restraining the Merchants Goods for *Tonnage* and *Poundage*, which the *King* meant to defend, and therefore summoned them to his *Banqueting-house* at *Whitehall*, and told them, *That the difference might soon be decided, if his words and actions were considered, for though he took not those duties as belonging to his Prerogative, nor had he declared to challenge them his right, but onely desired them by gift of his People; why had they not passed the Bill according to their promise to clear his former and future actions in this time of his great necessity? which he now required them to make good, and so give end to all Questions without delay.*

But the religious *Commons* must reform *God's* cause before the *King's*, nor would they be prescribed their Consultations, but resolved to remit the *Bill of Tunnage* and *Poundage* at pleasure. And so they did appoint *Committees*, one for *Religion*, and the other for *Civil* affairs, to represent the abuses in both.

The first *Committee* for the *Commons* of *England* to regulate *Religion*, which (one says) the *Courtiers* called the *Inquisition*, and well they might for such it was. The Points were general *Arminianism* and *Popery*.

Anno

1628.

Rochel surrendered.

Hist. p. 94.

Parliament sit.

Hist. p. 66.

Committee of Religion.

The

Anno
1628.

Nine Articles
at Lambeth
and the occa-
sion of them.
Hist. p. 96.
Obf. 71.

Obf. 72.

The Informations were many; concerning the *first*, grounded upon the ancient nine Articles, resolved at *Lambeth* 1595. by the reverend *Bishops* and *Deans*, on purpose to declare their sense of the nine and thirty *Articles* in those particulars, and unto which the Archbishop of *York* and his Province did conform.

They did so indeed, deliver their sense, as *Opinions*, not publick *Doctrines*, as is truly observed; and King *James* recommended them over to the *Synod* of *Dort*, and there asserted by suffrage of those *Doctours*, and were afterwards commended to the Convocation in *Ireland*, to be inserted into the *Articles of Religion*, 1615. And so they were. But how?

The Observation tells us, That our first Reformers were not regulated by *Lutheran* or *Calvinian* *Doctrines*, but by the constant current of Antiquity: and the way of *Melancton* most consonant thereto, was approved by Bishop *Hooper* on the *Decalogue*, and by Bishop *Latimer* in his Sermons, but also by the Compiler of the Book of *Articles*, and the Book of *Homilies*, which are the publick Monuments of this *Church* in Points of *Doctrine*. But the *Calvinian* entering the way, there arose a difference in particular judgments of these Debates, the matter controverted *pro & con* by some confessors in Prison, in the time of Queen *Mary*: she dead, and our exiled Divines returning from *Geneva*, *Basil*, and *Frankford*, (where *Calvin's* Dictates became Oracles) brought with them his *Opinions* of *Predestination*, *Grace*, and *Perseverance*, which they scattered over all the Church, by whose authority and double diligence of the *Presbyterian* party, to advance their holy *Discipline*, it became universally received as the onely true, *Orthodox Doctrine*, and so maintained in the Schools of *Cambridge*: in so much that when *Peter Baro* a *French-man*, Professor for the Lady *Margaret* there, reviving the *Melancton* way in his publick *Lectures*, and drawing others to the same perswasion; He was complained of by Doctor *Whitakers*, Doctor *Willet*, Master *Chaterton*, Master *Perkins*, and such like, unto the Arch-bishop of *Canterbury* Doctor *Whitgift*, to suppress that Faction, who assembling at *Lambeth*, Doctor *Richard Fletcher* Bishop of *London*, and Doctor *Richard Vaughan* elect of *Bangor*, with advice of Doctor *Whitakers*, Doctor *Tindal*, and others, (all parties to the Sute) agree on the nine Articles to be sent to *Cambridge*, for composing their present Controversie, the six and twentieth of *November*, 1595.

Doctor *Baro* thus discouraged, at the end of his first three years, quits his Reading, and retires home to *France*, leaving the University in much disorder, for lack of such his abilities. Amongst his followers, was one Master *Barret*, who in his Sermon at *St. Maries*, not onely defended *Baro*, but offended the opinions of *Calvin*, *Beza*, and such others of the *Reformatours*, of which he was convented before the Heads, (Doctor *James Mountague* Master of *Sidney College*

Anno
1628.

College, a worthy Divine, but then of their own opinion) and by them May 5. next following he was prescribed his *Recantation*, and did so; yet the contentions were disputed higher, the nine *Articles* of *Lambeth* came down, hastened upon this occasion, otherwise perhaps they had not come at all.

But though these *Articles* were thus (and no otherwise) made and agreed, and made known to Queen *Elizabeth*, by *William* Lord *Burleigh* Lord Treasurer of *England*, and Chancellor of the *University*, who mis-liked the Tenets and Proceedings: she much offended with such Innovations in the publick *Doctrine* of the *Church*, resolved to attain them all of *Premunire*, but upon received esteem of that Prelate *Arch-bishop*, (whom she called her *Black Husband*) and favourably admitting his Excuse, she commanded him to recall and suppress those *Articles*, which for a long time not a Copy thereof was to be found, though after by degrees they peeped out, and again in the *Conference* at *Hampton-court*, 1603. Doctor *Reynold's* Record, *That the nine Assertions orthodoxal* (as he stiles them) *concluded upon at Lambeth, might be inserted in the Book of Articles of the Church of England.* The King unacquainted with such novel *Doctrine*, asked, *what they were?* and was told as before said. To which he answered, *That when such Questions arise among Scholars, the quietest proceedings were to determine them in the University, and not to stuff the Book with all Conclusions Theological.* See *Conf. p. 24, 40, 41.* Let the Reader judg of these Reasons, whether these nine *Assertions* thus authorized, are so canonically confirm'd as to determine them *orthodox Doctrine* of the *Church of England*, and those men for *Arminians* that do not subscribe to them? or otherwise.

But we finde our *Historian* very positive for that party, and so zealous for his *orthodox* men, that being in the List alone without an Adversary, he rants it very high, accusing royal favour, for sheltering the *Arminians*, as he calls Doctor *Cozens*, *Manwaring*, and *Sibthorp*; but also through the prevalency of the Bishops of *Winchester* and *London* advanced to great preferment, &c.

And when he comes to the *Papist*, he is in bodily fear [*lest Tiber should drown the Thames.*] His Reasons are the uncontroled preaching of several Points tending that way, by *Mountague*, *Goodman*, *Cozens*, and others. Secondly, the audacious obtruding superstitious Ceremonies by the *Prelates*. Thirdly, fixed *Altars* cringing towards them. The last, surely the most, standing up at *Gloria Patri*, dangerous dilapidations from the true *Reformation*, which he calls *Papery oblique*, we are like to be assured of a perfect account from this *Authour*, that seems so partial in his Relations.

But we come to the Abuses in *Civil* affairs. The *Printer* was questioned for printing the *Petition of Right* with the Kings first

Abuses in civil affairs.

Anno
1628.

The King
and Parlia-
ment differ.

Answer, which was not satisfactory. He confessed, that during the first *Session* of *Parliament*, 1500. Copies were printed without that addition, and since he had order from the *Attorney General* to reprint it with that *Addition*.

Many Merchants Goods seized, and Informations in *Star-chamber* against them, for not paying the Customes of *Tunnage* and *Poundage*. Some Impositions against the *Petition of Right* and Privilege of *Parliament*, upon which Sir *Fo: Worstenholm*, the Farmers of the Custom, Master *Daws*, and Master *Carmarthen* his Assistants, were called to account, who were excused by the *King*, that they acted by his command, which he presumed the *House of Commons* would grant him by Bill, as they had promised.

The *Parliament* would not understand it so, their Commission onely impowred them to collect the Moneys, but not to seize the Merchants Goods, But for the *Bill*, his Majesty had declared *Tunnage* and *Poundage* to be a *Principal Revenue* of his *Crown*, and so his own, already, without cause otherwise to demand it, or they to grant; therefore that *Record* must be cancelled, and the *King* confesses his no Right thereunto, else they cannot grant but their free gift.

The *Parliaments* Plot was this way, for the *King* to leave his *Customes* to their Seisure, as *Delinquents*, by their undue behaviour therein, which in honour he could not, nor would.

Sir John Eliot
his Speech
and Remon-
strance.

The *House* in a *Hubbub* at Secretary *Coke* who brought this Message; they adjourn for some days, and when they met, the *King* adjourned them till the first of *March*, when up starts Sir *Fo: Eliot* with a stinging Complaint against the Lord Treasurer *Weston*, as accessary to all Evils in *Church* and *State*, with a Design to transfer our *English Trade* unto Foraigners; and so in love he was, of what he meant to say, that the Heads thereof were copied and published to the Treasurer, who prepared the *King* with a Message, that followed his Speech immediately to adjourn till the tenth Day; but now they grow high, and check the *Speaker* for admitting the Message: and therefore they will go on, and give ear to *Eliot's* Remonstrance; which he offered to the *Speaker* and *Clerk*, but they refuse, and so he was bold to reade it himself. In effect, That they had considered of a Bill for *Tunnage* and *Poundage*, but being over-pressed with other business, and that of it self so perplexed, would require much leisure to discharge, which at that time they could not, this present Session, moving hastily to an end. And lest his Majesty should hereafter, as he had done heretofore, incline to evil spirits, or be abused to believe, that he might justly receive the Subsidies of *Tunnage* and *Poundage*, which they humbly declare to be against the Fundamental Law of the Nation, and contrary to the *Kings* late Answer to the *Petition of Right*. And therefore they crave that his Majesty would for the future forbear such Taxes,

Taxes, and not to take it ill, if his Subjects refuse, what is demanded by arbitrary and unwarrantable power.

ANNO
1628.

The *Speaker* was moved to put it to the *Vote*, whether it should be preferred to the King or no: To which he craved pardon, having been ordered by the Kings command expressly, to leave the House; and attempting to rise, was by force held down by Master *Hollis*, who swore, he should sit still, whilst they pleased; but not prevailing, Sir *Peter Hayman* moved *Hollis* to read these *Articles* which the House protested.

First, whosoever shall bring in *Innovation of Religion*, or by favour seek to introduce *Popery*, or *Arminianism*, or other *Opinions* disagreeing from the true and orthodox Church, shall be reputed a capital Enemy to this Kingdom and Common-wealth.

The Commons Protestation.

Secondly, whosoever shall counsel or advise the taking or levying of the Subsidies of *Tunnage* and *Poundage*, not being granted by Parliament, or shall be an Actor or Instrument therein, shall be likewise reputed a capital Enemy to the Common-wealth.

Thirdly, if any man shall yield voluntarily, or pay the same, not being granted by Parliament, he shall be reputed a Betraier of the Liberties of England, and an Enemy to this Common-wealth.

To each of these in order the House gave there a loud applause at every close, which distempers reaching but to the Kings ear, he sent for the *Serjeant* of the Mace, but he was kept in, and Sir *Miles Hobart* a Member locked the Door, and kept the Key. The King incensed at these insufferable Contempts, sent *Maxwel* the *Usher* of the Black Rod to dissolve the Parliament, but him and his Message they excluded, which put the King into a forcible Posture, the Captains with their *Penfioners* and *Guard* to break their entrance; they fearing the effects suddenly slunk out of the House, not daring to abide his anger, who instantly came to the Lords and told them.

My Lords, I never came here upon so unpleasant an occasion, it being the Dissolution of a Parliament; therefore men may have some cause to wonder, why I should not rather chuse to do this by Commission, it being a general Maxime of Kings, to leave harsh commands to the Ministers, themselves onely executing pleasing things. Yet

The Kings Speech dissolves the Parliament.

Anno
1628.

considering that Justice as well consists in reward and praise of virtue, as punishing of vice, I thought it necessary to come here to day to declare to you, and all the World, that it was meerly the undutifull and seditious carriage of the Lower House, that hath made the Dissolution of this Parliament. And you my Lords are so far from being causes of it, that *I* take as much comfort in your dutifull demeanours, as *I* am justly distasted with their Proceedings. Yet to avoid mistakings, let me tell you, that it is so far from me to adjudg all that House guilty, that *I* know there are many there as dutifull Subjects as any in the World, it being but some few Vipers amongst them, that did cast this mist of undutifulness over most of their eyes; yet to say truth, there was a good number there, that could not be infected with this contagion, in so much that some did express their duties in speaking, which was the general fault of the House the last day. To conclude, as these Vipers must look for their reward of punishment; so you my Lords must justly expect from me that favour and protection, that a good King oweth to his loving and dutifull Nobility.

Parliament
dissolved.

And now my Lord Keeper, do what I commanded you. Who in the Kings name dissolved the Parliament.

But

But because *Tunnage* and *Poundage* was much disputed, we shall say something to the first ground and occasion of them.

It is a fundamental truth, essential to the constitution and government of this *Kingdom*, and hereditary Privilege of the Subject; that no *Tax*, *Tallage*, or other charge might be laid without consent in *Parliament*: this was ratified by the contract of this Nation with the *Conquerour*, upon his admittance, and declared and confirmed in the Laws which he published, and yet afterwards broken by King *John* and *Henry 3.* then confirmed by *Magna Charta*, and other succeeding Laws; but then attempted to be broken by the two succeeding *Edwards*, when the Subject pursued those Breaches by the opportunity of frequent *Parliaments*, and found relief, procuring the right of the Subjects to be fortified by new *Statutes*. And it may be observed that those *Kings* in the very Acts whereby they did break the *Law*, did really affirm the Subjects liberty and disclaimed that right of him, a thing which hath been since challenged by successive *Sovereigns*, the Merchant in those times usually giving consent to such *Taxes*, but limited to a time, to the ratification of the next following *Parliament*, to be cancelled, or confirmed.

But mostly these upon Merchandise were taken by *Parliament*, six or twelve per pound for time, and years, as they saw cause, for defence of the Sea: sometimes also granted unto *Noblemen*, or *Merchants*, but for that use: and afterwards they were granted to the *King* for life, and so continued for divers *Descents*.

Between the time of *Edward 3.* and *Queen Mary*, never any *Prince* (some say) demanded any Imposition but by *Parliament*: *Queen Mary* indeed laid a charge upon *Cloth* by the equity of *Tunnage* and *Poundage*; because the rate set upon *Wool* was much more than that upon *Cloth*, and little *Wool* being transported unwrought, she had reason to impose so much more, as brought them to an equality, but that there still continued a less charge upon *Wool* wrought into *Cloth*, than upon *Wool* carded out unwrought, untill King *James* his times, when upon *Nicholson's* advice, there was a further addition of charge, which is that which we call the *pretermitted Custome*.

In *Queen Elizabeth's* time some *Impositions*, nay many, increased; the general prosperity of her Reign, in the conjuncture of time and forrein affairs overshadowing, and her power and will commanding, without regret or complaint. That of *Currans* was one; for the *Venetians* having taxed a charge upon our *English Cloth*, she raised that of the *Currans*, with pretence to be even with them, the sooner to take off the other. And this came to be denied to King *James* by *Bates* a Merchant, and a *Sute* in the *Exchequer* adjudged it for the King. The three Judges (then no more) distinguished their several opinions.

Anno
1628.

Of Imposition
of Tunnage
and Poundage.

Anno
1628.

The first, that the King might impose upon forreign Commodities, but not upon Natives to be transported, or necessary to be imported for the use of the Kingdom.

The second Judg was of opinion he might impose upon all forreign Merchandize, whether superfluous or no, but not upon native.

The third, was absolute, seeing the King had the custody of the Ports, and Guard of the Seas, and might shut up or open the Ports as he pleased, he had a Prerogative to impose upon all Merchandize exported or imported.

Afterwards King James laid charges upon all Commodities Outward and Inward, not limited to time or occasion: This Judgment and the right of imposing, was a question in 7. and 12. Jan. and in 18. and 21. Jan. It was declined by the Commons House. But in 1 Car. it was renewed by the Kings Propositions, and then rather confirmed, not abolished.

The Kings
Declaration.

It was not sufficient for the King to break up the School of dissension, and separate the Members, whose indisposition to his quiet might disperse and spit out malignities against the Kings honour, to excuse themselves; therefore he did no doubt take President from his Fathers dissolving his Parliament. Anno. And by his Example a Declaration is published by the King to all his loving Subjects, setting forth his Reasons and Motives for dissolving the Parliament, with Breviats of all Transactions of both Sessions; closing all with mention of the late Duke of Buckingham, as the onely man of mishap to all foregoing Events of Parliament, and mischief to the People, and yet the Evils increased, so he was mistaken, not being the cause, which was then, and still continues, in some few of the Members of the Parliament.

We have ingeniously set down the narrative part, not so particular neither, that should seem to exasperate, for the King, but certainly we have not read nor heard of higher Provocations, Indignities, disorderly offered to a Power, by whose dispensation any Meeting, Convocation, Assembly, have their Indulgence: and therefore now in likelihood, to be the last adventure to hazzard another Parliament: for oft have they for many years before, been unwildy, the latter times of Queen Elizabeth, the most of King James, and hitherto of this King, yet it was his fate to adventure forward towards a fatal end of all.

Whether malignity of those Members gave Examples to others, their Effects flew over Seas, and infected the French Parliaments about this time, where that King discontinued the Assemblies of the three Estates upon far less provocations; for from the antient Assembly it continued to the year 1614. when first the third Estate representing (as ours) their Commons, encroached too busily upon their Clergy, and some prehemineny of the Nobility,

Obs. p. 93.
The French
Parliaments.

en-

enjoyed by favour of their former *Kings*, so offended the *Royalty*, that he resolved to dissolve them, and with good *counsel*, never admit the like. The future *Kings* following that *President*, yet with some regret of the former manner, it was there devised, to communicate with his People in another manner, called *La Assemblée des Notables*, some selected persons out of each order of *Estate*, of his own *election* or naming; and to them were added some *Counsellour* out of every particular Court of *Parliament*, (there being eight of them in all *France*) through that Kingdom, and so being fewer in number, would not heed such a confusion as the *General Assembly* of *States* had done before. Their *Acts* are as obliging to all sorts of Subjects, as the others were, onely from *Controulers* they are become good *Counsellours* still. And with this course the *Estates* and *People* are as yet content; *It being no shame to submit to this Power whom it will be sin to overcome.*

But the King finding his *Declaration* to take the effect of satisfying his well-affected Subjects, took a reasonable time to question those whose punishments he had referred till now: and therefore the eighteenth Day he sends for some the most refractory Members to the *Council Table*: Master *Hollis*, of honourable extraction; Sir *Fo: Eliot*, Sir *Miles Hobart*, Sir *Peter Hayman*, Sir *Fo: Barington*, Master *Selden*, Master *Stroud*, Master *Correton*, Master *Valentine*, Master *Long*, Master *Kirton*.

Hollis was asked, wherefore (the Day of *Dissolving*) he placed himself by the *Chair*, above divers of the *Privy Council*?

He said, *That he had seated himself there some other times before, and took it his due there, as in any place whatsoever (unless at the Council-Board) to sit above those Privy-counsellours. That he came into the House with as much zeal as any other, to serve his Majesty, yet finding his Majesty offended, he humbly desired to be the subject rather of his Mercy than of his Power.*

The Lord Treasurer replied, *You mean rather of his Majesties Mercy than of his Justice.*

I say, (answered Hollis) of his Majesties Power, my Lord.

Hobart's offence was for locking the *Parliament Door*, and putting the Key in his Pocket, was excused to be the Command of the House.

All the other *Gentlemen* were questioned for reproving the *Speaker*, not permitting him to do the Kings Commands, to which they pleaded *Privilege of Parliament*.

But *Eliot* was charged for words he spake in *Parliament*, and for producing the last *Remonstrance*.

His answer was more peremptory, *Whatsoever was said or done by him in that place, and at that time, was in the capacity as a publick man, and a Member of that House; and that he was and ever will be ready to give*

Members questioned.

Hollis's answer.

Hobart's offence.

Eliot's answer.

Anno
1628.

give an account of his sayings and doings there, whensoever he should be called unto it by that House, where he conceives he is onely to be questioned, and in the mean time, he being now but a private man, he would not now trouble himself to remember what he said or did there as a publique Person.

But they were all *Ten* committed to severall Prisons, the *Tower*, *Gatehouse*, *Fleet*; and the first of *May* the *Attorney general* *Noy*, sent Proceſſe out against them, to appear in the *Star-Chamber*, and answer his Information there: They refused to appear, denying the power of that Court, their offences being done in *Parliament*; which created a large controversie in law, concerning the Jurisdiction of either Court.

Obl. p. 95.

As for *Eliots* Doctrine, It is said to be the first seed which after took root in *Parliament*] It was indeed a new Tenet; Liberty, like the *Popes Conclave*; or rather the *Scots Kirk Assemblies*; such religious doctrines they had, nay every Minister made it up in his Pulpit, never to be questioned for speeches (though treasonable there) but by themselves in their Assemblies. We have sundry examples that our *English* Sovereigns did not suffer contempts upon their Person, or Estate by any Member of *Parliament*, without due punishment inflicted on the offenders, and it was law and Justice heretofore: It seemed not so now, the Judges conniving, declared the whole House of *Commons* under an Arrest, when *Diggs* and *Eliot* had been restrained. And therefore the King suspecting their further positive opinions in *Eliots* case at this time, put them to the question in private, which they seemed to resent with the House; But when they afterwards sat in the seat of Judgement, at the Kings Bench Bar, they could sentence them with Law, and reason also, to several fines, which were paid by some; others, dying under restraint, and those not able, were released upon petition, submission, and conditions to forbear the Court Ten miles compasse, under 2000 l. bond for their good behaviour, and that was Mr. *Stroud*, being a younger Son of Sr. *John* his Father then living, and had no means to pay; but was after well paid for his pains, and for that suffering.

Anno
1629.

To begin this year, comes to the Court of *England* the old *Marquesse Huntley*, that zealous *Romane Catholique*, from *Scotland*, fled from thence with the Earls of *Arol*, *Athol*, *Niddale*, *Abercorn*, and some others of that Nobility. The Marquess had been too favourable to them in the cast of his office (hereditary Sheriff of the North of *Scotland*) concerning their connivance with the insolencies of some Priests, which caused the Council there to put them all to the Horn for non-appearance, and afterwards to Proclame them Rebels: But to avoid apprehending, they all fled hither

ther for some sanctuary, untill their cause were pleaded, which found little favour, they being returned back upon good caution and security, to abide their several trials at home.

Some overtures were made here from the *Emperour*, in reference to the further quiet of *Germany*, and the cause of the *Palatinate*: And finding the *Queen of Bohemia* neerly concerned, and in a narrow condition, her former Pension from hence, decreasing, she was consulted by Message of *Sr. Henry Vane* (sent by the King to visit her) and to relate the offer of 30000*l.* per annum from the *Emperour*, with conveniency of Reception, within the *Palatinate*, Her Eldest Son to marry one of the *Emperours* daughters, and to be brought up in that Imperial Court. Whereunto (it is said) She made this Magnanimous reply [*Rather then to suffer her childe to be bred in idolatry, She would cut his throat with her own hand*] for which the Authour so highly extolls her, *to have so erect a minde in her lowest estate.*

This appears to be *Strange*: That *Sr. Henry Vane* sent on purpose over Seas of an Arrand, should be so mistaken in his message, to make it the *Kings desire*, which was but his *bare proposal*: And that such a religious Person as her Majesty, should be forward to commit so damnable a sin to her self, as to *Murther her own Son*, rather then to consent that he should be bred a *Papist*, and so to prevent a *hazzard* (his damnation it seems) *under the profession of the Church of Rome.*

The Wars in *Italy* began two years since, about the succession of the Duchies of *Mantua* and *Monferrat*, which after the death of the Duke *Vincent* without children, fell to the Duke of *Nevers*. The *Spaniards* (through Jealousie) without right or title take Arms; so did the Duke of *Savoy*, He seized some places in *Monferrat*, and they besieged *Casal*: The *Venetians* in suspition of the *Spaniards*, further progresse in *Italy*, and joyn with *Nevers*. So does *France*, who passeth by force through *Savoy*, to the streight of *Susa*; and after the taking many Towns of *Savoy*, falls upon the *Spainard*, takes *Cambrey*, besieges *Montmelian*, sends before to *Piemont*, and follows himself in person, where he was victorious, leaving the poor Duke of *Savoy*, to seek preservation in desert and unaccessible places. Yet the *Spainard* continues the siege of *Casal*, under command of *Spinola*, And the *French* defends the Citadel by force of *Torres*, two succesful Generals, the one in the *Low-Countreys*, and the other against the *English* at the Isle of *Rhe*. The businesse came to this, The Town and Castle were already yeelded to *Spinola*, and the Citadel had capitulated to surrender by such a day if succour came not. In the interim *Spinola* dies of Infection, the Duke of *Savoy* in his Bed, when by intercession of the *Pope* and Cardinal *Mazerines* first Negotiation and dexterity; the peace was concluded with the *Emperour* of *Vienna*, and

Anno

1629.

overtures from
the Emperour.

Hist. fol. 104.

War in Italy.

Anno

1629.

Peace with
France.

all careffed in that Treaty. The *French* reftores all to the *Savoy*, *Nevers* begs pardon, and is invefted; the *Spaniard* renders *Monferrat*, and all are Friends again, which the fume of ambition had caufed with much bloud-fhed.

And really thofe two Nations, having ftoutly wrangled, by Famine, Sword, and Sicknefs in *Italy*, with the lofs of above a Million of Mortals among them, came neither of them to their fecret end, and reaped no other falary but vain-glory, and all Neighbours about fuffered by fiding to their feveral humours.

When the *French* had broken that puiffant party of the Houfe of *Austria* in *Italy*, he devifes new Alliance to attach the *Spaniard*. And firft by Mediation of the *Venetians*, they are put upon it to propofe a Treaty for Peace between the two Crowns of *England* and *France*, which was not difficult for us to accept, King *Charls* being more manacled at home by his own Subjects, than the *French* were with outward Forces. And fo both parties having their feveral Defigns, they foon agreed into thefe Articles.

1. That the two Kings fhall renew former Alliance, inviolable, with free Commerce, and in this particular, fuch things may be propofed to add or diminifh, as either part fhall judg convenient.

2. That for what is paft during the late Difference, in fatisfaction, fhall be demanded on either fide.

3. That the Articles of Marriage of the Queen of Great Brittain fhall be confirmed, and concerning her Domefticks to propofe Expedients to be added or diminifhed.

4. All former Alliances between the Crowns fhall ftand good, unlefs changed by this prefent Treaty.

5. And the two Kings being thus remitted to their former affections, fhall refpectively correpond towards the affiftance of their Allies (fo far as the continuation of affairs, and the general good fhall permit) for procuring of the repoze of the Troubles of Chriftendom.

6. Ambaffadours on either part to be difpatcht for ratification and Refidencies in either Court.

7. And touching Ships at Sea, with Letters of Marcque on either fide, that for 2. moneths following fhall not prejudice this Agreement, Provided to reftore eithers Prize after that time upon demand.

8. Thefe

8. These Articles to be joyntly signed the 14 of this present April, and instantly then, to be consigned into the hands of the Lords Ambassadors of Venice, to be delivered to each King at a day prefixt. All acts of Hostility to cease, and to be Proclaimed in both Kingdoms the 20. of May following.

Anno
1629.

And in September Sr. Thomas Edmonds Controller of the Kings Household, and the Marquesse of Chasteau-neut were sent reciprocally from either King, to take confirmation of these by Oath.

The State of *Spain* in no worse condition of retrograde then either of the other, finding it some disadvantage upon him for two such *Monarchs*, to piece up their Peace, meant to make sure of One. Not that he was so low [*though Pasquin boasted him up in a Friers habit at Rome*] as begging friendship. A common abuse among Princes, being subject to the pleasure of Poets and Painters, not so handsom to be chronicled for Authority, seeing at that time the House of *Austria* was high enough, the Emperour (on the other side by way of equal return) elevated on his Throne with a King fallen at his feet, and the Eagle (loaden with feathers) plucking the Crown off his Head; but these fancies are the common peoples food.

Overtures of
peace with
Spain.

Hist. fol. 105.

But of this arrand (we are told) came *Peter Reuben* hither, the famous rich Painter of *Antwerp*, Secretary and Gentleman of the Chamber to the Arch-Duchesse of *Eugenia*, Which was but thus; King *Charles* had a minde to dignifie the structure of the Banquetting-House at *White-Hall*, with ornament of Painting in the in-side, and *Reuben* sent hither for that designe, He having lately finished most excellent Figures, and Historical Pieces for the Queen Mothers Palace at *Paris*; The like he did here. The Paintings over head in the Room fore-shortened and looking downwards, as from the clouds, the rarest postures that late ages can paralel, being the portraictures of *King James* in several relations with all Imaginary similitude of Him, tending towards Eternity; for which he was well rewarded, with the honour of Knighthood to boot. Indeed, the Artist had an indifferent esteem for his skill, and by his wealth, was wise enough to receive Informations on both parts, in reference to Peace; but never to be Plenepotentiary of either side; for truly, I cannot call him so much as Agent for any, unlesse we admit him *Ambo-dexter*-Ambassadour; for he was the means that a greater man (*Don Carlos Colonas*) came after to do the work; And I

have

Anno
1629.

Uprore in
Fleetsstreet.

have some knowledge in the particulars, that the other was rather set on by us, when (with that conveniency) we had him here.

It was in *July*, That an Arrest was made upon one *Billingham*, (sometimes a Captain at the Isle of *Rhe*) and an attempt made to his Rescue by some Templers, being acted in their Quarters of Priviledge to their Houses; and to their cost, they were wounded by the opposition of the Lord Major and his City Bands, that were wilde to flourish out their Ensigns against any Gentlemen, their Patrons. This undertaking increased to a hot skirmish of above five hundred; Of the Majors *Militia* four were killed, and sundry others hurt; above an hundred on both sides, and so the Evening parted them. This uprore so neer the Court caused the King to speed Justice with an extraordinary Session to be held in *Guild-Hall London*, for Arraignment of severall of the Malefactors, seized vpon in the quarrel, And by ill hap, laid hold on Two, who were accounted Principalls, because more publique (Captain *Ashurst*, and *John Stamford* the late Dukes servant) for it was no meddling with the Students; And though *Stamford* came by but by chance in a Coach, and onely drew his sword, without any part in the fray; These Two onely were found guilty by the City Jury, and executed at *Tyburn*. *Stamford* had his pardon before, being in company when a Watchman was killed at a Tavern called *Duke-Humphreys*, and his relations to his late Master, made his crime the more remarkable, now exceeding the bounds of Reason, so without the bounds of Mercy.

The Earls of
Bedford and
Somerset con-
fined.

There had been a Manuscript Book contrived long since, by *Sr. Robert Dudley* at *Florence* 1613. (that discontented Catholique) who descended from the *Dudlies* Earls of *Warwick*, and so he stiled himself. It was a Rapsodie of severall Projects for increase of the Kings revenue, and somewhat in prejudice of proceedings in Parliaments. Sundry Copies thereof were disperst by such as meant not much honour to the King, and therefore suspected to contrive the Book, though pretended for his Majesties Instruction, as the manner had been, to force such feigned discoveries, and fix them for the Kings designs, and therefore the Earls of *Bedford*, *Somerset* and *Clare*, *Sr. Robert Cotten*, *Mr. Selden*, and *Mr. Saint John* were committed, and an Information entered in Star-chamber against them, But *Sr. David Fowles* upon oath, cleered the suspition, and discovered the Authour, and so it ended,

Earl of *Pembrook* dies.

William Herbert (Son of *Henry*) Earl of *Pembrook* dies in *April*; He was the third Earl from his Creation, 3 *Elizabeth*, Baron *Herbert* of *Cardiff*, Lord *Parr*; *Ros* of *Kendal*; *Marmion*, and *Saint Quintin*; Lord Warden of the *Stanneries* Governour of

Anno

1630.

Hist. p. 107.

of *Portsmouth*; Knight of the *Garter*, Chancellour of the University of *Oxford*, and lately Lord high Steward of the Kings Household [but not of *England*.] He married *Mary* the Eldest daughter and co-heir of *Gilbert Talbot* Earl of *Shrewsbury*, and dies without issue; so that his honours descended to *Philip Herbert* his brother. He supped the night before his death with the Countesse of *Bedford* at Bishops-gate upon the day of his birth, fifty yeers since, from thence he went home to *Baynards Castle*, sitting up as usual, very late, for he was a hearty feeder, and went to bed very well; But not long after he fetcht a deep and deadly groan, which startled his Lady that lay by, and she not able to awake him, called for company, who found him speechlesse, and so continued till eight in the morning, and then died, as a figure slinger had told him many years before.

We are told his Character in a high strain of Magnificence; but we may give way to his good commendations in a reasonable measure: A proper Person, well set, of graceful deportment; his minde truly generous, of the ancient stock and manner of Nobility: His defects, were in letters and Travel; He had onely the breeding of *England*, which gave him a conceited dislike of foraign men, their manners and mode, or of such *English* that professed much advantage thereby; so that the *Scots* at Court and he were ever separate, and therefore he was onely the old Courtier, that kept close to the Commonalty, and they to him, and was therein trusted by his two Sovereigns as not over furnished with abilities to be lesse then loyal, which jealous Princes usually suffered.

Hist. p. 108.

In *May* 29 day, the *Queen* was brought to Bed of a Son. Surpassing joy there was of all true hearts and good subjects, and in *June* the 27. baptized at Saint *Jameses* with princely Ceremonies, and named *Charles*; His Godfathers were the King of *France*, and the Prince *Elect*or, represented by the Duke of *Lennox*, and the Marquesse *Hamilton*; the Godmother was the Queen Mother of *France*, and her Person represented by the Duchesse of *Richmond*. A man would stand amazed to believe that a sort of pretended sanctified subjects should not desire the King to have any issue; I have my Author, The *Puritan-party*, that could not discern the cause of joy when the *Queen* was with childe: God having better provided for us then we were aware, in the hopeful Progeny of the *Queen* of *Bohemia*: These men brought in the Reformed Religion (*Presbytery*) when it would be uncertain what Religion the Kings children would follow. And he observes to his own knowledge, that when the most of the Parish gave publique signes of rejoycing with Bonfires, Bell-ringing, and mutual feasting, onely the *Presbyterian* or *Puritan* party (as he stiles them) were shut up, as on the day of general mourning.

Prince Charles
born.

Obl. 95.

And

Anno

1630.

A Star appeared at noon-day.

And it may be remembred, that afterwards as the Kings Issue increased, the *Common Prayer* for the Kings onely Sister and her children was left out, and in place thereof a Prayer compiled for preservation of the Kings Issue; for though the *Presbyterians* hated the whole Book, they would not stick to mention the one in their Prayer of the Pulpit, and leave those other out of Gods blessing, till by expresse command they were made to conform.

At his Birth there appeared a Star visible, that very time of the Day when the King rode to Saint Paul's Church to give thanks to God for the Queens safe delivery of a Son, upon which occasion these Verses were then presented.

*Rex ubi Paulinas accessit gratus ad aras,
Immicuit medio lucida stella Polo.
Dic divina mihi tractans enigmata cæli,
Hac oriens nobis quid sibi stella velit?
Magnus in occiduo Princeps modo nascitur orbe;
Moxque sub eclipsi regna orientis erunt.*

*When to Paul's Cross the gratefull King drew near,
A shining Star did in the Heavens appear:
Thou that consult'st with divine Mysteries,
Tell me what this bright Comet signifies?
Now is there born a valiant Prince i' th' West,
That shall eclipse the Kingdoms of the East.*

But this Star now appearing, some say, was the Planet *Venus*; others, *Mercury*, the Sign of *Merlin's* Prophecy. The splendour of the Sun shall languish by the paleness of *Mercury*, and it shall be dreadfull to the beholders. Any Planet says the Astrologer within its Degrees of the Sun is very unfortunate. And *Mercury* being the Lord of the Ascendent and Mid-heaven was a chief Significator of the Prince his person, who being afflicted by the presence of the Sun, yet miraculously God did by his power make this Star shine bright in a clear Sun-shine day, which was contrary to Nature.

The State of Germany.

The *German Empire* much weakned from the former greatness, partly by the *Popes* in *Italy* advancing themselves and the Papal Authority, (besides the translation of the Seat to *Constantinople*) and much diminished by several pretexts of Provinces, and Towns, and Kingdoms, have loosened themselves from this great Body.

But the principal subject of all is drawn from the diversities of Doctrines, heretofore resolved into two Professions, *Roman Catholic*, and the Confession of *Auxburgh* or *Lutheran*; with the ambition of the *House of Austria*, too powerfull both in *Spain* and the

Low-

Low-countries. The temperament in Religion was concluded in the Contract of *Passavia*, the Protestants to enjoy all their former Ecclesiastical Possessions, and to rest in perpetuity to the Catholics, but not performed. And Complaints arising by many of the States of *Germany* against the House of *Austria*, continuing their greatness about two hundred years in Imperial Dignity, as it hereditary: and having increased Victories, by humbling the King of *Denmark* and the Protestant party, chastized *Bethlem Gabor*, destroyed the Peasants of *Austria*, deprived the Prince Palatine of his States, *Mansfield* dead, and the Empire at quiet. The Emperour too much partial to the Catholick Complaints against the Protestants, concerning their Divisions, in reference to the Composition of *Passavia*, which the Protestant Princes were resolved not to be wrested from them; and for the maintenance of which, they were resolved to call in Strangers.

The Emperour the sixth of March, 1629. commands the render of all Ecclesiastical Goods, taken after the Contract of *Passavia*. This Sentence was so hard of digestion to the Protestants, (somewhat like the Exaction of the Tenth Penny, upon the Low-countries by the Duke d' *Alva*) that they protest to oppose it, and petition for Suspension till the Decision of a general Diet at *Ratisbone*, at the same time when News came thither of the King of *Sweden*'s entrance with an Army into *Germany*, which made the Protestant Ambassadors peremptory for the Revocation of the former Edict; and it being refused, they got all away and met at *Leipsick*. Herein the Emperour receives his first check, and prosecuted with Confederations and Leagues, and Strangers called in; the ambition of *Spain* was universally canvased; nay, the People in general, Protestant and Papist, were wilde for a change, according to their several self-interests.

The Prince Electour Palatine had invitation to put in his Plea for his Restauration, and thither he sends his Agent; not without his particular address hither to his Uncle King Charls, to countenance his entertainment at the Diet, with an Ambassadour of his own, for mediation; and the Employment fell upon Sir Robert Amstroder concerning the Pressures and Relief of the *Palsgrave*, whose Message was in effect,

Ambassadour
to the Empe-
rour.

That nothing could affect his Master the King of Great Brittain more, than the consideration of the daily calamities undergone by his Brother in Law the Prince Elector, his Wife and Children. That no place was more expedient to treat of Reconciliation and re-establishment than in the Diet; therefore he made it his most ardent Request to his Imperial Majesty, that having regard to the many Intercessions of his late Father, and other Kings and Princes, he would remit the displeasure conceived against his Brother, and recall the Proscription

issued

Anno
1630.

issued out against him. True it was, his Brother had offended, and was inexcusably guilty, unless the rashness or precipitation of youth may somewhat plead for him; but others had been as culpable, whom yet his Imperial Majesty had received into favour. And would he be pleased, to extend to him the same clemency, it would oblige his Master to demonstrations of deepest gratitude, and raise a glorious emulation in others, to imitate so excellent a Patern. That the Palsgrave would entertain this favour with an heart so firmly devoted to his service, as all the intention of his spirit should be disposed to compensation and reparation of his former miscarriage. That his Master held nothing so dear, as the affection of his Imperial Majesty, and establishment of a durable Peace between them. And as upon all occasions he hath been forward to represent himself solicitous for it, so at this time he is ready to give more ample testimony, if his Imperial Majesty be pleased to incline to a Treaty.

This was fair and full of respect, which gained civilities to the Ambassadour. But that the present affairs of Germany, which occasioned the Diet, were so important, as may not admit any foreign debate, and yet (when opportunity and leisure afforded) the King of Great Brittain should receive such satisfaction as would be agreeable to their honour and assurance, (they hoped) to his content. And this was all the form and effect of his Ambassie.

Dr. Leighton
sentenced.

Doctor Leighton a Presbyterian Scot, full of fire, had intituled a Book, *Sions Plea*, and dedicated it to the last Parliament, counselling them, to make quick work to kill all the Bishops, by smiting them under the fifth rib. Railing at the Queen, whom he called a Canaanite, and Idolatress. How he might have sped with them then, his confidence gave him good hopes. But now in power of the King, he was sentenced in Star-chamber, his Body to be whipt, his Forehead stigmatized, his Ears cropt, and his Nose slit; but though he escaped out of the Fleet, he was got again by the Warden in Bedfordshire, and these Punishments executed upon him to the full purpose.

Peace with
Spain.

The Peace with Spain was pieced in November, the same in effect formerly made up by King James and Philip the third; but for the Palatinate, that the King of Spain should dispose all his interest in the Emperour towards the Restitution of the Prince Elektor; this was so much as for that present could be gotten; and as the Kings affairs permitted, more could not be quarrelled. The end of November, Sunday the 27. proclaimed it in great solemnity, and two days after sworn unto in the Chapel at Whitehall, the King and the Spanish Ambassadour entered into their Traversies whiles an Anthem was sung, and whilest the Dean Dr. Land, with three other Bishops went up to the Altar, with a Latine Bible, upon which the King laid his hand, Secretary Coke having read the Oath,

Oath, the King kissed the Book, and signed the Articles, which he delivered up to the Ambassadour, and so passed to the *Banqueting-house* to a princely Feast, which the Kings good Friend assures us, [*the Subject paid for, with the aid of an old Prerogative-stature of Tax for Knighthood*] It was ancient indeed, and from time to time of all Kings and Sovereigns since *Edward the second*, framed then more for ease of the Subject than profit of that King; then reduced to such to be made *Knights*, that had twenty pounds *per annum*, but before that time all men of fifteen pound *per annum*, were required to take it. But why it should [*ly skulking*] it seems to him onely who devises the matter and the manner. To appear at the Coronation onely, [*Ad arma gerenda, not to be per force Knighted*] as was vulgarly supposed] This vulgar Historian confines us to the manner, [*Every man to receive a Belt and a Surcoat out of the Kings Wardrobe, and if in four days there were no cause to fight, (without a Sword it seems) they might take leave and be gone again.*] The Statute is intituled, *Statutum de Militibus*.

That our Sovereign Lord the King hath granted, that all such as ought to be *Knights* and be not, and have been distrained, to take upon them that Order, before the Feast of the *Nativity* of our Lord, shall have respect to take upon them the foresaid *Arms* of Knighthood, untill the *Vigil* of *Saint Hilary, &c.* And certainly it was their quality of thirty pound Rent *per annum*, a plentiful Revenue in those former times, made them capable, not their sufficiency of body to bear Arms, when thousands more of less Estates might be found fitter for fighting. But being in force now, (notwithstanding those that refused it) were brought to the *Exchequer*, I believe, above one hundred thousand pounds. And the long *Parliament* that succeeded, to please the People, repealed it. So that all the advantages he had to help himself were either condemned, as done against the old *Laws* of the Land, or else some new Law must be made to deprive him of the other, that wanting all other means to support himself, he might be forced upon the Alms of the *Parliament*.

The original ground was heretofore, when the *Services* done by *Ten* were taken in kinde, it was thought fit there should be some way of trial and approbation of those that were bound to such *Services*. Therefore it was ordained, that such as were to do *Knights* service after they came of age, and had possession of their Lands, and should be made *Knights*, that is, publicly declared to be fit for service. Divers Ceremonies and Solemnities were in use for that purpose, and if by the parties neglect this was not done, he was punishable by Fine.

There being in those days an ordinary and open way to get Knighthood, for those which were born to it, &c. The use of this hath for divers Ages been discontinued, yet there have passed very

Anno

1630.

few Kings, under whom there hath not been these Summons, requiring those holding Lands of such a value as the Law prescribes, to appear at the *Coronation*; or some other great *Solemnity*, and to be *knighted*; so as it is not new in the kinde, nor new in the manner, nor in excess of it: indeed heretofore the Fines were moderate in some proportion, and of late to meaner People, Inholders, Lease-holders, Copi-holders, Merchants, and others; scarce any man of value free from it. And the Proceedings out by good Example, President, or Rule of Justice, by Distresses and Issues.

The Disease of *Europe* was now become Martial, War in *Italy*, *Germany* in Bands of old Souldiers, *France* afraid of a Neighbourstorm, hindred all Propositions of Peace; *England*, besides the general Interest of the Reformed, had the particular of the *Palsgrave*; and always in Mutinies, the *States general* are most concerned; the *Protestant Princes* suppressed; the House of *Austria* grown already to heighth, threatned their ruine; nay, the State of *Venice* was invited to increase the flame and disorder of this powerfull *Body*. So then from North to South, and of each side also, was *Germany* beset with Enemies.

King of Sweden enters Germany.

It was in *Midsummer* that *Gustavus Adolphus* King of *Swede* descended into *Germany*, invited by themselves, and incited by the assistance of all the former *Princes* and *States*, though slenderly performed by them all. Much to do he had to finde the cause of a Quarrel. But Reasons he made and published, which the *Emperour* answered, and that sufficiently, as we may conclude in the main, concerning the *Emperours* depriving the *Dukes* of *Meckelenburgh* his Kinsmen of their *Dutchies*. To which he was told, *That the Imperial Majesty was not to be controuled at home by foreign Pretences; His Ears being open to Intercessours, but not to Commands.*

His general Pretence was (as he vaunted) to be the defence of the *Protestant Cause* and *Religion*, which produced effects of a cruel, bloody, and horrid War, there then and other where since; by the immense ambition of some few persons, whom we may not name, though their Vice we blame.

The *Emperours* old General *Wallestein* Duke of *Frithland* was at this *Diet*, dismissed that Command by the perswasions of the *French* and Duke of *Bavaria*, who had joyned a *League defensive* and *offensive*. And his other General *Tilly* was turned *Beadsman* to his devotions, and happy he had been to have so continued, whilest he had Fortune his Hand-maid, with as much glory as any *Captain* in the World, which he changed, to be conquered. His former happiness was concluded in these, *That he heard Mass daily, never touched a Woman, never lost a Battel.* But he is wrought upon even by their *Priests*, and prepares for War.

His first Master-piece was, by cunning not force; for finding
Magde-

Magdeburgh an Imperial rich Town of *Saxony* in some distraction then, which brought such distraction after, as no History can parallel. The difference proceeded from their first choyce of *Augustus* (Son to the Elector of *Saxony*) for their *Administrator*; But the *Emperour* and *Pope* commended the *Arch Duke Leopold*, now Governour of the *Low Countreys*. The Town take parts, and are appeased by *Wallenstens* power, who turned the Town into a Garison, and the forfeit of 150. thousand Rix Dollers.

Then *Leopold* presses further with very high demands, which *Christian* of *Brandenburgh* and the Duke of *Saxony* interpose as therein concerned. *Brandenburgh* enters the Town disguised, and offers his and the King of *Swedens* protection, who is received, opening his passage into *Pomerania* and *Meckelendburgh*, which he soon mastered. And thus busied abroad, he leaves *Brandenburgh*, to rejoyce at his own designe, when *Poperheim* posts thither, makes havock of all before him, and stops the Fox in his hole, and besieges *Magdeburgh* December 1630. and thither comes *Tilly*, and whilst they melt themselves at *Magdeburgh*, *Gustave* marches up the *Oder*, and beats the Imperialist at *Frankfurt*, slew 3000, and forced the rest to pace it to *Silesia*, and so he marches to succour the besieged.

The Duke of *Saxony*, head of the Protestants Assembly at *Leipsick*, and confederate to succour *Magdenburgh*, to joyn with *Swede*, and to resist the *Emperour*; and *Gustave* to be Captain General for them all, and so forfeited as you have heard before, with all the confederate foreign Princes and States, promising to himself the Empire if but fortunate in one Battel.

Papenheim and *Tilly*, though beaten abroad, yet ply their siege; mastered all the out-works, forced into the Town, then repulled, and on again; fired the first house, and in four hours He consumed all to ashes, and the people to death: the reproach of *Tilly* for so much innocent blood. And having done there, he marches into *Saxony*, being beaten at *Werben*: the confederates resolve to face him, who having taken the Town of *Leipsick*, encamped hard by, and so gives occasion to fight a Battel, the hazzard of Two Electoral Caps the liberty of *Germany*, the hopes of the Catholiques the effects so bloody, as made the old Banes to fly for it.

But this Battel we must refer to its time and place the next year, and see what is done in *England*.

This foreign newes flew hither; which hastened forward the Marquess *Hamilton* in his intended designe, to wait upon that Kings fortunes; That was his outward aim, though his ambition had an eye homeward in that undertaking; for he having sent thither *David Ramsey* a Gentleman of the Kings privy Chamber, a most turbulent boutefeau (Sr. *James* and *Alexander Hamilton*, and *Robert Meldram*, and also to endear the Marquess to the Scots Officers

Anno
1630.
King of Swede

Magdeburgh
is besieged by
the Imperial-
ists.

taken and
burnt.

Marquess *Ha-
milions* desigr

Anno

1630.

cers in that Army) to proffer his service to the King, with the aid of some Regiments of foot. This madman, more like an Ambassadour from a great Prince, then a Messenger from a Peer, took his place before the *Lord Rey* his Countreyman, and a Colonel in Arms, who to honour him the more, procured the other *Scots* Officers to make addressees, and to attend him: discovering thereby that the *Marquesse* his aim was of deeper consequence, not to fight under the *Swede*: And following his apprehension with prudent observations, he won upon *Ramsay*, to history out the mystery of the *Marquesse*s designe, *By this means to raise forces under a formal colour, but in earnest, to make himself King of Scotland*, and thereof, he draws a Pedigree of his Right and Title from King *James* the first, and in several froliques of mirth and wine, to ascribe unto him *Soveraignty*, Of which *Rey* returning into *England*, told it to the Lord *Uchiltry* (yet living) who forthwith acquainted the Lord Treasurer *Weston*, and he the King.

And at the same time Major *Borthick* accused the said *Meldram*, to have under oath of secrecy, communicated to him the whole designe, the grounds and reasons; which he justified before the King and Councel, and *Meldram* faintly denied, but was committed to the Fleet prisoner two years, and then released by the *Marquesse*.

Some time before this discovery, *S. William Elphiston* Cup-bearer to the King, was sent over *Convoy* to the King of *Denmark*, and with him, the *Marquesse* would enforce a companion, *Meldram*, who had private Instructions to the principal *Scots* officers in the armies, and thereby more respected then the Kings Messenger *Elphiston*; but at their return to *Gravesend*, a *Scots* man dependant of the *Marquesse*, gave Intelligence to *Meldram* that all was discovered, but was imboldned to come to Court, where he was accused.

The Lord *Uchiltry* for reporting the discovery to *Weston*, was afterwards sent prisoner to *Scotland*, where the *Marquesse*s power was more dreaded, and there coming to examination and tryal, *Uchiltry* spake out so plainly, but without further hearing, he was conveyed close prisoner to the Castle of *Blacknesse*, where he remained till the *English* set him free.

Meldram was after preferred Secretary to General *Lefly* at *New-Castle*, *Alexander Hamilton* with a pension of 500 *l.* and afterwards General of the *Covenanters* Artillery.

But as to the *Marquesse* and his small Army, impoysoned with secret Treasons at home, got over to the King of *Swede*, but so distressed with hunger, and want of all necessaries for War, that the *Marquesse* being neglected, and his forces falling to decay, he returned home again, till some other designe might set up his Treasons again.

Having much to say concerning *Non-conformists*, generally noted under

under the Title *Puritan*, as also some good men, being scandalously included, We shall therefore distinguish his *Name*, render his *Essence*, in the very property, and whose several kinds *Essentially* differ.

The Name (*Puritan*) is ambiguous, so it is falacious. The good *Puritans* are pure in heart, and so blessed, that they shall see God.

The evil *Puritans* desire to seem to be so, but in their Doctrine and Discipline are the underminers of our True, Protestant, Reverend Church.

The *Essential* definition of him is, *A Protestant Non conformist*: A *Protestant* is his *Genus*, his kinde of being: A *Non-conformist*, his *differentia*, his essential difference or quality.

Non-conformist, contradictist to the Scripture sence, in three things. The first is in the 39. *Articles* of our Churches Reformed Faith. Secondly, Our Common Prayer Book. Thirdly, The *Canons* of our Church. All which three, are contained in the deduceable sence of holy Scripture. The several *Articles* which he opposeth, are the 3.6.9.16.17.20.21.23.26.27.33.35.36.37.38.39. The selected Prayers in the Common Prayer Book he rejecteth, which were collected (though corrected and purged) out of the *Masse* book. Against the several *Canons* from the 1. to the 15.24.29.30.31.48.49. from 54. to 58.60.61.73.127.

But who is this *Puritan*? Mr, Rogers in his Preface to the 39. *Article* saith, that since the suppression of *Puritans* by Arch-Bishops, Parker, Grindal and Whitgift, none will seem to be such. Read the Survey of the pretended *holy Discipline*, and here it is evident, that himself knows not what he is, nor what he would be.

The *Species*, Specificall kinds of this *Puritan* are numbred. First, The *Perfectist*. Secondly, the *factious Sermonist*. Thirdly, the *Seperatist*. Fourthly, the *Anabaptist*. Fifthly, the *Brownist*. Sixthly, *Loves famitist*. Seventhly, the *Precisian*. Eighthly, the *Sabbatarian*. Ninthly, the *Antidisciplinarian*. Tenthly, *presuming Predestinatis*. Every one of them differing in his proper essential quality: yet the same subject of inhesion may be all Ten.

1. The *Perfectist* : His purenesse is continuata perseverandi actio significans, never to sin after Baptism : the Novatian Catharist, and this man sins against the 16. *Article*.

2. The *factious Sermonist*, He serves God with sermons and extemporary prayers, according to his suppositious *Fusjuration*; This professor is against the 26. *Article*: and his opinion is, that Preaching is better then Prayer.

Anno
1630.

3. *The Separatist is the Pharisee, That onely he is Elect, Regenerate and Faithful, all others not so, are Reprobates, and therefore believes, our Churches regeneration is by infusion of Grace, by sowing the good seed. But to answer him in this, Let all Christians religiously pray and live according to the grace of Restitution, and humbly submit their judgements concerning the secrecie of personal Election, and so this man sins against the 17. Article.*

4. *The Anabaptist, His purenesse is, a supposed birth without Original sin, and his Tenet, that Infants must not be baptized; and this believer opposeth the 9. and 27. Articles.*

5. *The Brownists purenesse is, to serve God in Woods and Fields, and his opinion is, that Idolatry cannot be reformed without pulling down of Churches. Christ indeed whipt the buyers and sellers out of the Temple, though it was prophaned, yet without any pulling down; and this man is against the 35. Article.*

6. *Loves familist, serves God as well at his neighbours charge, as at his own, omnia sunt communia, the things which they possesse are not their own, but all are Common: He teacheth, that unlawful swearing is worse than murther; and this is against the 39. Article.*

7. *The Precisian will not swear before a Magistrate; That unlawful swearing is a greater sin than murther. God indeed is greater then man; here is the compare; but then the effect, destructive, is greater, by murther, God commands that the murtherer die, blood for blood, he deals not so severely with the swearer. See the 39. Article.*

8. *The Sabbatarian preaches down Holy dayes; preaching, that the Instrumental directing cause, to keep holy the sabbath day; he makes to be the keeping holy the sabbath. But Gods holy Worship, prayer, is keeping holy the sabbath day, for preaching the holy direction, teacheth holy worship, prayer, to be the holy practise of that day, to praise the Lord for our Redemption, the sole principal end of preaching on the Lords day. His preaching is a Sylva synonymorum, Tautologies, Iterations; His praying much erroneous; and this is against the 35. Article.*

9. *The Anti-disciplinarian is above the Kings supremacy, Imperious Imagination, his highnesse is the Churches greatest Authority; and he saith this is as good a rule to know the reformed true faith, is the holy Writ, He is a strict observer of the Law; therefore he accounts it the best Religion; His tenet is, That Kings must be*
subject

Anno
1630.

subject to the Puritan; To the Puritans Presbyters Censure, submit their Scepters, throw down their Crowns, lick up the dust of their feet. This Mr. Rogers in his eleventh page of his Preface to the 39. Articles; And T. Cartwright teacheth in his Reply, page 1080. And here the Oaths of Supremacy and Allegiance are broken; against the 21. Article: His tenet, that all Priests should be equal; See Varellus and Vivetus sermons, two Geneva Presbyters; against the 23. 33. and 36. Articles, and against the twentieth Article.

10. The presuming Predestinatist hath an inspired knowledge to be saved by Gods absolute Election, as sure as it were now in Heaven; no life in him, but Gods essential glory; against the 17. Article, and the 3. Article.

Thus was it then, amongst us Reformed, and since it hath increased ten times worse; But the Papist is not clear from Crimes, schismes and sins.

The contest between Jesuites Priests and Secular Priests have evermore their debates, and now grounded upon this occasion. Richard Smith, titular Bishop of Calcedon, his honour there in Greece, but his profit from England over all the Romish Catholicques, especially for ordaining of Priests and confirmations of persons Baptized; But when he came hither, we cannot finde, till now we have caught him here; Yet Pope Gregory the thirteenth delegated one William Bishop to Calcedon, who died 1624. After him succeeded another (by Mission of Urbane the eighth, 1625.) this Richard Smith to the same Title: But why to a foreign Title, and not at as easie a rate to English, as in Ireland, he had, to all Sees there? the reason is, He had in Ireland a Counter-party of People, for Number and Quality in every Diocesse and Parish; not so in England, where it had been ridiculous in the Granter, and dangerous in the Acceptor. To oppose his power, up starts Nicholas Smith a Regular, in malice to his advancement, and quarrelled also against Doctor Kelson President of the Colledge of Doway, who had printed a Treatise of the dignity and necessity of Bishop and secular Clergy.

Jesuites and
secular Priests
at difference.

Nicholas Smith's Reasons were for the Regulars: first such Bishops uselesse in England in times of persecution, Either for Ordination, which might be supplied by foreign Bishops: Or Confirmation of children, which any Priest might perform by Commission from the Pope.

Secondly, Burthensom to the already pressures of the English Catholicques. And Thirdly, the Person of Calcedon, not lawfully called.

Kelson

Anno

1630.

Kelson undertakes Answers to all these, and the Insolency of the Regulars seemed more secular. And indeed the *Irish* Regular exceeded such in *England*; maintaining, *That the superiours of Regulars were more worthy than Bishops*, which caused the Doctors of Sorborn in *Paris* to censure the Proposition, and the Arch-Bishop of *Paris*, to condemn *Nicholas Smiths* Book, and other Treatises of that sense.

But *Bishop Smith* would take upon him to approve of such Regulars Priests as were to be constant Confessors, which the Jesuites opposed as an usurpation upon them; And being the better Politicians, contrive a Declaration under the name of *the most noble and eminent Catholiques*, against his pretended Authority; which Declaration was offered to the *Spanish* Ambassadour, *Don Carlos de Coloma*, together with the Kings Proclamations, to ferret his person, He declined both his power and presence to seek safety in *France*. The Bishop fled, the dogs bark. *Knot* vice provincial of the *English* Jesuites, and *Flood* another of *St. Omers*, undertake him and *Kelson* also, but were censured and silenced; though not their several factions unto this day.

But this bickering is lodged under the product of the peace with *Spain*, as if to encourage the Catholiques to rant it in *Ireland* also towards a Toleration. The Lords Justices at *Dublin*, at Church in one Parish, the Priests at Masse in another, who were seized by the Arch-Bishop, and Major, and all the City Officers, their Trinkets taken away, Images hewen down, the Priests and Fryers delivered up to the Souldiers, and yet rescued by the people, from whom a strong power enforced them, and eight Popish Aldermen clapt in prison for being remisse to attend their Major; upon which mis-behaviour and mutiny, fifteen Houses were seized to the Kings use, and the Fryers and Priests persecuted, and Two of them to save publique Execution, hang'd themselves in their hose-garters.

The Earl of *Essex* would needs try Mastery with a fresh Mistressse; being over born by his first Wife, as their story is truly told in the life of King *James*, 18. years since. He then but a stripling, but ever since getting strength, and being falsely fram'd for *Martial Exploits* in the Low-Conuntries, where he Disciplin'd himself, but without any high renown, or feats of Arms, or any extraordinary proofs of his manhood, had a strong minde to a second Marriage, and as if recovered of his former Impotency, to exercise himself upon tryal with *Betty Paulet* (as they called her) daughter she was indeed, of a Knight, extracted from that Nobility, of the Marquesse of *Winchester*, but by what venture of descent we need not enquire. She was pretty, but poor, Beauty hath price enough; and a great portion would not have him. In *March* he was Married, but being mistaken in his own abilities

Hist. p 112.

Earl of *Essex*
his second
Marriage.

abilities of the Bed, having it seems not exercis'd that kinde of Low Countreys manhood, found himself failing, and so retired out of Town, as to give occasion for others to court his Countess, and his advantage of a second *Divorce*; and in truth he was easily drawn thereto by such as hung upon him in former time; his Revenue now divided into Families, Wife and Women-creatures shared the less to his Dependants.

Their Design was to watch their Countess, who was wanton enough for such a Husband, and by a Ladder to her Chamber-window saw so much, as forcing the Door, Master *Udal* was found sitting upon her Bed-side very late, unbraced with heat, as in pursuit of her Sister, who in merriment, after some questions, he had been commanded to kiss her, she being shadowed in the Ladies Chamber, where he went to seek her: but the conclusion was *Divorce*, though her innocency was pleaded and sealed with all possible protestations, and so generally believed, untill she proved with childe; and yet the Earl was so wise as to father it. Marry then the Moon-calf must fall at the minute of his own account, which no doubt happened just with the birth of the Baby a jolly Boy, and so as best right for him to nestle, who seized it from the Mother, never like to see it long alive; nor what became of it we need not doubt.

But why these his dishonours were not more [*resented at Court agreeable to his Extraction*] in a prophetick relation to [*all King Charls his future mishaps*] is more of the Authours wonder than I can make of it; and concludes, that he became the Head of an Army, giving the King Battel in a Pitch Field partly upon the score of thole indignities before, which he supposes was *charged on the Kings account*.

It was in Anno 1627. Therefore Feoffees were legally intrusted to purchase in the Impropriations with their own and other good mens money, and with the profit to maintain a constant preaching Ministry, *where the Word was wanting*. They consisted of 4. *Divines* to perswade the conscience, 4. *Lawyers* for the Conveyances, and four *Citizens*, for no other end but their money. There was no need of *Captains*, for Captain *Michael's* Sword was then sheathed.

There are in England 9284. Parish-churches endowed with Glebe and Tithes. But 3845. were either appropriated to the Clergy, or impropriated (as Lay-fines) to private persons, which latter these Feoffees endeavoured to redeem, and might have done it in fifty years, by the large summs soon advanced: and no wonder, the subtilty was not then discerned, for in time the Purchasers would become the prime Patrons, for number, and greatness of Benefices, multiply their dependence, and increase non-conformity; and therefore the Attorney General *Noy* exhibited a Bill in the *Exchequer* to overthrow their *Apocrypha incorporatum*.

First, Breach of Trust, for erecting a Morning Lecture at St. *Antholines*,

Anno
1631.

Arreignment
of the Earl of
Castlehaven.

tholines, London, (the Land of Goshen) and not in other places far distant, where Souls famished for want of Food.

Secondly, preferred *Non-conformists*, and so their proceedings were censured, as dangerous to the Church and State, pronounced illegal, and dissolved, and their money confiscate to the King, which yet of late was accounted a pious Project.

Good men and bad are Examples fit for History, the one to follow, these to shun; And the man of the first rank was *Mervin Lord Audley*, Earl of *Castlehaven*, married to a second Wife the Daughter of the old Countess of *Derby*, and Widow of the Lord *Chandos*, by whom she had a Daughter married to the Lord *Audley* the Earls eldest Son.

This Earl, upon Petition of his own Son and Heir the Lord *Audley*, was committed in *December* last, and indicted at *Salisbury*, the County of his abode, the 25. of *March*, the first day of this year, 1631. accused for causing one *Skipwith*, of mean extraction, and his Servant, advanced by him to great preferment, to assist him to ly with his Countess, and to cuckold his Son *Audley*, the Earl assisting, and to hold his Wife whilest *Brodway* did ravish her: and for acting Sodomy upon *Brodway* and *Fitz Patrick* his Servants: a strange kinde of hideous monstrous quality in the sin of this Earl, enforcing others to that wickedness wherein himself had no temptation for his excuse, or inclination to the action, which is the beginning of sin; no fruits or sensual pleasure for the present, which is the act in sin; no advance or profit in the future, which is a reward to a mans self of his sin. The uncouth baseness of the Rape, the Master to serve the Servants; to cuckold himself, the highest horridity of a Wittal; the Husband to ravish his own Wife; nay, to commit a Rape upon himself, (being both one) a sin without former President, or future belief; so monstrous in the manner, so execrable in the end. The onely man of Nobility of infamous note that suffered judicial Execution by this King; for I reckon not the Earl of *Strafford* under that notion,

Hist. p. 115.

These Crimes are bad enough, we need not devise any more, [*that he in Prison impudently told some Lords, his whole delight was to damn Souls, by inticing men the surest way to effect it*] which hath no credit, and we shall lodg no other upon him but truths; for certainly had he said this before his Trial, it might have been remembred as all circumstances were then, to advance his guilt. And it becomes an Historian in dubious relations to admit the most Christian and charitable, being more unlawfull to deceive Posterity by feigned narrative, than to abuse a Judg by false Witness.

But of the other he was found guilty by *Grand Inquest*, and so his cause put over to the *Kings Bench*, and his Person sent to the *Tower*.

The manner of his Trial for Life was by a Court of *High Commission*,

Anno
1631.

mission, delegated to some principal Person as chief *Judg*, constituted with a *Power* as being next to the *King*. In some sort matching the *Ephory* amongst the *Lacedemonians*, and therefore not to be longer intrusted than for the time of *Trial*; for the business being done, he breaks his *Staff*, the *Verge* of his *Power* and *Authority*. And *Thomas* Lord *Coventry* Lord *Keeper* of the *Great Seal* was by *Patent* of the thirteenth of *April*, 1631. commissioned Lord *High Steward* of *England*, for the *Day*, being the five and twentieth of *April*. And because it was the first and last *Commission* of this nature by this *King*, we shall not spare the particular *Narrative*, to rectifie mis-reports of many others herein.

It was at the *Kings Bench* in *Westminster-hall*, where a *Theatre* was erected, in height equal with the *Bench*, covered over with green Cloth. In the upper end was placed the *Tribunal* Chair of *State* for the *High Steward*; on either side the *Peers* of the *Realm*, and under them the *Judges*; in the lower end against the *State* were the *Kings* learned *Council*; and at their backs two *Pews* lifted up to face the *Court* for the *Prisoner* and his *Keeper*; and in the midst of the *Court* a place of descension for the *Clerk* of the *Crown* and his *Assistant*; where they all met between eight and nine of the *Clock* that *Morning*.

Manner of
Trial.

First, the *Clerk* of the *Crown* and the *Judges*, the *Lieutenant* of the *Tower* and the *Prisoner*, (retiring into a *Room* near hand;) then the *Peers* seven and twenty in number, those of the *Garter* order wearing their *Collar* of *Esses* about their neck, the chiefest of them were, *Weston* Lord *Treasurer*, *Earl* of *Manchester* Lord *Privy Seal*, *Arundel* *Earl* *Marshall* of *England*, and so the rest.

Then enters the Lord *High Steward* his *Grace*, in a black *Velvet* *Gown* trimm'd with *Gold Buttons* and *Lace*, before him 7. *Maces* of *State*, born by the *Serjeants* at *Arms*, attended by *Sir* *Fo: Burroughs* *Garter* principal *King* of *Arms*, and *Maxwel* *Usher* of the *Black Rod*.

The *Judges* *Assistants* for *Counsel* in case of *Law*, were *Sir Nicholas Hide* *Chief Justice* of the *Kings Bench*, *Sir Thomas Richardson* *Chief Justice* of the *Common Pleas*, *Sir Humphrey Davenport* *Chief Baron* of the *Exchequer*, and *Baron Denham*; four *Judges*, *Jones*, *Hutton*, *Whitlock*, and *Crook*. The learned *Council* were *Sir Robert Heath* *Attorney General*, *Sir Richard Chelton* *Solicitor General*, *Sir* *Fo: Finch* the *Queens Attorney General*, and *Sir Thomas Crew* *Serjeant* at *Law*, *Sir Thomas Fanshaw* *Clerk* of the *Crown*, and *Keeling* his *Assistant*.

Judges.

The *Clerk* of the *Crown* presented his *Grace* with the *Patent* of his *Place* of Lord *High Steward* of *England*. After *O yes!* he delivered the *Patent* to the *Clerk* of the *Crown*, who read it, and returned it back. The *Black Rod* kneeling down presented him with the *White Staff* or *Verge* of *State*. After a second *O yes!* his

Anno

1631.

Speech to the
Prisoner.

Grace gave leave to the *Peers* to be covered, and Proclamation made, That the Judges should bring in (as by Writ commanded) all the Records touching the Earls Arraignment, and the *Peers* answered particularly to their several names. After the third *O yes!* the Lieutenant of the *Tower* brought in his *Prisoner* into their powers, and his Warrant being read, his Grace addressed himself to the *Peers*.

My Lord Audley, (said he) (for so he stiled him as a Baron of *England*, and not by his Creation of Earl *Castlehaven*, being a foreign Title of *Ireland*, by which Title onely he could not be tried by the *Peers*) the Kings Majesty is given to understand both by report and also by Verdict of divers Gentlemen of quality in your County, that you stand impeached of sundry Crimes of a most high and hainous nature: and therefore he brings you this day to trial, doing therein like the Almighty King of Kings, (in the eighteenth of *Genesis*) who went down to see, whether the sins of the Sons of *Sodome* and *Gomorrah* were so grievous, as the cry of them that came before him. And Kings on Earth can have no better Patern to follow, than that of the King of Heaven: and so hath summoned by special command these your *Peers*, either to acquit or condemn you; they being so noble and so just, so indifferent Judges: for his Majesty desires that your Trial should be as equal and upright as Justice it self: wherefore you may speak boldly and confidently without fear, to clear your self, and so to be set free; but if otherwise your own conscience accuse you, give the honour to God and the King, by confessing the truth, without shifts or subtilties against it, which are but *Consilia adversus Dominum*.

Audley's answer.

May it please your Grace, (said Audley) I have stood committed close Prisoner six moneths, without Friends or Counsel, deprived of the knowledge of the particular circumstances of the Crimes laid to my charge, unskilfull of the advantages or disadvantages of Law, and but weak to plead at the best; and therefore desire liberty of Counsel to plead for me.

Your long Imprisonment (said his Grace) hath been rather a favour for conveniency to bethink your self: and you shall have all possible favour in this your first demand, in which the Judges shall satisfy you, as in all other your desires in the prosecution of your Trial.

The Judges gave opinion, that in principal Causes, Counsel is not to be allowed for matter of Fact, but for matter of Law it may.

Indictment.

His Grace commanded the Clerk of the Crown to read his *Indictments*, being three in number.

The

The Reign of King Charles.

157

The first, for a Rape, by assisting Brodway his own Servant to ravish his Wife the Countess of Castlehaven.

Anno
1631.

The other two, for Sodomy committed on the Body of Brodway and on Fitz Patrick his Footman.

To which he pleaded, Not guilty, &c.

And therefore his Grace said thus to the Peers.

My Lords, the Prisoner is indicted of Rape and Sodomy, and pleads Not guilty: My duty is to charge you with the Trial, Yours to judge. The Cause may move pity in some, detestation in all, but neither of them may be put in the Scale of Justice, for a Grain on either side sways the Ballance. Let Reason rule your affections, your heads, your hearts, to heed attentively, and weigh equally. In the right course the Judges will direct you, if doubts arise. Ye are not sworn how to proceed, the Law supposeth your integrity to Justice, which others are compelled unto by Oath. And so God direct you.

Crew opened the Indictments, and so was seconded, and by turns all the other, but the Attorney General proceeded in brief; that the Crimes were far more base and beastly than any Poet invented, or History ever mentioned. Suetonius indeed sets out the Lives of Heathen Emperours, whose Sovereignty had no Law to question their Power, nor Religion to bound their wills from acting any Crimes. And here ravelling into his former debauched life and profession of Papistry, digressing from the matter of the Indictments, the Prisoner desired that his Religion, nor other circumstances not conducing to his crimes charged, might be spared. But he was told to forbear to interrupt the Council, till the time fitting to make answer.

And so the Attorney went on with his Religion, bred up a Protestant, and after fell to Papistry, for more liberty in evil; or rather of both Professions, or of either, or of none at all. *Cor quod ingreditur duas vias non habet successum.* In the morning at a Mass, afternoon at a Sermon; believing in God thus basely, God left him at the last to his lusts, and so to Atheism, to work wickedness without hope of Heaven or horror of Hell.

His Religion.

His moral actions beyong imagination wicked; for though he married this Lady, as noble in birth, as great in fortune; so soon as that solemnity was done, and she in Bed, he presents Amptil his Page to her Person, and unchaste imbracements, reasoning with Scripture, that her Body now made subject unto him, and so at his command; if to evil, not her fault, let her sin ly at his door: but she refusing, he left her at this time; and takes Amptil whom he had

Moral actions.

Anno
1631.

had raised from the Dunghill not long before, to his own Bed, not without suspicion of horrid abominations for divers years before; and after, to seal up this League of sin, he marries him to his onely Daughter, with a Dower of eight thousand pounds for a Salary, as most men suppose, of his sins.

But he goes on, prefers one *Skipwith* a mean *Irishman* to be his Minion; by whose means, all manner of means for support of his Wife and Children could not be obtained from the Master, but by hire of horrid prostitution of their Bodies to his lust. And ere his own young Daughter, then but of twelve years, not able to submit to his desires, the Father (inhumane horrid) enables them with Oyls, and in the Action, himself assistant, animates *Skipwith* to the lusty performance, swearing, *That if he get a Boy, it should enjoy all his Estate, as more willing to make his Bastard Heir to all, than any other person.* And this Lord would leap out from his Lady, and ly with *Skipwith* in Bed, suspected with abominations, with continual unlimited favour, as to dismember his own Estate from his Heir, and settle it on him; to spend in present five hundred pounds *per annum* out of his Purse, and a thousand pound a year Inheritance.

And to boot with his *Ganimedes*, he kept *Bandina* a common Whore in his house for all Comers. At sometime four of them each after other, and himself the last, Spectatours all.

These though not Crimes of his Indictment, and so not Death by the Common Law, yet were they urged to lead on the Censure of the greater sins.

The Rape.

And for the first of them, the Rape; inhibited by God in the old Law, not onely with Death, but the whole Countrey where committed suffered punishment, witness the *Levites* Wife, forced by the Sons of the *Benjamites*, for which almost all their Tribe were slain. And before our Statutes, Laws in that case were made, the ancient Laws (says *Bracton* and *Glanville*) condemned them to death. And this Lord calls *Brodway* into his Bed with his Wife, and held her to have been ravished by him, and so confessed by them both.

Sodomy.

His second Crime Sodomy, with two Persons. The punishment of that sin in *Sodome* and *Gomorrha* was fire from Heaven, which consumed them; by our Church Laws they are to be burnt, our Statutes Laws have added loss of Goods and Lands; but our Common Law is so defective therein, as not afflicting by any punishment, belike not usual, to such horrid sin: *Et ad ea quæ frequentius accidunt jura adaptantur.* In *Edward 3.* time some of the *Lombards* here were detected, and punishment upon all by banishment. In *Henry 8.* it was made Felony, but repealed by *Queen Mary*, and revived by *Queen Elizabeth*, upon which Act now the Prisoner was indicted.

Proofs of the
Countess.

The Proofs to purpose, concerning these Crimes, were, that *Skipwith*

with was called into Bed to both, to ly with the Countess, but did not do it.

That *Brodway* did ravish her being held by her Husband, for which she would have killed her self, if he had not prevented, and that before that Act with *Brodway*, she was innocent from that crime with any, untill *Amptil* lay with her, who was the Earls Page.

Brodway confessed that he forced the Countess, by assistance of her Husband, and had power of her Body, whilst her Husband held her, but *sine penetratione*.

Lady *Audley* confessed, that she was married in *Ireland*, by a *Romish* Priest in the morning, and at night by a Prebend of *Kilkenny*. First tempted by her Father to ly with *Skipwith*, from whom she had all her means of support; and afterwards very often in sight of her Father and Servants, being threatned, that her Lord did not love her.

For the *Sodomy*, *Brodway* confessed actual carnality with the Earl, but *sine penetratione*.

Patrick confessed it, each with other twice.

Against *Patrick*. the Prisoner urged for him to take the Oath of *Alleageance*, ere his testimony might be accepted; but being no *Recusant convict*, he was admitted.

These *Exceptions* besides were answered by the *Judges*. His Accusers were his Servants, turned away for misdemeanours, and were received by his Son, and all combine. The Wife Witness against her Husband, long since acted without complaint: that his Son, now one and twenty years, longed for the Land, his Wife for a fresh Bed-fellow.

Answered. All Witnesses are competent in all Cases, but *Treason*.

Brodway not penetrating, yet it was a *Rape*.

In *Civil Causes* the Wife no Witness. In *criminal capital Causes* she may, her self being grieved, concerned, on whom the Fact was committed. No time limited for her to complain, (*Nullum tempus occurrit Regi*) in an Indictment of *Rape*; but in an Appeal of *Rape* she is limited to convenient time, else it will bar her.

If a *Maid* be forced, and afterwards consent to marry with the Man, yet it is a *Rape*, and may be found against him.

The Statute 15 *Henry 8.* made *Sodomy* to be *Felony*, and 5 *Eliz.* *Crimen Sodomiticum* without penetration; for forcing the Body to spend Seed thereon is a *Rape*.

A common Whore may be ravished.

Lord Steward. Then he was told, You have been favourably tried, not usual in capital Crimes to bring the Delinquent and Witnesses face to face before Trial, which armed you against this time; and therefore what can you say more for your self?

He

Anno

1631.

He seemed to palliate his offence by the Insufficiency of his accusers, professing his Innocency, as he did afterwards at his death.

But the *Peers* returned their verdict all of them One by One, condemning him of the Rape; but of *Sodomie* twelve of them dissented as not guilty; and so had his sentence as in case of *felony* to be hanged; but was afterwards by favour beheaded at *Tower-Hill* the 14. of *May*, exceeding repentant as the two Divines *Dr. Winniff* Dean of *Pauls*, and *Dr. Wickham* the Kings Chaplain repeated his extream contrition; and died a true Protestant, as by his Confession in writing appeared.

His Character.

He was of Noble extraction, well qualified with gifts of Nature, sharp and quick apprehension, his discourses sublime, and of high conception, disguising his actions with much subtilty from common appearance, and so masked, till they became foul, when the habit of sin had took away all sense of honour: He was usual very just of his word, which it seems his *Ganymeds* made use of, to draw him in his lust to a promise; and always to perform. But his vineyard was clustered with wilde grapes. Gentle rains could not lead him to Heaven, a snaffle was fit for an untamed beast, yet certainly, we may suppose in Christian observation, that Heaven suffered violence, when he took that Kingdom; for however (before his sentence of death) He afterwards deserved to live, and had this like *Character* delivered, by his Divines, to the King himself.

Brodway and *Patrick* arraigned and Executed.

Brodway and *Fitz Patrick* arraigned in *June*, at the Kings *Bench-bar*; The proceedings were grounded upon former Evidence and now *viva voce* the same: To which their own Confessions concluded them guilty, *Brodway* of the Rape, *Patrick* the *Sodomie*, and were hanged at *Tyburn*, *July 6*.

Patrick finding himself at the Gallows, in earnest to be hanged, complained of some (*Dorset* is named) that advised him to his confession of *Sodomie*, as not to prejudice his life, (which was the onely Evidence) for his Lord denied it to his death; Some what was under hand used no doubt, to draw out this Confession, which could not otherwise possibly have been proved.

Brodway, more ingenious, confessed his Crime, easily draw by his former debaucheries, in a cursory custom to that sin with the Countesse; whose conversation was equally Infamous, with all the rest, as *Brodway* urged; but he escaped to repent.

Sr. Giles Allington his Incest.

There followed a sinne of some similitude with the former Crimes, *Sr. Giles Allingtons* Incest with his Neece, Which he had put to the question of Council ere he married her, not without great suspicion of too much familiarity before. And had advise of the Arch Bishop and others Divines, of the incestuous

Nature

Nature of such Copulation. She was daughter to Mr. Dalton's Wife, Sister to Mr. Gibes, and so his own Niece. His wicked passion was supported by his great Estate, which under question of the High Commission, where his purse boyd him up a long time.

The Levitical law inderdicts the marriage of the Nephew with the Aunt, but not of the Uncle with the Niece, which seems to be the same in reason. No sayes Bellarmine: The first changeth the natural subjection due from a Nephew to his Aunt, who must be under covert by the duty of a Wife; whereas if a Niece marries her Uncle, the natural subjection is rather doubled then destroyed. The Moral Law was writ by Moses in stone; and positive laws besides, to the Jews, Ceremonial, and Judicial; the latter ceased in Christs death, unlesse a Moral equity were in them, that is, *inter ascendentes & descendentes*, a kinde of paternity and filiation. And certainly, Allingtons Case was a crime of the Moral-Law; And if the Aunt had matcht with the Nephew, the sin had been higher, she being *in loco Parentis* to the Nephew; he being by that contract Husband to Her, was superiour to his Parent, and so an aggravation to the offence. But Sr. Giles flew from the Civil Courts to the Common pleas, where he procured a Rule, Requiring the High Commission to shew cause why a Prohibition should not be granted, and until then, if they proceeded, a Prohibition was granted. This too bold to a High Court of Commission, the King interposed, and by the Lord Keeper blamed the Judges, who proceeded no further in fear of Laud Bishop of London, who protested to Excommunicate the Judges in his Diocesse, and to declare it at Pauls Crosse Pulpit, in case the Arch-Bishop of Canterbury did not do it in his Province, who did somewhat connive.

It was too hot for Allington to hold out there, which returned him back a submissive penitentiary to the incensed Commissioners, Eight Bishops, and Four Civilians Judges, who in full Court with serious Ceremonies, sentenced him twelve thousand pounds fine to the King, and to stand penal in 20000 l. not to cohabit or be in private with her; To be imprisoned, (or sufficient bail) till both of them had performed penance at St. Pauls Crosse London, and great St. Maries in Cambridge at a day assigned. They did so; But yet no penalty of the purse, or shame of the sinne could keep them long alunder, though the pragmatick Inquisitors sums and other Officers narrowly watcht them; for of all sins, these of uncleanness want not their Agitant spirits from below, to cooperate their wondrous subtile wayes, to the working this kinde of wickedness, and so did this Couple with aid of their confidants, Pimps and Panders.

We now return to the Military Actions of Germanie where we left

Anno
1631.

His Case

and sentence.

Return to
Germany.

Anno
1631.

Tilly defeated.

left the succesful *Gustave* King of *Swede* encamped neer *Leipsick*, and his enemies resolved to fight him.

It was the 17. of *September* 1631. The *Saxons* began the shock, they stood it not long, but ran, their enemies follow the chase, so far that the King got their *Camp*, their *Canon* and the *Winde*, which to regain *Papenheim* with his horse gave two furious charges, but the Canon forced them to fly, *Tilly* followed and wounded for all his pretended charms: yet the *Imperial* Foot fought it out with infinite valour, till their Fate was to be overcome: *Baggage*, *Artillery*, *Amunition*, *sixscore* *Colours*, and all fell with the Conquerers hands; the dead were many, and may be imagined by the Prisoners, which were accounted 13000. besides 3000. flying, were killed by the pursuers.

It is now time for *Tilly* to retyre to his Master the Duke of *Bavaria*, and the King to pursue the old corporal (as he call'd him) to the Works end; and first into *Franconia*, and all submit to him, dividing his Army, sends *Saxon* to recover his home losses, and afterwards with *Generall Arnham*, to take *Prague* and *Egner*.

Gustave by several successes, esteemed himself almost universal Monarch, for in some choler with *Monfieur Carnasse* the French Ambassadour, who sued to him for terms of peace towards the *Electors Trevers*, he told him that if his Master angred him, he would see *Paris* with fifty thousand men; *Carnasse* calmly replied, that his Master would save him the labour, and meet him half way with as many more. Indeed the King was grown haughty and envied of all.

But *Papenheim* recollects an Army, comes to *Colein*, leaves *Bannier*, the Duke of *Brunswick*, the Landsgrave of *Hassia*, and *General Fot*: with other exploits in *Westphalia*, and in a word was not far from being a President for *Gustave*.

Yet the hazzard of the *Empire*, compelled the *Emperour* to court his old *General Wallestein*, who covering his ambition and revenge, by conditions of dividing the soveraignty, he was brought to accept it, and forthwith gave commissions for sixty thousand men, and instantly raised fourty thousand.

The prosperous successe of the *Swede* caused King *Charles* to tack about to him, for his Assistance and Restauration of the *Palsgraves* Patrimony.

Amstroder
sent Ambassa-
dor again to
the *Emperor*.

And therefore now again sends *Sr. Robert Amstroder* unto the *Emperour*, who kept his former way of palliation, rather than denial, which the King resented until future successes, good or bad to the *Swede*, might introduce fresh occasions of proper Councils, in order to the proceedings of the *German* War, which *Gustave* made as the onely pretensions (and indeed but pretensions) for liberty to the *Princes*; none then oppressed, unlesse upon the
score

score of the Prince *Elect*or, whose precipitate actions in truth and in earnest had no justifiable ground from the first occasion of assuming the *Crown* of *Bohemia*, as hath been said before in the *History* of King *James*. But suppose the *Palatine* had hard measure, and the *Swede* the success of the *Sword*, to restore the oppressed, see the effects; for being Master of the Field, even in the very *Palatinate*, the late and ancient *Patrimony* of that *Prince*, to whose Restoration and Recovery so much Time and Treasure had been spent to palliate mis-offences: And how zealous heretofore King *James* had been for him, and King *Charles* even then this Summer, with aid of six thousand Foot, and four hundred thousand Dollers to the King of *Swede*, under conduct of the Marquess *Hamilton*, whom he in scorn of any assistance to his prosperous success neglected, and suffered to be totally and miserably lost by chance and famine: yet (I say) see the effects of *Swedes* ambition. King *Charles* sends an Ambassadour to him, congratulates his happiness, and descends to mediate and to pray the Restoration of his Brother in Law the *Palsgrave* to his *Palatinate*. He loth to deny that which was the ground of his *Declaration* and *War*, Restoring the oppressed, forms his concession into these Articles.

First, that the Palsgrave should enter Recognizance to hold his Countrey as a Donative of the Invincible King of Swede, and repute himself his Beneficiary and Vassal.

2. *That he should make no martial Levies without the Swedes consent.*

3. *That during this War, he should furnish the Swede with (I know not how) so many thousand men upon his own Pay, (far more in possibility than his poor Countrey could mantain.)*

4. *That two of his chief Towns should stand Cautionaries for performing of Covenants, to be made presidiary, and Garrisons by the Countreys Contribution.*

5. *That he should make no League, nor article with any other Prince without the Swedes consent.*

These were Proposals, and must be reckoned his Acts of Grace to a distressed Friend, in answer to his ambitious Title, *Liberator Germania*, which he framed for the Worlds Wonder.

King *Charles* scorned these terms, and the *Palsgrave* rejected them, as more dishonourable from a Friend, than his other sufferings from a professed Foe. But these terms (the issue of his own proud nature) were calmed after into other more moderate, by mediation of the Ambassadors of *France* and the *United Provinces*, and near hand to be concluded, when at the Battel of *Lutzen* hereafter, the King with great courage, and too much hazzard, in the midst of his Troops was slain, whether by a resolved particular Design of

Anno

1631.

Princess Mary
born.Trial of Com-
bate between
two Scotch
men.

The manner.

any single person or party (his own or the Enemy) is uncertain; but this disaster concealed for the time from the Army, his Forces redoubling their fury, they carried the Field, and killed five thousand, as in the next year shall be set forth. In the mean time we return home to England.

The fourth of November blessed this Nation, with the Queens delivery of her eldest Daughter Princess Mary, afterwards married to the young Prince of Orange.

When Friends fall out their faults are found, as appears by the quarrell between *Donnold* Lord *Rey*, a *Scotish* Highlander, or rather more Northward of the Isles *Orkney*: and one *David Ramsey* a true *Scot* Courtier, concerning words and designs of Treason against the King and Kingdom, which because *Ramsay* denied, they are admitted the Trial by Combate, the manner being as followeth.

The day prefixt for Trial was the 28. of November, 1631. before *Robert* Earl of *Lindsey*, Lord High Chamberlain of England, and now *pro tempore* deputed Lord High Constable of England.

Thomas Earl of *Arundel*, Earl Marshall of England.

The Earl of *Pembroke*, Lord Chamberlain of the Kings Household.

The Earl of *Dorset*, Chamberlain to the Queens Household.

The Earl of *Carlile*.

Earl of *Malgrave*.

Earl of *Morton*.

Viscount *Wimbleton*.

Viscount *Wentworth*.

Viscount *Falkland*.

Sir *Henry Vane*.

The place was the Painted Chamber at Westminster: at the upper end thereof a Bench was erected four Foot high for the Constable, and Marshal, and Lords assistants. Under them Seats about a Square Table, filled with the Heralds of Arms, and Serjeants at Arms, and other Officers of the Court. Directly under the upper Bench sate the Register Doctor *Dethick*, and over against him Doctor *Duck* the Kings Advocate for the Marshals Court. Behinde him at the Bar were the two Pews for the Appellant and Defendant.

At eight a clock comes the Earl Marshal (ushered in with nine Heralds, and three Serjeants at Arms) bearing his Marshal Truncheon of Gold, tipped with black, and commanding room, and giving orders, retired into the Upper House of Parliament, and then returned into the Court, as to make way for the High Constable, who followed, and all took place in their degrees.

The Earl Marshal rises, makes obedience to the Constable, and passing forward meets Sir *William Scager* King of Heralds, and both

of

of them present to the Constable his Commission, which he received with his Hat off: and delivered it to the Register to read, in effect,

That his Majesty being informed by Donnold Lord Rey, how David Ramsey Esquire, had plotted, and was privy unto divers Treasons and Conspiracies against his Royal Person, Government, and Kingdoms. In the search whereof the King had used all ways and means for the discovery of the truth: the one of them accusing, the other denying, and so no certain security to his own Person and his Subjects: Therefore he doth authorize the said Robert Bartie Earl of Lindsey Lord High Constable, for to call unto him Thomas Earl of Arundel Earl Marshal, and with him such other Peers, Sheriffs, and Officers, as he thinks fit, to hold a Marshal's Court, for sifting the truth between the said parties, &c.

Anno
1631.
Commission
read.

Then the King of Heralds delivers to the Constable, his Silver Verge or Staff, halt a yard in length, headed with a Crown of Gold. Then the Earl Marshal delivered a Key to a Herald, to fetch in the Appellant ushered in by the Herald, and accompanied with his Sureties, Sir Pierce Crosby, Sir Walter Crosby, Sir William Forbiez, Sir Robert Gordon, and Sir William Evers. He was apparelled in black Velvet trimmed with Silver Buttons, his Sword in a Silver imbroidered Belt, in his order of a Scottish Baronet, about his neck, and so with reverence entered into his Pew. His Council Doctor Reeves standing by. His behaviour (like himself, tall, swarthy, black, but comely) very port-like and of staid countenance.

Appellant enters.

The Defendant was alike ushered in by another Herald. His Sureties were the Lord Roxborough and L. Abercorn: and his deport like himself, stern and brave, a fair ruddy, yellow-headed bush of hair, (so large, and in those days unusual, that he was called Ramsey Red-head) His Apparel Scarlet, over-laced with Silver, the ground hardly discerned, and lined with Sky-colour Plush, but unarmed, without a Sword. After his reverence to the Court, he faced the Appellant, who alike sterned a countenance at him.

The Defendant enters.

After o yes! the Earl Marshal told them the effect of the Commission, and the power of this Court, which was not of any strange nature, but legal and justifiable as any other Trial in Westminster-hall. And that there had been no more nor other Trials of this kinde of late, we were to attribute it to Gods goodness, the justice of the King, and loyalty of the Subject with the providence of State, and wished, there might be no more in time to come. And that to expect any Combate, this Court he hoped would prevent it by the discovery of the light, and so Magna est veritas, & prævalebit.

Earl Marshals
Speech.

He referred the further proceedings unto Doctor Duck the Kings Advocate, who spake thus in effect.

That

Anno

1631.

The Kings
Advocates
Speech.

That the Kings Majesty had committed the Trial of the business to your Grace my Lord High Constable, the Earl Marshal, and this Court, which course was warrantable by the Laws of other Nations, and also by our own, who have used the same manner of Trial.

That our Law admitted sundry Proofs for Treason, which in other matters it did not : That all Subjects were bound to discover Treasons : and cited two ancient Civilians, Hieronymus and Tiberius, who gave their Reasons for this kinde of Trial. And he mentioned sundry Records of our own Chronicles and Examples herein, as the Duke of Norfolk combating against the Duke of Hartford in Henry 4. his time. Jo: Ely and William Scroop against Ballamon at Burdeaux, the King being there. The Lord Morley impeached Mountague Earl of Salisbury. And that Thomas of Walsingham and Thomas of Woodstock in their learned Writings expressed sundry Presidents for this manner of Proceeding ; wishing the Court in Gods Name to go on to the Trial, and the Appellant to give in his Evidence.

Then the Appellant came up upon the Table, to whom the Earl Marshal delivered the Petition, which he had the day before exhibited to the King. And the Defendant being also called up, the Petition was read, which was in effect, That he having accused Ramsey of Treason, and also Meldram his Kinsman, and of Confederacy, against whom Captain Nothwick was witness, therefore had desired that the Court would proceed against Meldram first.

But he was told by the Court, that their Cases differing, the Appellant was ordered to deliver in his Charge against the Defendant, which he did, in writing by Bill, containing sundry Particulars, viz.

The Charge.

That in May last in the Low-countreys, Ramsey complained to him against the Court of England. That the matters of Church and State was so out of frame as must tend to a change, if not desolation.

That therefore he had abandoned the Kingdom, to live where now he was, and to expect a mutation forthwith, to which end he had brought present Moneys to maintain him at six pounds a day for three years. That Marquess Hamilton had a great Army promised to him, for pay whereof the King had given in hand ten thousand pound, and all the Wine Customes in Scotland for sixteen years, presently to be sold for the Armies subsistence. And that he staid but for Ammunition and Powder to come over, for which his Lordship was to mediate with his Majesty of Sweden and the States, and then link themselves together, of whose minde Rey should know hereafter.

That their Friends in Scotland had gotten therefore Arms and Powder out of England, and that what he should procure in Holland

was

was to be brought over by the Marqueſs; and that all Scotland were ſure to them except Three.

That France and Spain thirſted for England, but Hamilton would defeat them for himſelf. His onely fear was of Denmark, where he meant to land, and either to take him off, or make a party.

That afterwards at Amſterdam, Ramſey with Alexander Hamilton ſolicited him the Lord Rey to be true to them, and to be of their Council, though as yet they durſt not reveal too much of Hamilton's ſecrets, but if he repaired to England, he would intruſt him with Letters; and that his Brother in Law Sea-port knew all.

This being the effect of the Charge. He added,

That if Ramſey would deny it, he was a Villain and a Traitour, which he would make good. And therewith caſt him his Glove.

Ramſey denied all, and ſaid, Rey was a Liar, a barbarous Villain, and threw down his Glove, proteſting, to gar him dy for it, if he had had him in place for that purpoſe.

Rey was temperate, without any paſſion, but ſmiling, replied, Mr. Ramſey, we will not contend here. Answer to my Bill.

Then Ramſey offered ſome Reaſons of the impoſſibility of the Charge, the ſlender Numbers of men from England, but ſix thouſand raw Souldiers, againſt three Kingdoms, whom the firſt Proclamation might diſſipate. That the Marqueſs was neither ſo wicked, nor weak in judgment: and if he ſhould conceit to ſurprize the King, what hope had he againſt his Children and Kindred? And therefore (ſaid he) my Lord Rey is a barbarous Villain, and a Liar, and he will gar him dy for it, or loſe his deareſt blond.

He was interrupted by the Earl Maſhal, telling him, he muſt not ſtand upon conjectures, but answer the Bill of Form according to Law, and was adviſed to take counſel therein.

Then Ramſey in general acknowledged all the particular circumſtances of time and place alleged by Rey, and the diſcourſe to that effect, but concluded, that no Treason was intended or uttered, and craved Counſel to answer, which was granted.

And ſo the Court adjourned till the fifth of December, but upon a freſh Arreſt by the Earl Maſhal they were to put in Bail for Appearance, which were the old Security; and Ramſey ordered to answer upon Oath. At which Day appearing, the fame of the Cauſe brought thither ſuch a crowd of People as was not imaginable.

Rey

Anno
1631.

Ramseys Answer.

Rey entered as before in manner and habit: but Ramsey was new suited in black Satten, and presented his Answer in writing to this effect:

That having well considered the time, place, and communication with the Lord Rey beyond the Seas, (as before urged) he confesses;

That Rey demanded of him, whether the Marques Hamilton intended to come over and follow the Wars? He said, Yes. And told him of his Forces six thousand men, and of the ten thousand pounds in money, and Wine-customes in Scotland, which he would sell to maintain the Army, and that he would come so provided with Ammunition, that being joyned with his Friends he valued no Enemy. Upon which Rey replied, that his own two Regiments should wait upon him: but the place of these Forces to meet was at Sea, and there to receive directions from the King of Swede, where to rendezvouz. Upon which Rey said, that his Life and Fortunes should wait on the Marques; who being told of his friendship, wrote a Letter to Rey, which Ramsey delivered, in effect, that Rey would get some Ammunition from the King of Swede, which was wanting. And that, speaking in general of matters amiss in England, Rey answered, God amend all. To whom Ramsey replied, By God Donnold, we must help him to amend all. And to all the other matters and things he utterly denies, and craves revenge upon Rey's person by dint of Sword.

Dr. Eden for
Ramsey.

Then Doctor Eden of Council for Ramsey spake to the Court, That being assigned his Council, his opinion was, that the Defendant might decline the Combate, and reply to the Appellant's Bill in brief, with these Reasons:

First, that by the words in the Bill, No man can be charged a Traitor by one that is guilty in his own particular, and so is not tied to be Defendant, nor to answer such a Bill.

Secondly, the incertainty and doubtfulness of the words in the Charge; so that till the Court doth censure them to be treasonable, the Defendant is not tied to answer.

Thirdly, the Appellant refers the Combate till the last, if he cannot in the mean time prove the Charge by any other ways; then he offers to make it good by his Body. So then, the Defendant may forbear his Answer, and decline the Combate.

And now my Lords, (said he) I humbly shall acquaint you with the Defendants answer to me in private, which was,

That though in Law he might, yet in honour and innocency he would not decline the Combate, but being his own consent, his Advocate hath the less to say for him. And so time was given for Rey's Replication till Friday after.

Rey's

Reys Councel moved; whereas *Dr. Eden* had excepted at some words in the *charge*, he answered, that whoever was accused of *Treason*, was not to insist, how polluted the answer was, but how to approve and clear himself: Then to refer the *Combate* to the last, was well done, *ultimum refugium*, to expose his life, for God, the King and his Countrey.

Anno

1631.

Dr. Duck the
Kings Advoca-
cate for Rey.

This Speech being somewhat peremptory, and directory to the Court, he was told,

E. Marshal.

That the Court needed not his direction, as to the Tryall of *Combate*, their wisdoms would consider of that when it was time; and so the Court adjourned, both parties being admitted to have common Lawyers; but to plead onely by *Civilians*.

This day come, *Rey* appears as before; But *Ramsley* in a new suit, of *Ash-colour cloth*, opened with *scarlet* colour, the *cloke scarlet cloth*, lined with *ash coloured velvet*, and the whole suit and cloke overlaid with *silver* and *Sky coloured lace*.

The former proceedings were read by the *Register*; and thereupon the *Appellants Replication* presented to the *High Constable*: in effect.

Rey his Repli-
cation.

That *Ramsley* in his answer, had cunningly slipt over a part of the charge, which was, that the Lord *Rey* protested, he was not ingaged in Wars, for want of subsistence, and therefore would not hazard in any designe, without sure knowledge, upon which words, depends much of the matter and main of that part of the Bill. And so ripping up the severall charges of the Bill, the strength, reasons, and likelihood, and the defendants defects in not clearing the chief points, they went on with the Councel.

It was his part to inforce the charge against *Ramsley* to this effect.

He observed, That the first day, *Ramsley* denied all the charge, whilst he stood upon positive resolution; but afterwards his Councel brought him to particulars and taught him to Answer superficially; first he knew nothing, and yet now so much.

Dr. Duck for
Rey.

No doubt there was some stranger enterprize by the *Marquesse Hamilton*, then to serve the King of *Swede*, by *Ramsleys* professing that *Hamilton* was a *Protestant*, and bore Arms for Religion, not caring with whom to grapple; from hence observing, That they intended somewhat to attempt of themselves. *Ramsley* stiled the *Marquesse* his Master in discourse, and in many of his Letters produced, much of the discovery by *Rey*, was to fish out of *Ramsley*

Anno
1631.

the truth of his doubtful words; How unlikely it was that *Rey* having two Regiments of old Souldiers, *Captain* of the King of *Swedes Dragoons* in good pay for all, should offer to serve *Hamilton* who was to be commanded by the King.

And that *Ramsley* might decline the *Combate*, or forbear answering till the last, was a strange opinion of *Council*; because, *combate* was to be reserved till all other means of discovery fayled, and therefore *Rey* his reasons, were supplimental proofs; and requesting *Meldrams* testimony; but however he was now ready, if the Court thinks fit to give the *Combate* presently.

And concluded with an example in case of *Murther*. Two men fight in secret, the one is slain, the other flies, and though without any witnesse of the fact, his seeking to escape condemns him guilty. So *Ramsley* having been accused of *Treason* above three Moneths by the Lord *Rey*, and both confined, *Ramsley* despairing of his cause, seeks his flight from Justice by sending to *Rey* a private challenger, being a sufficient conviction in Law, as by ancient *Presidents* in this Court: viz. *Kiteles*, after an *Appeal*, seems a challenger to *Scroop*, and was therefore adjudged guilty.

Dr. Duck for
Ramsley.

Doctor *Duck* Answered to all. That first, It was prudence for *Ramsley* to answer in general *Negatively*, having been newly landed from Sea; and might be excused till time and consideration, to refresh his memory, being not upon *Oath*; And as yet, the defendant need not answer perfectly, till further time and favour, to view the *Exhibits* in Court by copies, which he desires.

And directly urged against the Lord *Reys Replication*, not to be allowed; Because, *Rey* referring himself now to *Proofs*, might have saved the trouble of this Court of *Honour* and *Chivalrie* and hazzard of their *Persons* by *Combate*, which intends the *Trial* without proofs; And that the Defendant having ingaged his sureties, but to this day, He humbly desires the time and place to be ordered for the sudden *Combate*, according to the Law of *Arms*; and custom of this Court; Saying, that the *Duel* foreseen, must ensue upon the *Appeal* and *Denial*; and therefore ought now to be granted.

Dr. Reeves
for *Rey*.

Doctor *Reeves* moved for continuance of the *Replication*, and consented to the *Combate*; The Court admitted the *Replication*, and ordered time till *Wednesday* for *Exceptions* thereto.

Dr. Duck.

Doctor *Duck* offered some reasons to satisfy *Rey*, and extremely to censure *Ramsley*, where he was interrupted and told by the *E. Marshall*, That the Court will save him the labour and council, till the *Rejoynders* be put in, and then to be Ordered.

Dr. Eden for
Rey.

Doctor *Eden* shewed that the copies of the Letters Exhibited
were

were not given out: Nor shall sayes the Earl *Marshal*, till the court have considered of the contents, and so they were read.

Anno

1631.

Letters read.

The one was from Ramsey to Rey, certifying him of passages in the Low-Countreys since their parting. to put the Marquesse in minde of directing him, how to dispose of the Ammunition and Arms in his custody; subscribed, your servant, Ramsey.

The other from the Lord Marquesse, to the Lord Rey, congratulating his love and affection, expressing a great desire to meet him in Germany, upon any termes he would propose. And that Ramsey the Bearer, was instructed for him to Treat with the King of Swede, whom he desires to favour and assist, which will oblige him his friend and servant, Hamilton.

Doctor *Duck* opened the whole matter, and each particular, Insisting, That my Lord *Reys* evidence being for the King, and he a person of Honour, and Peer of Scotland, his testimony was sufficient.

Dr. Duck for
Rey.

And moves that Mr. *Meldram* might be admitted for supply, for though they were not joynt witnesses together, of the words, which made the charge; yet for as much that they were spoken asunder, and agreeing together, made up a full proof: That no testimony may be neglected in matters of *Treason*. That if any part of the charge was denied by the Defendant, and proved by the Appellant, it might convince him in a manner of the whole: And urged the offence of *Ramsays* challenging *Rey*. But more of that hereafter.

But Doctor *Reeves* prosecuted the matter, for that *Ramsay's* Councel endeavoured to prove that he might decline the *Combate*, or forbear answering, because of some words which reflected upon my Lord *Rey* as matter of reproach, that *Rey* had uttered words of *Treason* to catch *Ramiey*, and then to turn *Informer*. But (said he) No office can be accounted base, when the King and Kingdoms safety is concern'd; citing a story out of *Livie*, that the Romans confederate with the *Sanubies*, were to undergo a base office that stood not with Honour, and resolved, so long as it was advantageous to the *Romane* State, it might with Honour be undertaken.

Dr. Reeves for
Rey.

Doctor *Eden* was earnest to excuse himself for putting in these words against the Lord *Rey*, saying, that his *Client* enforced, to have them inserted,

Dr. Eden for
Ramsay.

But being a point of Honour, the Earl Marshal interposed, That
Z 2 true

Anno
1631.

Doctor Elen
for Ramsey.

true it was, the best man may not refuse the basest office to preserve a King and Nation; But again, it was most unworthy the degree of honour, for any man to angle and intrap another, and then to present him to that Kings Justice.

Then the Pleaders argued concerning *Meldrams* Testimony, That no proof ought to be omitted for the King; But it was offered for *Ramsley* to joyn issue upon that point in Law; for the Bill was laid against him not general, but particular, to *Place, Time* and *matter*, viz. That in *May* last in a *Ship*, and afterward at *Amsterdam*, then again at *Delph*, *Ramsley* should say such and such words, which if *Meldram* would justify, besides himself, they ought to be admitted, otherwise it was no good *matter*, but must refer to a new Bill.

That the Defendant had answered fully, for that the Lord *Rey* profered his service to the *Marquesse* without pressing to know any *designe*. That nothing in the Letters could convict *Ramsley*. That the Lord *Rey* standing upon his great offices under the King of *Swede*, and so not necessitated to serve the *Marquefs*, He had not those places of command then, but since; and that since his coming into *England*, he said that he would have served under the *Marquefs*, and concluded that *Ramsley* and the *Marquefs* might use such words, and yet not intend *Treason* to his Majesty.

But having in this Tryal medled so much with the *Marquefs*, the Court was fain to enter an order or *Protection*, to clear the *Marquefs* his words or actions from dishonour.

Then the Court proceeded to Examine witnesses *viva voce*.

Raukin examined.

Archibal Raukin was to prove the challenge as the Bringer, upon these questions he confessed, That he was in *Ramsleys* chamber at *Richmond* the last of *October*.

That *Ramsley* did not imploy him to carry any challenge to the Lord *Rey*; But at that time *Ramsley* told him, that it was his grief to be restrayned not to meet *Rey*, who was a Trayterous villain, and wished to meet him in the open fields at *Barn-Elms*, he would make him dye for it, and tear his heart, with other such words of reproach, and wished this Deponent to tell *Rey* so much, which he did, but it was three weeks after, and then, not until the Lord *Rey* told him, that *Ramsley* had sent him a challenge; so that said *Ramsley*, my Message was but a relation, not a challenge.

But *Rauken* was observed to falter from what he affirmed before Dr. *Reeves*, and others, viz. to have carried the challenge, and that *Ramsley* could not deny it; so that *Rauken* was threatned not to accuse *Ramsley*.

Gilbert

Gilbert Seaton depofed, That *Ramſey* ſaid, he had made it come to *Rey's* ears, to have ended this buſineſſe without troubling the King or Lords.

Anno
1631.

Doctor Duck
for Rey.

Then Doctor *Duck* ſummoned up all the proceedings, obſerving that formerly in the preſence of the King, *Ramſey* had with deep proteſtations and oath denied the *time*, *place*, and *matter* which he now confeſſeth, and though then not examined upon oath, yet in *France* and other Countreys, the very holding up of the hand is an oath, and ſo *Tertullian* ſayes of the *Romanes*, and *Ramſey* confeſſing part, he might be guilty of the whole charge.

Doctor Eden
for Ramſey.

Doctor *Eden* ſaid, That *Rey* was not a competent witneſſe againſt *Ramſey*, though for the King, for he was *particeps criminis*; *Capitalis Intimicus*: for the firſt his *Bill* made him ſo; for if *Ramſey* ſpake Treason, ſo did *Rey*; for the ſecond, it appeared by *Reys* violent proſecution, and if all failed, his ſword muſt make it good; and ſo the Defendant was not bound to answer, nor to accept the *challenge* unleſſe he will, to which he is ſo willing.

Doctor Duck
for Rey.

But Doctor *Duck* ſaid theſe Reaſons did not *currere quatuor pedibus*. Some of the Conſpirators with *Cataline* were revealers of the Treason, and allowed as witneſſes.

Dr. Reeves.

Doctor *Reeves* concluded, that although ſome of the Lord *Reys* witneſſes did not affirm what they might, it would encourage him to ſet a ſharper edge upon his ſword when he entered the *Liſts*; and that the *God* of right would ſo weaken the heart of *Ramſey*, that it ſhould fail him when he took his ſword in hand.

E. Marshall.

The *Holy-daies* of *Chriſtmaſs* drawing nigh, The Court ordered, that either party might repair to *Sr. Henry Martin*, and poſſeſſe him with further proofs, out of theſe witneſſes already Examined, but of no other. And ſo adjourned the Court till Monday the ninth of *January*, when after ſome ſmall debates, but no further Matter or Proofs, the buſineſſe was briefly determined, to be referred to the Kings pleaſure.

Which came to this Account. That *Hamiltons* power with the King got all favour for *Ramſey*; and well rewarded in due time; And *Rey* having done the duty of a Loyal Subject, left the Court and Kingdom, and returned to his Command in *Sweden*. But this ſtory, though tedious, will enlighten us further to the truths of the *Scottiſh* affairs.

This Year increaſed Diſcontents in the Clergy at *Oxford* Univerſity;

Anno

1631.

University di-
vines differ in
opinions.

Numb. 14.

1 Kings 13.

verfity; First many conceived that the *renovations*, reducing their use of primitive times in Divine service, was now no leſſe than *Innovation*, againſt which, they bitterly Inveſted in their *Pulpits* and *Pafquils*. Their very texts giving juſt cauſe of offence and mutiny, as *Let us make us a Captain, and return into Egypt. And he cryed againſt the Altar in the word of the Lord, and ſaid, O Altar, Altar,* and many ſuch, reflecting upon the Perſons of the moſt Eminent in the Church, and violating the Kings Declaration for depreſſing *Arminian* controverſies, ſome of the offenders being convented before their ſuperiours the vice Chancellor, Appeal to the Proctors: Biſhop *Laud* miſtaking theſe retrograde proceedings, in appeals from *Aſcendents* to *Deiſcendents*, cauſed the King at *Woodſtock* to order the difference, and cenſured the offenders to be expelled the University; The Proctors deprived, and others partakers check't for engaging; But the Expulſion of theſe *Preachers* Expelled not their *Schiſm*, which inwardly burnt the more for blazing the leſſe, many complaining of the two edged ſword of juſtice, too penal for ſome to touch, then others to break the Kings Declaration. And in this controverſie died the Arch Biſhop of *York* Dr. *Harsnet*, a diſcreet Aſſertor of theſe neceſſary and uſeful Ceremonies, and complained even againſt the *Conformable Puritan*, who preached it in policy, but diſſented in judgement. His *Epitaph* ſets forth his Biſhopricks. *Indignus Episcopus Cicestrenſis, Indignior Norvicenſis & Indigniffimus Archiepiſcopus Eboracenſis*, enjoying them all three.

And now they revive the *Sabbatarian* controverſie, which was begun five years ſince, 1628. *Bradburn* on the Sabbath day, and directed to the King, maintaining, *First, The fourth Commandment ſimply and intirely Moral, and Chriſtians obliged as well as the Jews to obſerve everlaſtingly that day. That the Lords day is an ordinary working day, it being Will-worſhip, to make it a Sabbath by virtue of the fourth Commandment.* But the High Commiſſion Court ſoon made this man a Convert; which opinions begat controverſies of five heads, *What is the fitteſt name of that day? when to begin and end? Upon what authority grounded? Whether alterable or no? Whether any recreations, and what kinds on that day?* And then theſe diſputants were diſtinguiſhed into *Sabbatarians*, *Moderate men*, and *Anti-Sabbatarians*, and their preaching and pamphlets ſo quarrelous, as made the poor diſtracted people to ſeek what to do.

And at the *Temple* It was Explained by Learned Dr. *Micklethwait*, That the richer ſort, were more obliged to the ſtriſtneſſe of the day, than the poor workman, ſuch as have no diverſion by labour all the week, need no Recreation on One day, the Labourer having ſome title to Liberty. But from the Pen, they fall to *Pikes*, and *Somerſetſhire* the Stage and fiery Scene; *First, keep-*
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Anno
1631.

ing their *Church-Ales* and *Wakes* of meetings on that day evening, which upon complaint to *Richardson* Chief Justice, that Circuit, he suppressed them totally by Order of the nineteenth of *March*. This being an usurpation of a Lay Judg on Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction, the Arch-bishop *Land* procures from the *King* a Commission to two Bishops and other Divines to examine the Judges carriage therein; which Order at last he was fain to revoke the next Assize: and so the quarrel on foot, and petition, troubling the King to settle this difference, it procured reason of State in the King to revive his Fathers Declaration for *Sports*, set out in the fifteenth of King *James*, upon the like occasion in *Lancashire*, which refer to the subsequent time 1654. And indeed though the State was induced with much prudence to afford some liberty to labouring people, carving to some freedom on that day, cut most for others, and leave least for themselves. The Declaration was not pressed on the Minister to publish, more proper for a Lay Officer or Constable, but because Judg *Richardson* had enjoined his Order to the contrary, and the Minister obeyed it. Now the Declaration was put upon them also by the Order of the Bishops. Some *Schismaticks* were forward to read it, and forthwith the fourth Commandment, setting (as they meant) *God* and the *King* at odds, that so themselves might escape in the fray. Nor was the reading absolutely urged upon any, unless under the Bishop of *Normich*, too severe there. Many men out of breath, observe this as the concurring cause of our sad events and Civil War. 'Tis true, our fights were often forced upon the *King* on that day, as pointing at the punishing of profaneness; but our *Battels* have been *rubrick'd* each day in the Week with *English* blood: and therefore to pick a solemn Providence out of a common Casualty, favours more of Curiosity than Conscience: though indeed *Edg-hill* Fight fell on that day, which entred us into so much misery. And truly, had we (all of us) strict- and duly observed the holy keeping that *Holy Day*, we might be happy there still; I mean the due measure: but we have wrested it awry from the right way, reeling into extremes, afterwards neglecters, now contemners, *Transcendents* above common piety, they need not keep any, because they observe all days: we call them *Levellers*, equalling all *Times*, *Places*, *Persons*, nay to our *Lands* in common; a *general confusion* they make to be *Gospel perfection*; for having suppress all due observation of *festival*, *Saints days*, and their *Eves*, *Wednesdays* and *Fridays Service* and *Letanies*; now our *Hypocrites* out of errour, or worse, *perfect profaness*, take away the *Lords day* also.

The famous Fabrick of Saint *Pauls* Church and Steeple, made so in process of time from the piety of primitive *Christians*, their devout zeal to good works: and since by several additions of *Bene-*
factours

1632.
Repair of
St. Pauls.

Anno

1632.

Sir Paul Pindar a bounteous Benefactor.

factours raised to a structure of admiration; a *Pile* huge and honourable, not the like left to our last Age to be sampled in the whole World. What the hands of good men had made wonderful, the hand of wasting had extremely decayed. Onely the hand of *Heaven* by accident of Lightning had burnt down the high Spire, in the time of *Queen Elizabeth*, who then had designed not onely to rebuild that, but to repair the whole *Church*, and to that end some Materials were then prepared.

Afterwards in the time of King *James*, the religious Patriot Sir *Paul Pindar* of worthy memory, returning into *England* some years since, from his Ambassie, Lieger in *Constantinople*, and afterwards one of the great Farmers of the *Kings* Customes, and of ample fortune, the most in money, became the great Example of Charity to many, and the Patern of Piety to all, in his magnificent re-edifying of this Church. First, he repaired the *Entry front* and *Porches* to all the upper Church *Quire* and *Chancel*, and enriched them with *Marble* Structures and Figures of the *Apostles*, with *Carvings* and *Guildings* far exceeding their former beauty, which cost above two thousand pounds, the act of a good man, as King *James* said. But the main Fabrick fit for the work of a *King*.

And therefore King *Charls* having a pious resolution to begin the Repair of the whole *Church* and *Steeple*, made his humble entry at the *West* end of the *Isles* up to the *Body*, *Quire*, and *Chancel*, where after a *Sermon* of *Exhortation* to that *Christian* intention, he made his pious *Procesion* about the inside *Circumvelation* thereof, and viewing the Decays gave up his promise with his Devotions, speedily to settle the beginning of the work.

And this year issued out his Commissions under his *Great Seal*, to the Lord Maior Sir *Robert Drewry*, the two *Arch-bishops*, the *Chancellour*, *Treasurer*, *Privy Seal*, some *Bishops*, *Secretaries*, and *Councellours* of State, *Deans*, *Aldermen*, and others, or any six of them, whereof three to be of the *Privy Council*, and always the *Bishop* of *London* for the time being to be one, who was then *William Laud*; and the first man but not the chief *Promoter*, being promoted and attempted by others before he was of note, yet indeed he became a diligent and powerfull *Actor* therein, and the first *Benefactor*, who gave a hundred pounds *per annum*, whilst he should be *Bishop* of *London*; by whose pious endeavours and forward Example, and sundry Contributions of good and godly men, and by *Commissions* of *Protection* for *Breves* and *Collections* in all Churches of *England* and *Wales*, there was gathered in time, the sum of fourscore thousand pounds in all.

A large consideration was had to begin with the *Steeple* and *Body*, and so to descend to the *Isles*, presuming that when the *Steeple* should be finished, the Contributions would necessarily invite the compleating of the whole. But it was otherwise resolved and they

began

began at the *West* end, and first the out wans, which being cluttered with petty *Tenements*, even to the stopping of the Church-lights, that clouded the beauty of the first Foundation; these Houses by Lease or Rents were purchased and pulled down, and the little Church called *Saint Gregories* builded up at the *West* end, *South* of the Foundation, was willingly taken down to the ground, and a very necessary place ordered for the erection of another Church for that Parish.

And to this excellent good Work the fore remembred Sir *Paul Pindar*, besides his former Expences, took upon him also at his own proper cost and charge, (and did effect it before he died, to repair or rather new build the great *South Isle*, far more beautifull than it had been at the first erection, which cost him above seventeen thousand pounds.

The Contribution-money was intrusted to the Chamber of *London*, (then supposed the latest Chest) from thence to be issued out for Materials and Workmanship. The *West* end or Enterance was finished more sumptuous and stately than at first. A gracefull stately *Porch* was raised, the whole breadth of the *West* end, upon *Pillars* of Stone of the *Ionick* work supporting the Roof: on the top whereof, in seemly distance, was erected the Figures and excellent Postures of King *James* and King *Charls*, mounted on *Pedestals*, leaving room and spaces for other succeeding Sovereigns. Then they had new cased the whole intire out-walls more nobly, to the Roof, with large Figures of *Pomegranates* set upon *Pedestals* at equal distances, to grace the Roof, which was all overlaid with Lead. The Windows with admirable painted Glasse of Figures of the *Fathers*, *Prophets*, and *Apostles*, with several historical pieces of *Scripture*. Then they had vaulted the Roofs with massie Supporters of *Timber*, and *Scaffolds* raised for re-edifying and beautifying the Roof. Lastly, they had raised outward Scaffolding from the body of the Church, to the very top of the *Steeple*, and were going on with the *Spire*; and some Moneys in stock towards the finishing of all, which most Artisans supposed might be finished for forty thousand pounds.

When on the sudden, *William Laud* late *Arch-bishop* of *Canterbury*, was impeached by the late *House of Commons* in their long *Parliament*, and our Civil uncivil *Dissentions*, seized the whole stock of Money, and so the Work ceased. The Church forthwith turned into a *Prison* or *Goal* of *Malignants*, then into a *Garrison* of Foot-soldiers, then into a *Stable* of unclean Beasts, and then to the sale of all Materials, *Stone*, *Lead*, *Glass*, *Iron*, and last of all the very *Scaffolding* of *Timber*, which cost forty thousand pounds, sold for six thousand, the Money never paid, the end and ruine of that most glorious and *Christian* Design.

After-ages may conceive this final and horrid ruine to be the
A a effects

Anno
1632.

Hist. p. 124.

effects of a cruel War, which devastates all. But at the beginning of this Design of Repair; it is most true, [*that many had no fancy thereto*] the whole gang of *Presbyterians* utterly disliked of it.

And when the *Earl of Holland*, *Chancellor* of the *University of Cambridge*, was commanded by the *King* to write his *Letters* to that *University* for *Contributions* of the *Heads, Fellows, and Students*, a wonder it was what *plots and devices* of some (afterwards *busie-bodies* in *Parliament*) for a time, obstructed those *Letters*, and other pious *intentions* of sundry *Contributions*, and were the onely *causers* of that *desolation*, and earnestly urged the *ruine* to all *Cathedrals*, as it is well observed, that *Doctor Bastwick* (whom he examples for one, and a *known Schismatick*) grudging at the great *expende* in the *Repair*, observes his base and irreverend expression, alluding to the name *Cathedral*, *That all the mighty mass of money must be spent in making a Seat for a Priest's Arse to sit in.* See *Bastwick's* second Part of his *Letany*.

Obs. p. 104.

London Bridg
burnt.

But as that repaired, *London Bridg* burned (the North-part) to the first open distance, which secured the rest; an ugly, patcht, unformed Building it was: part of the ruine is since repaired, a handsome well-piled Patern for rebuilding all the rest.

The King
sickned of the
Small Pox.

The *King* took the infection of the *Small Pox*, to the great grief of the *Subjects* in general, and because many had suffered extremely in that *Sickness*, the *Pulpits, Prayers, and private Devotions* of all good and well-affected People, were frequently offered to the *Divine Majesty*, who in merry soon restored him to health again, without any marks or blemish, of usual *Spots* to others in the like *Sicknesses*.

Polish Wars
with the Turks

The military affairs of *Europe* were now come to the miserable effects of a cruel War on all sides, we shall enter the story of the the *Eastern* part. *Sigismund* King of *Poland* and *Swethland*, the Bulwark of *Christendom* against the *Turks* tyranny, had been heretofore enforced to sue for succour of neighbour *Princes* by several *Embassies*; of King *James* by *Ossolinsky* Count *Palatine* of *Sendo-meria*, who so well performed his eloquent *Oration*, and excellent behaviour, that he procured from hence two thousand men and money, *Voluntiers* for the *Guards* of that *Kings* Person.

This *Count* was initiated a *Civilian*, bred up in Court to become *Chancellor*, and now a *Commander* in this War: certainly a man of singular merit, and to boot very handsome, and of most obliging demeanor, which took with the *King* and all our Court, of high concernment, to chuse a Person proper for his Arrand.

And because the Quarrel came to mighty execution of both parties, I may not omit the occasion so much concerning those miserable neighbour Nations bordering the *Turks* *Dominions*, specially the *Pole*, who (it seemed) in those days deserved better of all *Princes*, than to be worried out of his own *Inheritance*, by a *Christian*

now

Anno
1632.

now of late 1655. more cruel now than the *Turk* was then. And so by this entrance we shall bring the brief *History* to our time.

Mahomet the Authour of their *Alcoran* enjoyned the Race of *Othomans*, two special things: To propagate the *Empire* by some mighty Attempts of War. The other, to glorifie their *Religion* by some wondrous Action in *Peace*, or stupendous Structure of Amazement to the World.

For the first; Their Territories extend to the *Asian* and *African* shores, from *Trebizond* the bottome of the *Black-sea*, to *Argier*, neighbouring the Straits of *Gibraltar*, 6000. English miles belides the possession of *Greece* and her *Islands*, with his intrusion into *Hungary*. And have Auxiliary friendship of the Great *Tartar-Chrim*: from whose Ancestors *Tamberlain* proceeded, who though himself the *Turks* Scourg, yet of late the *Tartar* takes Affinity from the first Scythian *Othoman*. And if the direct Line faile, He challengeth the Proximity of succession; for which purpose, he keeps correspondence with the *Grand Signisur*, Assisting him some time with one hundred thousand *Tartars*; By whose and his own multitudes he hath prevailed against *Jews* and *Christians*, possessing *Jerusalem* in *Asia*; *Grand-Cair* in *Africa*, and *Constantinople* in *Europe*.

And for the second; Their admired *Mosques* (Churches) of ostentation, works of charity and observant Holiness (*ad pios usus*) demonstrate not only their opinion of a Deity, but their obedience also to their *Mahumetan* constitutions, imploying their time and wealth to merit the more of the joyes of *Paradise*, as they augment their *Piety* upon Earth. So it seems by that wonderful History of *Soliman* the magnificent, and the faire *Roxellana* contriving her manumission, and obtaining to be overprest under a dissimuled Sanctity of erecting a *Mosque* in honour of that *Prophet*. The principal *Mufty* (Churchmen) which the doctors of their *Alcoran* have greater access to the *Emperour* then either the *Visier* or the *Bashawes*. And is more awed by them, than by the Revolts or Mutinies of the tumultuary *Fanizaries*; by whom alone the Atlas of his Monarchy is maintained secure, from any daring attempts to disjoynt that frame.

Church-men.

But the occasion of the *Polish* war was thus, whilst *Sr. Thomas Glover* was Embassador at *Constantinople*, one *Fasparo Gratiano* a mean Man his Drogoman (or Interpreter) born in *Austria*, and the Emperours Subject; and heretofore servant to the *Prince* of *Moldavia*, dispossessed of his Inheritance by contrivement. Both of them, became Imprisoned in the *Black-Tower*, for complayning against the *Visier*, who took part with the *Princes* Competitour, but both of them escaped out of *Prison*, and became suiters to most of the *Christian Princes*; and here in *England*, and had relief of *Ten thousand* Dollars by credit of our Merchants, and so made his great Virtue Umbragious with the Malignity of tyme, and covertly got

Polish war.

Anno

1632.

from *Venice* to *Constantinople* again, renewing his complaint by favour of *Glover*; yet the Issue was, an *Edict* of the *Grand Signieur* to Establish the *usurper* in his possession.

Sometime after, *Gratiano* finding *Glovers* fortunes (which he counted) to be obscured. He went another way to wind up the Pullies of his own advancement; suddainly, so auspicious as to be sent with Letters to the *Emperour*, whether by betraying his *Princes* Secrets, or by his Brother, a *Renegado Chawse*, in some accompt with the *Visier*, and his Sister a Pilgrime Prisoner referred for the *Turks* use, or a *Bashaws* Concubine, and returns of his Arrand at the time that *Glover* was called home, and Sr. *Paul Pindar* confirmed Ambassador there, who had been Consul at *Petrofs* and *Aleppo*, and many years conversant in those parts: a Person of so much merit, that his worthy Memory may give grace to History, as we shall have occasion after to mention.

But *Gratiano* returns; and instantly is Employed by the *Visier* into *Moldavia*, a fresh Adversary to the unfortunate Prince his Master, who was there mischevously imprysoned amongst them.

This Villain deals treacherously against the King of *Poland*, certifying under hand to the *Grand Signieur Achmate*; That he supported the *Pirates* of the *Black Sea*, and the intestine broyles of *Moldavia* in favour of the late Prince and his successors, which enraged *Achmate* into threats, and with some IncurSIONS upon his Territories, but with no main Army as yet, but he ingaged the *Musty* as his last will, to mind his son and successor herein, who afterwards brought forth the furies of his vengeance to act that part, which *Achmates* short life, could not effect.

Achmates life
and death.

This *Achmate* came to his Empire at fifteen years of age, and until thirty, surfeited on ease and variety of Luxury. In heate of which, he resolves to murder his Brother *Mustapha*, a Prince of wondrous hopes, as yet performed by supernatural Providence, from the common custome of being strangled. For the Night before the period of his destruction; a fearful vision, diverted his purpose, which wrought so powerfully upon him, that the very next day, he sent for the *Musty* and *Schander Bashaw* a person of high esteem and power in the Empire, and now delegated General against the *Polonians* and with them was brought into his presence his Brother *Mustapha*, whom he dischargeth of his *Mutes* (the officers of death) allows him a Guard of *Capuches*, and appoints him a *Caska*, or banqueting house.

Brother (said he) the Law of *Mahomet* and Policy of this Government destined you a Sacrifice for security of Succession to our own Children, lest we should leave a hand uncut off, which might in time cast defiance in the face of an *Emperour*. But I am told in my dreams, that there is no Religion in bloody Reveng, Therefore thou shalt live and Reign, when the thred of my life is spun, even now winding

ANNO
1632.

winding up on the wheel of destiny. Remember the *Othoman* glory: Let it be thy virtue to be thankful, and my fortune to impart this grace and benefit to a worthy *Person*. Instantly sends for the *Visier* and *Bashaws*, adjuring them to the Ratification of this his will and pleasure though he had children; and so dyed a short time after.

Mustapha is forthwith advanced to the Diadem; in which he enjoyed a while undisturbed, untill *Scander-Bashaw* perceiving his own power in some diminution, under this gallant *Prince*, plots his designs to be *Visier*, to depose *Mustapha*, and so to set up the son of *Achmate*, specially the lovely *Osman* of Nine years old, and asks him, if he be not the Eldest son of his father, disputes with the *Bashaws* their two hasty Enthroning of *Mustapha*, confers with the *Visier* and principal *Musty*, to dispose the other, and set up *Osman*, giving a Largeſs to the *Fanizaries* sends for divers *Casawcks* and *Tymorites*, and all things prepared brings forth *Osman*, and presents him to the people, with wonderful applause they invest him in the *Robes* and proclaim him *Emperour*, Imprison *Mustapha* with a Guard of *Capowches* and instantly proposes the war against *Polonia*, and Remembers them all of the charge of *Achmate*, to Revenge their Darings to defend *Moldavia* and the house of *Austria*, for the Emperours of *Germany*, *Rodulphus* and *Matthias* being dead; the Princes of *Germany*, banding against the peace of *Europe*, would be an occasion to advance their design, and so the war was determined and *Osman* to go in person.

But first let us story out the state of *Poland*. About the year 1609. One *Stephen*, living then with the *Visier* at *Constantinople*, pretended right to the Principality of *Moldavia*, and either by favour, or bribes (seldome a sunder) had assistance of Twenty thousand *Turks*, whereby he prevailed against the sons of the late Prince of *Moldavia*, whom they barbarously murthred and slew their Uncle *Simeon*. And because the sons of *Ferzay* were reputed Bastards, the King of *Poland* by contract with the *Turk*, had the naming of a successor, and Elected *Constantine* the younger son to the *Vadvod*, which so displeased *Mahomet Bashaw*, designed to rectifie their disorders, that he slew *Constantine* and set up another of his own faction, which indignity to the *Pole* caused that King to assist the distressed People.

These wars lasted, till *Sigismund* King of *Sweden* was elected King of *Poland*; a warlike Prince against the *Moscovites*, and a continual friend to the *Moldavians*. So that about the year 1618. the time of the Blazing Comet in the Heavens, *Osman* mustred up a wonderous Army of *Tartars*, the naturall Enemies of *Europe*. To them, were united the Countries of *Dacia*, *Servia*, *Belgaria*, *Illyria*, *Thracia*, *Epirus* and the Tributary Provinces of *Christians* themselves, forced thereto in fear of more slavery.

Mustapha advanced to the Empire is deposed.

Osman elected.

The state of *Poland*.

They

Anno
1632.

They marcht to the fields of *Dacia* and *Belgaria*, where the *Poles* with some assistance of the *Russe*, Encounter them, and with the fortune of Noble *Sigismund* and his excellent son, in all their battels to have the victories.

And in 1620. gave the *Tartars* and *Turks* an overthrow, as they transported their Army over the River, that their numerous Bodies stopped the very stream, and twenty thousand slain at three Encounters; which so enraged *Osman*, that he resolves in Person, with an Invincible Host. The first year he was Intercepted by Plague in his Army. The next year a Terrible Earthquake at *Constantinople* shook the ground, overturning tops of houles and many *Mosques*, amazing the Multitude with some other several mischances to the Person of *Osman* which retarded his speed.

But resolved it was with threatned Protestations, and Vows, and Invocation to *Mahomet*, first to send *Scander Basha* his Fore-runner, with an Army of two hundred thousand into *Bogdania*.

Sigismund foresees this Storm in earnest, acquaints the Princes of Europe by Embassies, to the Emperour at *Vienna* by way of Intercession of a Peace between him and *Bethlem Gabor*, and to other Princes, in great discord with the Empire. And so other Ambassadors also, to other Nations, and *Ossolinsky* into England.

But after that the right noble *Sigismund* in four several Encounters had bravely defeated forty thousand Enemies, and sundry Triumphs had passed in honour of his glorious Victories: the *Polonians* over presumptuous in their last Battel of *Bogdonia*, disfranked themselves, over secure, giving occasion and courage to the *Fanizaries* and *Caphies* to rally the *Tartars*, with fresh Numbers, that enforced the *Polonians* to give ground, and the Enemy advantage of their Retreat, and totally to rout as far as *Poldavia*, with the fearfull execution of thirty thousand, besides cruelty, Murders, Rapines, barbarously inhumane.

And thus stood the State of *Poland* in the last time of King *James*; and now let us see their Proceedings at this time.

War between
Poland and
Muscovia.

Uladislaus the fourth King of *Poland*, was after the death of his brother *Sigismund*, by consent of the States preferred to the Throne, and a fair occasion was offered, to signalize his Inauguration, and to be the terrour of his enemy the *Muscovite*, who having done much spoyl in *Lituania*, besieged the Polish Town of *Smolensko*. The War was high, and either party endeavour their succour: Both of them in this quarrel indifferent to Great Brittaines Interest, unlesse the Scots will afford the Pole their favour, for countenancing their pedling trade of Land Merchandizing, from Fair to Fairs. And indeed they have reception there also for such of them as have been souldiers of fortune. But the English upon a double account have increased their Naval trade

to the *Muscovite*, and our Merchants thereby enriched into an Incorporate Company, settled in the time of Queen *Elizabeth*; and to that great Duke (or Emperour) solicits King *Charles* for Assistance in his intended War, and siege of *Smolensko*, where because the *English* and *Scots* both, had entertainment on either side, they shall not want a Remembrancer.

The King of *Swede* at his first descending into *Germany*, fomented this quarrel, willing he was to engage *Poland*, and all our neighbour Princes and States in any War, the better to prevent their assistance to the Emperour, countenancing and encouraging divers of his own Officers, strangers, to take pay on either side. The *Muscovite* sends abroad his Ambassadors for aid, with particular Letters to King *Charles*, for Men and Officers; who recommended Colonel *Thomas Sanderson*, which for a compleat double Regiment of two thousand *English*, by the North Cape, the first that ever transported Military men to that Nation, by sea, to the Town of *Arch Angel*, the North part and Port to the *Musco*, and the place where all Merchants strangers keep their Stale. There they land the sixth of *August*, 1632, Commissioners are appointed to receive them, upon such conditions, as never were more noble for Souldiers, the Colonels own single pay, near 200 l. *sterling* a Moneth. And being received and Carried at *Musco*, the whole Army march to *Smolensko*, a strong Town in the borders of *Poland*, formerly taken by *Sigismund* from the *Muscovite*, with a two years siege, like that of *Ostend*, in *Flanders*, it we consider the length of the siege, and the number of the slain, which amounted (as Authours reckon) to more than twenty thousand men; and now was the *Muscovite* resolved to bid fair for the Game, with an Hoast of fifteen hundred thousand Souldiers: And being come, after some Skirmishes, the King of *Poland* in person, draws down his whole Army thither to besiege the *Besiegers*. Entrenching himself, which was all he could do for the present, against such a powerful Army, of 120 thousand, and so by degrees he cuts off all provisions, which put the *Musco* General to quicken the siege, and to make several attempts upon the strong Town. And at last, having summoned his Council of War, And amongst them of several Nations, Colonel *Sanderson*, Colonel *Alexander Lesly* a *Scot*, differing in opinions, fell to quarrel; which the General opposed, saying, These that will not fight the Enemy, let them keep their own quarters; But gave command to countenance Colonel *Sanderson* with 3000 Foot to fall upon the *Polish* quarters, weakened by drawing off their choicest Horse and Foot to *Dorogobuse*, to prevent their *Muscovite* provision of relief; and the General privately took *Sanderson* crosse the *River*, to get a secret view for the best advantage of the designe, When suddenly an Alarm came

English and
Scots assist on
either side.

Anno
1632.

came to the *General*, who commanded *Sanderſon* with ſpeed, to his quarters, who paſſing by the brow of an Hill where *Leſly* drew out into Order, and ſeeing *Sanderſon* without any guard, with a dozen of Horſe, followed him that took no heed of any Treason, but minding his enemy before his face: *Leſly* came cloſe behinde him, and with a brace of bullets, ſhot him by the nape of the neck, into the head, ſtark dead, the ſecond day of December 1633.

Upon which Murther, the *Engliſh* drew into a Body, with reſolution of revenge upon *Leſly* and his *Scots*, but for the inſtant were both commanded into a truce with great proteſtation, that the *Murtherer* ſhould be ſubject to ſevere puniſhment, and ſo ſubmitted him to a Guard, of which the enemy having knowledge, takes the advantage, falls upon the *Muſcovite*, and in this diſorder, put them to a great loſſe, and kills ſix thouſand, enforcing them to a Parly, and to theſe baſe unheard-of conditions: *That an Army of an hundred and twenty thouſand ſhould caſt their Arms and Colours at the feet of this King, a Monſter of Victory: He pardons them all, the ſtrangers near fourteen thouſand are never to bear Arms againſt the Crown of Poland, and all Arms and Ammunition, ſubmitted to the Conquerour. And not long after the general peace was ratified between them. That the King of Poland ſhould relinquish his Title and pretenſions upon the great Duchy of Muſco, and the grand Duke his, upon Smolensko, and other ſuch places formerly depending on the Muſcovite.*

Theſe diſhonourable conditions, fell heavily upon the *General*, who was at his return home, ſoon beheaded, His Son the *Lieutenant General* whipt to death about the ſtreets, and his family baniſhed for ever into the Countrey of *Ibera*, there to catch *Sables* for the *Emperours* profit, a cuſtomary puniſhment of ſuch, as have relation and dependance upon *Traitours*.

Nay, the King of *Swede* had called in the *Turk*, who to beſiege *Poland*, was entred into the Countrey; but the King had timely gotten this Victory, to put fire in the *Turks* tails, beating them out again, and forcing them alſo to beg a peace upon moſt honourable terms for the King, at that ſame time, when the third part of *Conſtantinople* was burnt to the ground, with incredible loſſe, a Prodigie threatning the *Turk* with that miſfortune, which afterward beſel him.

The *Murtherer Leſly*, after ſome time of imprifonment, with great ſummes of money wrought his releaſe there, and to be ſent Priſoner to the juſtice of *King Charles*, whoſe ſubject he was. Here he was caſt into priſon, and ſuffered under the trial onely of the High Court of Honour, where, being arraigned, he produced the Kings pardon, who was pleaſed thus to excuſe, and that truly. That being the *Murther* was committed in a foreign Nation,

tion, the Laws of *England* could not reach to punish with death, which said, the King having passed a formal Tryal, may give caution to his Subjects not to execute the like; The pardon being only to shadow from publicque knowledge, the weaknesse of our Laws against such foreign offenders. But the hand of heaven persecuted this Murther, for He wandring in foreign Wars, came over hither again, with some command in the Queens forces, which She brought over from *Holland*, for assistance of the King in the late Civil War; where, upon his first service, he was shot and maimed in his Murtherous hand, then he returns into *Muscovia*, where, but for but suspicion of Treachery, he was imprisoned in a Tower, and from the Top, was flung down upon sharp stakes, and lingred out a reasonable time of execution, ere he wretchedly died.

I R E L A N D.

The State of *England* must be cleared of an Imputation. That the not reducing *Ireland* to Civility since the Martial desigene, 17 H. 2. above four hundred years was so continued in policy. But if otherwise intended, why not the Conquest perfected, till their subjection to K. Charles: In truth their former defects have been the faint prosecution of the War, and loosnesse of Civil Government; The Souldiers ill paid, and worse commanded; the more barbarous, the greater difficulty; witnesse *Cæsars* to reduce *Brittains*, and their petty Princes, a longer war, then with all *Asia*, and under one Monarch. The King of *Spain* hath felt that by the states of the *Netherlands*, not as yet, but the whole Kingdom of *Portugal* he got in a trice. Tributaries they were, the first degree of subjection, but more properly Sovereigns than subjects. And H. 3. grants run thus, *Rex Regi Toismond salutem, &c.* And the Record saies, *Onale Rex 100 l. de auxilio domini Regis Henrici, &c.* and in truth the *English* Kings might rather deserve their Title *Rex Regum*; for each Rebel is a King, and *vi & armis Regnum suum obtinuit*; and the Armies sent over at several times were ill paid, more unruly, worst commanded till 36. Edw. 3. Extorting Coin, and Livery, Free quarter, and Money, the general fault of all Commanders there, which the *Irish* call damnable Custom, and so did nothing but undo one another, the *English* Colonels as hardly used as the *Irish*: Until 9 Eliz. who sent over more men, and spent more money there than all her Progenitors since the first onset on that Nation, for she had three Rebellions.

The condition of *Ireland*, and beginning of their troubles.

Bodin de Rep.

Oneal anno 1566. was soon defeated with a thousand men, or rather he was slain by accident of the *Scots*, not the *English* Army. Desmond more deepe six thousand *English* quite defeated

Anno
1632.

K. James the
sixth.

hini. But *Tyrones* Rebellion univerſally ſpread, enforced the Queen to ſend *Effex* with forces indeed twenty thouſand by Poll, yet did nothing till *Mountjoy* made an end of that war under King *James*, and ſo ſubmitted to *English* Government, Laws, Magiſtrates, the Kings pardon and peace in all parts, an intire and perfect Conqueſt, as *Merline* propheſied, *At Sextus mania Hibernia ſubvertet, & Regiones in Regnum redigentur*; But concerning the Civil Affairs, they were never brought to any degree of Reformation till the Governour Earl of *Suſſex* laid the platform, and proceeded in the way with *Sr. H. Sidney* purſued, reducing the Countries into Shires, placing Sheriffs, and Miniſters of Laws, but yet rather in a courſe of diſcretion, than by Civil Courts, for though the greateſt part of *Ulſter* were veſted in the Crown by Act of Parliament, yet no ſeizure, nor brought in charge, the *Irish* having all; and though the Name *O-Neal* were damn'd as High Treason, yet *Tirlagh Lennagh* was ſuffered to leave that Title, and to intrude upon the poſſeſſions of the Crown, and that with favour of the State, and the Abbaries and Religious Houſes in *Tyrone Tirconnell* and *Ferminagh*, diſſolved in 33. *Hen. 8.* were never reduced into charge, but were continually poſſeſt by the Religious Perſons, until King *James* came to the Crown. Nay, (more ſtrange) the Donations of Biſhopricks being a flower of the Crown (which the Kings of *England* did ever retain when Pacy was at the higheſt) There were three of them in *Ulſter*, namely *Derry*, *Rapho*, and *Clogher*, which were never beſtowed by any former Sovereignes though they were undoubted Patrons, until King *James*, the firſt King that ever ſupplied theſe Sees with Biſhops.

Indeed after the Government of *Henry Sidney*, followed *Sr. John Perrott* who advanced the Reformation in three principall points. In eſta bliſhing the Composition of *Connaught*; In reducing *Ulſter* into ſeven Shires, though in his time the Law never executed in thoſe new Counties by Sheriffs or Juſtices of Aſſize, but the people left to be ruled by their own barbarous Lords laws; Laſtly by veſting in the Crown the Laws of *Deſmond* in *Munſter*, and planting *English* there.

After *Perrot*, comes *Sr. William Fitzers*, He raiſed a Composition in *Munſter*, and ſetled the poſſeſſions of the Lords and Tenants in *Monahan*, one of the laſt Acts of State, tending to Reformation in Queen *Elizabeths* dayes.

Thus former Sovereignes endeavoured ſince *Edward 3.* to reduce this Nation; and before the Civil Wars of *York* and *Lan-caſter*, the chief aim was to order the degenerate *English* Colonies not reſpecting the meer *Irish*. But after *Hen. 7.* who united the Roſes, they laboured to bring both *English* and *Irish* to Alliance; but never perfected till King *James*. The former like

like the kings of *Israel*, they were good Kings, but did not cut down the Groves and High places, but suffered the people to burn Incense, and commit Idolatry; they did not abolish the *Irish* Customs, nor execute good Laws, but gave way to them to worship their barbarous Lords, utterly ignorant of God and their King.

But in King *James* all the defects and errors were fully supplied in his first nine years of his Reign, than in four hundred and forty years before: for though the War was ended with the beginning of that King, yet He maintained an Army for the seminary of Martial men, as also for strength and maintenance to the Civil Magistrate, and that Army, not fed (as aforesaid) with Coin and Livery, or Sesse, but as justly and royally paid as ever any Prince in *Europe* paid their own, and but need for some Rebellions he had, as against *Odogherie*, which caused re-inforcing, and supplies out of *England* and *Scotland*, and quenched that fire, whereby the Martial men would have been the warmer, the self interest of former, and of all soldiers, *Sr. George Cary* being Governours.

And for the Civil part, to settle peace after *Tyrone*, that *Act of State*, or *Act of Oblivion* by Proclamation pardoned all offences against the Crown, and particular *Trespases* don before King *James* his time, and the enslaved *Irish* under their tyrant Lords were received into his Majesties immediate Protection.

As publick Peace, so publick Justice, the first Sheriffs in *Tyrone*, and *Tyrconnel* (in *Ulster*) and *Pelham*, and the first Justices in those Counties, and afterwards in the first years Government of *Sir Arthur Chichester*, he established two other new Circuits of *Afsize* in *Connaught* and *Munster*, where for two hundred years before had not been executed; and publick Justice grew so great as that there was *Magna messis sed operarii pauci*, round about the whole Kingdom twice a year, which heretofore was but about the Pale, like the Circuit of *Cynosura* about the Pole,

Qua cursu interiore brevi convertitur orbe.

By the Circuits of *Afsize* the Commons were taught to be free Subjects to the King, not Slaves to their Lords; that their Cuttings, Cosheries, Sessings, and such Extortions, were unlawfull; so that these tyrant Lords wanting means, humbly petitioned for licence to take some competent contribution for their support, which being denied them, they were fain to fly into foreign parts; and as Extortion banished them who could not live, but under the Law, so the Law banished the *Irish* Lord, who could not live but by extortion, that in five years, not so many Malefactours (of Death) in the six Circuits (or two and thirty Shires) as in one Circuit of the West of

Anno

1632.

England, the *Irish* in peace, fearfull to offend the Law, and thereby full knowledg of the *Irish*, their Countries, Persons, and Actions, and so their ancient *Allowances* in their *Pipe Rolls*, *pro Guidagio & Spiagio*, was well spared. Under *Officers* doing that Arrand, the neglect of the Law made the very *English* turn *Irish*, which now counts them to be civil *English*.

The rest was the settling of the *Irish* Estates as well as *English*, for though a Law of Queen *Elizabeth* enabled the *Governours* to take *Surrenders*, and regrant *Estates* unto the *Irish*, yet but few *Irish* Lords in her time offered to make any, if they did, it was regranted to them again, and to no other: and the poor *Septes* paid their *Duties* as before, so that in such a *Surrender* there was but one *Freeholder* made in a whole County, which was the Lord himself, the rest *Tenants* in *Villanage*. So though the Lord became the *Kings* Tenant, the Countrey remained barbarous. But the late *Commissions* for accepting *Surrenders*, and regranting *Estates* to them, and for strengthening defective *Titles*, they ever settled and secured the *Under-tenant*, and so to establish Lord and Tenant, *Freeholder* and Farmer.

The Province of *Ulster*, though heretofore the most unreformed, the Seat and Nest of the great *Rebellion*, was the best established of any Province settled upon *Surrenders*, projected and prosecuted by King *James* himself: not giving any intire County (being six of them to dispose) unto any particular Person, much less *Jura Regalia*; for the best *British* Undertakers had but three thousand Acres for himself, with power to create a *Mannour*, and to hold a *Court Baron*, making a mixt *Plantation* of *British* and *Irish*, onely the *Irish* were transplanted from the Woods and Mountains into the open Plains, and granting *Markets* and *Fairs*, and erecting corporate *Towns* amongst them; and all was so well settled towards the end of his Reign, that *Ireland* the Land of Ire, because the irascible power was predominate for four hundred years, was likely to prove a Land of peace and concord; and as in the eighth of *Deuteronomy*, *Terra Rivorum, &c.* and so continued with *Plantations* of *English* and *Scots*, untill Disputes and Differences between the *Irish* and Us for Religion, made them insolent, and grew into discontent between the Protestant *Plantations* and the *Papists* *Irish*; for during the peaceable Government under *Lords*, *Justices*, and *Council*, the politick administration of that Kingdom intrusted to many, and so the worse for the main body, the *Romish* Clergy insolent and cunning, and the *Romish* Catholick so ignorant and poor, and both increasing in number, was moved in charity to suspend the payment of the State-penalty of twelve pence a *Sunday* for absence from Church, being in some fear to irritate the People by levying these Fines before the expiration of the five thousand pounds quarterly Contribution of the County towards the Army. And as this Grace might please

please the one, so the Protestant took part at the unequal Levie of the latter, in favour of the Papist.

And beginning to boil into a *Broil*, the Justices were called home, and the Viscount *Wentworth* sent Deputy to govern all, singly by himself, of whose *Government* and the *Proceedings* there, we shall have further occasion to observe in their due time and place; and so we return in a word, and in order to take view what the succesfull King of *Swede* does in *Germany*.

Anno

1632.

L. Wentworth
sent Deputy
in Ireland.

Great *Acts* had been done on all sides, but *Gustave* as yet the most glorious, but indeed he came near his own upshot; for being over-adored and beloved, he would say, *that he was not long-lived*, as it proved.

Return to
Germany.

And now the several *Generals* grew ambitious of *Honour*, each one to excell.

The King would boast, *that he must beat a Priest*, which was *Tilly*, a *Souldier*, *Papenhaim*, and a *Fool*, *Wallenstein*; but who indeed troubled him more than the other two.

For *Wallenstein* was turned *Hollander* in his *Proceedings*, using the *Spade* with the *Pike*, against whom the *Swedes* advance, but with loss of the flower of their *Forces*, about five thousand slain near *Nuremburgh*, and *Wallestein* but fifteen hundred slain. And so the King marches towards *Saxony*, lest he should lose that *Duke*, and *Wallestein* followed after him, having sent for *Papenhaim*, and *Gustave* desired to hinder their *conjoyning*, but could not.

Loss of the
Swedes.

And being come, was by subtil *Wallenstein* sent out to surprize *Hall*. Not so far gone, but was called back; for the King resolved to give the *Battel* upon the departure, being now near *Nuremburgh*, and *Wallestein* at *Lutzen*.

Battel of Lut-
zen, Nov. 16.

The Onset was furious, the *Craats* did well, but the *Swedes* better; and *Papenheim* now returned in the nick of time to repulse the *Enemy*, when a *Falcon-shot* strook him dead, a gallant man of valour, felicity, and fidelity.

Papenheim
killed.

He seemed to dy willingly, when he was told *that the King was dead*, which it seems was so, at the first shock of the *Armies*, having received five wounds, two mortal. The *Swedes* say he was slain by a great Lord of his own; others say, by *Papenheim*: but he was found among the dead, and so troden that he was hardly known.

Gustavus kil-
led.

His *Death* enraged the *Swedes*, and enforced their *Enemy* to hast a *Retreat*.

Thus fell this *Cesar*. Fortune courted him at *Leipsick*, and his Fate fell at *Lutzen*, in the midst of his *Triumphs*, and in the middle of *Germany*; he was Son to *Charls Duke* of *Sudermain*, who had usurped the *Crown* from his Nephew *Sigismund King* of *Poland*; he had an *Apprentiship* in *Arms*, disguised and unknown under *Prince Maurice*; some say that after he was King he journeyed into *Germany*,

His Life and
Character.

Anno
1632.

Germany in the quality of a *Horsman of War*, in *Bohemia*, when he saw Count *Bucquoy's* Army. His *Successes* altered his natural complacency with austere severity; yet was his *Death* deplored and revenged by his *Generals*, not taking leave of *Germany*, till they had got a *Peace*, and the *Spoils* and a Share also of the *Empire* it self.

And to accompany this great *Prince*, died also some days after *Frederick* King of *Bohemia*, who accompanied *Gustave* into *Bavaria*, who seemed willing to restore him to his Birth-right the *Palatinate*, but under hard and unacceptable conditions.

And thus he died, leaving one onely *Daughter*, Heiress to his *Crown* and glory.

He wants no *Character* from several *Historians*, most men generally affording words of fame for victorious fortunes. He was bred up in *Arms* in the natural *Dissentions* against the *Pole*, whose Interest and Right to *Sweden* endured long dispute, but somewhat calmed, put this *King* to quarrell with his nearer Neighbour the *Dane*, and that *Difference* decided, he not willing to disband, or able to discharge his *Army*, over he comes any where, upon any score, to adventure the success of his burdensome Forces, to whom Providence afforded this success, as a *Rod* of Gods anger, upon the glory of the *Empire*, which he was pleased thus to chastise; and the work begun, to take the first *Instrument* away, and intrust his further *Mysteries* of succeeding *Events* to future management, which hath brought that *Empire* the *Garden of Eden* to monstrous misery, and destruction of Millions of *innocent Souls*, besides those others more, so exceeding faulty, and the prime *Actors* in the *Tragedies*, never lived out to to enjoy their several *Successes*, as we have said.

Prince Elector
dies.

The *Prince Elector* some weeks before being at *Mentis*, where the *Plague* raged, took infection from thence, and died soon after upon the nine and twentieth day of *November*, being eight days after the *Enemies* Rendezvouz of his most considerable Town of *Frankendale* into the hands of the *English* Ambassadors, which otherwise had been taken by the *Swede's* Forces, long time besieging it, and not able to hold out, had it given up. God a mercy, against their will.

Wallestein
murdered.

Onely of the old ones *Wallestein* survives, but near his end also, for having prosperously effected his several Designs, he passed into *Silesia*, after *Galasso*, with the Body of his *Army* surprized him near *Stenaw*, defeated his numerous *Horse*, and surrounded the *Foot*, which yielded, with sixscore Colours, *Baggage*, and *Artillery*; and so all *Silesia* submitted.

And now by his following progress gave more than suspicion what he had hatched for his own *ambition* and *revenge* of former disgraces: for having collected his Forces at *Egnar* in *Bohemia*, paid them three Moneths *Money*, and took their *Oath* to himself, without naming

naming the *Emperour* at all; the *Impostume* brake out, which was to joyn with the *Swede*, and share all between them.

The *Emperour* sees the danger, makes sure of the *Garrison* of *Prague*, the capital City of *Boheme*, by a round sum of *Money*, which refused *Terskie* Brother in Law to *Wallestein*; whereupon, he said, *that our Design is discovered, let us joyn with the Swedes.*

Two of his Colonels, *Gordon* and *Lesly*, *Scots*, and *Butler* an *Irish* Officer, invite his chief Generals, his Creatures, to a Supper at *Egnor*, where they were soon dispatched for their Masters sake the *Emperour*; *Butler* comes to *Wallestein*, thrusts open his Chamber-door, he dressed for his Bed, so staggered and hared him with this Reproach, *O Traitor to the Emperour and Empire! Art thou there?* and therewith ran him through with his Partizan, stark dead, and threw him out at the Window.

Thus ended that ambitious, ungratefull Servant, raised to this height from an ordinary *Gentleman*, to be *Prince* of the *Empire* and *Generalissimo* of all his Forces in *Germany*. Ambitious persons falling into perfidy are justly thus served, which we mention here to close up the story, though it happened the next year.

And so this Year remarkable for the Death of three *Kings*, *Sigismund* of *Poland*, who piously departed the nine and twentieth of *April*. *Gustave* of *Swede*, who was slain on the *Bed of Honour* the sixteenth of *November*. And *Frederick* of *Boheme*, who died of the *Infection*, the nineteenth of *November*.

The *Fundamental Laws* of the *Dane* give a double *Portion* to the eldest Chidren of either Sex, and to the rest equal shares; and so by the death of *Sophia* Queen Dowager of *Denmark*, our *Kings* *Grand-mother*, there was due to him and his Sister *Elizabeth* (in right of *Queen Ann* their *Mother*) one hundred and fifty thousand pounds, which was promised to our Ambassadour the Earl of *Leicester*, sent to that *King*, partly to condole the old *Queens* death, and by the way to demand his *Portion*. The Complement of asking of him received another, of owing to him, being he was remembered of that Contract made with him 1625. of thirty thousand pounds a *Moneth* unpaid, and yet due, for support of his Army: yet it seems was thus boldly concluded, to draw on other Subscribers, Confederates in that War, and as usual, not fully paid by any: and so we may well be then in arrear, as I am sure the *Dutch* and *French* are to this day, with him and us also.

The *King* had been very humbly solicited by the *Scots* earnest and affectionate supplications, to cheer and comfort them with his Court, and to honour them with his Personal Coronation; which he now resolves; Not that [that Crown was of

Anno

1632.

Two of his Colonels.

Queen Dowager of Denmark dies.

1633.

The Kings Journey into Scotland.

so

Anno

1633.

Hist. 125.

[so much worth as to be lost without fetching] for he had been Crowned King of England (sayes he) but not of Great Brittain] and so (it seems) was faine to progresse thither therefore, [lest they should choose another King:] But then by the Rule of this Reason, He never was King of Ireland, for he never fetched it, nor was it ever sent him. Nor needed the *One* or the *Other*; For His Title made him Sovereign over all; and His Coronation here of *Great Brittain* and *Ireland* (for so it was) being sufficient *Livery* and *Seizon* for all. And whatever the King professeth in his *Scottish Declaration* of his great desire, we are told, [That he had no great stomach to the Journey, nor delight in the Nation, being a Race of men (he sayes) under the scheme of an honest animosity and specious plain-dealing, most perfidious] well bowld Vincent! what, not one honest man amongst them?

Hist. idem.

But the King, to make good his own Inclination and Reason of State (the main Arguments) He sets out the thirteenth of May, with a Princely Train, the best of Nobility of England, and all those here of Scotland, and with them (remarkable) the English Treasurer and Secretary of State. His motions were most certain, not [foreflowed] His Guests were settled to their time and places, otherwise He had made a mad Moneths Progresse; and many Entertainments would have been too sudden, without such lawful warning, specially that of the Earl of Newcastle at Welbeck, which (he sayes) cost the Earl six thousand pounds] No such time, place, or provision; But what he means was in July the next year at Balfour-Castle in Derby shire for the King, Queen and their severall Courts most sumptuous indeed.

idem.

Hist. fol. 126.

And the King comes to *Edinburgh* the tenth of June, and the eighth after, designed for the solemn Celebrating of His Coronation, glorious and bravely attended. A little *Metropolitan City* (God knows) a long street rather: But for a show, It sets it forth at length, from the Castle, (still descending) to the Kings Palace, *Holly-rood-House* at a view; the whole Triumphant Train, a Mile and more, where He was Crowned with all possible outward affection to his Person (dissimulative) for so it soon discovered. And from this time we shall sum up the Scots perfidies, smothered heretofore. For now they begun secretly to consult, and so to vent their dislike of the Kings former Innocent Revocation of Things scrambled from the Crown in his Fathers minority, and his (beneficial) Commission of surrenders of *Superiorities* and *Titles* as before remembred. But these Two Exceptions not sufficient to ground a Mutiny, they mustered many such, and feigned more: And fell foul on some fears, suggestions, *Innovation of Religion* to be attempted this Parliament now assigned. And withall politickly assured, that nothing but calumnies could foil with suspicious jealousie, or interrupt

interrupt or relaxe the present joy of the common people, grounding it on nothing more or other, than a *New Ratification of old Acts* concerning the present Religion, the Churches Liberties and priveledges assented unto by most voyces, yet (a wonder to many) that soon dissented, such as from that time became the great promoters of the after-Covenant, shewing then the distemper of the heart, that boyled out with too much heat at their mouth, which seriously resolved it self into sedition soon after: for having little more to do, the King gratifies the greatest suitors with new *Titles of Honour*, and (no doubt) consented unto by such as seemed disloyal to his just proceedings in *Parliament* there. And yet these began to mutter, but not as yet to mutiny till his departute; which was not long after his visitation of *Falkland, Sterling, Dumferling*, and other places eminent for any pleasure, though none of them deserving the hazard the King had from danger of drowning, in his passage over the *Frith* from *Brunt-Island* to *Edenburgh*, and so came home to the *Queen* at *Greenwich* the 20. of *July*.

But we may not forget, whilst he was in *Scotland*, the condition and behaviour of *Sr. John Stuart* of *Trahair*, lately made *Baron Trahair Privy Councillor*, and *Deputy Treasurer*, upon the resignation of the *Lord Nappier*, (a worthy states man, Grandchilde to the afterwards. renowned *Marcheston*, and brother in law to the right famous *Earl of Montrosse*, being in dislike of the times, and aged, and yet not without a considerable reward) But *Trahair* acted his game more cunningly than honestly, and now came into much favour with the King at this time. He was created *Earl of Trahair*, and in some years after *Lord Treasurer of Scotland* (for upon the *Earl of Mairs* death (Lord *Treasurer*) *Trahair* was substituted in his place; *Marr* was a Man of little Action; and loving the Court of *England*, was the lesse skilful to manage the affair of the *Treasury*) But *Trahair* managing all, tripled his own Estate in few years, so faithful he was to himself, not without complaint of the people.

Stuart Earl of Trahair.

And now in this *Parliament*, There was a *Tax* granted to the King, to be paid (as formerly) in four years, amounting to one hundred thousand pounds *Scots per annum*, which was now begged by the Great Ones, without the least benefit to the King, but much regret of the people.

And at this *Parliament* the King found the first sparks of a discontented party of the Nobles by their opposing of an Act granted to his Father *King James*, and his successors, in the year 1617. giving power to him and them to ordain any *Habits* for the Clergy and Judges Professions, and this not repealed was valid. The first that opposed this Act was the *Lord Lowdon* a bold young man of a broken Estate, lately come from School;

Anno
1633.

(their Coledge) and a Master of Arts: A deſt Lord he was, who miſſing of the Court to Civilize his ſtudies, muſt needs want morality to bring him to manners. And being beſides of a cavelling contradictory Nature, Nothing would ſeem to him ſo poſitive in reaſon, as his own opinion; And therefore now as heretofore at School, he argued with his diſtinctions, *duplici queſtioni non poteſt dari una Reſponſio; Ita eſt ſic probo.* And after his ſyllogiſming in this kind, he ſits down with a challenge, *Reſponde, Perge, Urge, Punge.* The King told him, the Orders of the Houſe, not to diſpute there, but to give his *Vote*, yea or nay: which I do (ſaid he) *Negative*, and ſo ſat down in a ſnuff; yet the King had the major voices *Affirmative*. *Lowdon* ſtands up and queſtioneth the Register, ſcans the Calculation with great conteſt, before the King could carry it. Thus much for his Character, being wee muſt be troubled with him hereafter.

Arch Biſhop
Abbot dies.

Hiſt. fol. 127.

The beginning of the next Moneth died *Abbot* Arch Biſhop of *Canterbury*, of whom I have heretofore (in the Hiſtory of King *James*) ſpoken ſufficiently when there was occaſion to mention the Acts of ſo eminent a Perſon; and truly I did diſcover, [whether his erudition, all of the old ſtamp, in the doctrine of *St. Auſtin*, which ignorant men call *Calvinism*, and ſo diſreliſhed by the *Arminians*] or whether the Characters beſtowed upon him now, or his merit ſomewhat ſpoken of by me then, be his due, yea or no; I ſhall not now ſay any more. But *William Laud*, out of *London* was tranſlated his Succeſſor, *September 19.*

Duke of York
born.
Hiſt. fol. 139.

The Queen was delivered of her ſecond Son, the thirteenth of *October*, 1633. and not [upon the fourteenth of *November*, 1634.] He was Baptized ten dayes after, and named *James*, and Created *Duke of York*, by Letters Patents under the Great Seal of *England*, in due form of Law, and of which Title, nothing but Treason can deprive him, though ſome Writers ſeem to ſide with the News Books, and ſayes, [He was after ſtiled *Duke of York*] as if it were afforded him in former time but of Favour, which indeed is his due Title to his death. *Edward* the fifth, Son of King *Edward* the third, was by *Richard* the ſecond created *Duke of York*, and his Son and heir *Edward Plantagenet* ſucceeded *Duke of York*, and died without Iſſue. *Richard Plantagenet* his Nephew was created *Duke of York*, and after his death, this *Dukedom* hath been by the Kings of *England* reſerved to their ſecond Sons. As *Edward* the fourth created his ſecond Son *Richard Duke of York*. *Henry 7.* his ſecond Son *Henry*. King *James* his ſecond Son *Charles* now King, and He upon his ſecond Son *James*; and ſo to give him his due, is to acknowledge him to be a *Duke* to his death. What care King *James* took heretofore to rectifie Religious Worſhip in *Scotland*, when he

Orders of
Church Go-
vernment ſent
to *Scotland*.

he returned from his last visiting of them. The like does King *Charles*, so soon as he came home. The foul undecent Discipline, he seeks to reform into Sacred Worship; And sends *Articles* of Order to be observed onely by the Dean of his private Chappel there, as in *England*.

That Prayers be performed twice a Day in the English manner.

A Monethly Communion to be received on their knees.

Hee that officiates on Sundayes and Holy-Dayes, to do his duty in his Surplice.

Which the *Dean*, then Bishop of *Dumblane* durst not do for displeasing the people.

And here at home too, it was necessary to look narrowly into the creeping neglect and duty of Religious Discipline in our own Churches; The *Communion* Table in the body of the *Chancel*, was now commonly used for the lolling elbow-ease of the Idle hearers, and not onely so, but to set their breech thereon, or else loaden with caps and hats of every boy. And whilest the Provision of Bread and Wine for the blessed Sacrament was on the Table, the danger of ravening dogs have submitted it to their rapine, or overturning of all. These considerations might move the Dean and Chapter of *Saint Pauls London*, to transpose the Communion Table in *Saint Gregories Church*, to the upper end of the Chancel, and placed *Altar-wise*; which some few of the Parish opposed, and an Appeal from their Ordinary to the *Dean* of the *Articles*, and so by command from thence to the King and his Privy Counsel, where the Act of the Ordinary was adjudged and confirmed, and that the *Dean* of the *Arches* should confirm the act of the Ordinary. And the King did then satisfie himself, that the Rules and Ordering of the Church were no Innovations, but the ancient Rules of the Church, and this, a renovation of a Right disused. And in case there were occasion, The Statute 1. *Elizabeth*, *Authorizeth the King*, by advice of his Metropolitan, upon the happening of any irreverence to be used by the Ceremonies, or Rites of the Church, by misusing the Orders appointed in this Book (of *Common Prayer*) to ordain and publish such further Rites and Ceremonies as may be most for advancement of Gods Glory, the edifying of the Church, and the due reverence of Christs holy Mysteries and Sacraments.] But hereupon, what happened, when it was commonly commanded 4. years after, we shall then finde the effect. See 1637.

And in the same moneth the King reviving his Fathers Declaration anno 1618. for tolerating lawful sports on *Sunday*, which was never by him called in, nor by any, till after by the long Parliament.

Duties of the
Church re-
newed.

Anno
1633.

Obf. p. 111.

The reason that moved King *James* therein, was by a *Petition* from the *Ministers* of *Lancashire*, in his return from *Scotland*, shewing the great increase of *Popery* in that Countv, the People consisting of *Papists* and *Puritans*, and that by the stricktnefs of *Puritans*, not granting their Servants the least relaxation on *Festival-days*, and so straitly observing the *Sabbath* as the *Jews*, the *Recusants*, having Recreations on both, caused the others, for some freedom from servitude, to change their *Religion* and turn *Papists*. The neglect of the *Dedication Feasts* of *Churches*, and the inclination to *Judaism* by barbarous Books, maintaining the *Indispensible Morality* of the fourth *Commandment* and *Jewish Sabbath*, and now by *Puritans* more severely yoaked to the Conscience of those poor *Labourers*, than was ever laid upon the *Jews* by their *Scribes* and *Pharises*.

The Masque
of the Inns of
Courts.
Obf. p. 118.

On *Candlemas* night the second of *February*, the ordinary time of celebrating some extraordinary solemnity at *Court*, and now the larger by the joynt affections of the four *Inns of Court*, presenting the *King* and *Queen* with a most glorious and gallant *Masque*. Heretofore they usually divided themselves in assistance, *Lincolns Inn* with the *Inner Temple*, and the *Middle Temple* with *Greys Inn*; but now they unite all, in some regret against Master *William Prynne*, an *Utter Barrister* of *Lincolns Inn*, for his late Book *Histrion Mastix*, invective against *Stage-plays*, the solemn *Musick* used in the *Cathedrals* and the *Royal Chappels*, against *Masques* and *Dancings* at *Court*, the *Hospitality* of the *Gentry* at *Christmases*, not without scandal to the *King* and *Queen*, and some Passages very dangerous to their *Persons*, for which an *Information* was preferred against him by *Noy* the *Attorney General*; and the *Cause* near *Sentence*, the *Inns of Court* ashamed of such a Member amongst them, discovered to their Majesties their disdain of his *Doctrines*, and so in this gallant way of expressing their duties, they would out-do any that had been before: accompanied also after the *Masques* with a *Train* of *Christian Captives* many years enslaved in *Chains* under the *Emperour* of *Morocco*, and now sent by him a *Present* to the *King*, for his assistance in taking of *Sally*, and destroying those *Pirates*, to the future security of all *Traders* in the *Mediterranean Sea*.

Vide the Pam-
phlet herein.

And the *City* willing to do something answerable, feasted their Majesties a Fortnight after at the *Lord Maiors* house *Alderman Freeman*, so magnificent; that to please these People the *Inns of Court Revellers* adorned the *Kings Feast* at *Merchant-Tailors Hall*, where that *Masque* was again shewed to the *City*. The first Act of open Popularity to them, enough to beget hearty affection to him, which they seemed to fain, but with false hearts ever after.

And those two places of Feasting are mistaken, not being [at *Guild-Hall*.]

Whilest

Anno
1633.

The Infanta
dies.

Whilest the *Deputies* of the (obedient) *Provinces* (*Flanders, &c.*) were busie in seeking for an end of their Evils in some happy Overtures of Peace, the *Infanta Clara Eugenia* their Governesse dies, whom the *Cardinal Infanto* succeeds. A Lady she was of excellent fame, for her milde and gentle Government over them, foreseeing that those *Treaties* then on foot would produce little effect, although the other *Provinces* (disobedient) *Netherlands* were offered conditions advantageous enough. The *States* stood fast upon Impossibilities, and the other could not exclude their Master. And indeed the *Prince of Orange* his Dispatch of taking *Rhinburgh* in three Weeks, made the *Treaty* more insolent on his part: being hindred by the *French Minister*, that eloquent and able *Charnasse*, who by his diligent pursuits broke off the *Treaty*, and brought the *States* back again to take up Arms with his Master the *French King*, and so follows on with the *Confederacy* of the *Swedes*, against the *Marques of Aitona* for the *Spaniard*; amongst them all in this *Militia* were such insolencies committed, as almost dissolved and spoiled the *Hollands Discipline*. But *Aitona* marches towards the *Maze*, where he seizes some Prisoners, Complotters with *Count Henry of Bergues*, the *Prince of Espinoy* already fled into *France*, and the *Duke of Arscot* gone into *Spain*, and the Cause examined, dissipated and tried. Then he sends the *Marques de Ledio* who took the strong House of *Argentean*, and retook the *Dutchy of Limbergh*, making a shew of besieging *Mastrick*, thereby to have the passage open into *Germany*. But the *Prince of Orange* to divert him from this Design, plants himself before *Breda*, but not willing to meddle with the *Spanish Army* now marching towards him, to dislodg him from thence, he retired five days after. And thus ended this years fighting in the *Low-countreys*.

The *English Coasts* were much infested by the *Pirates*, of all our neighbour Nations, nay from out the *Mediterranean; Turks & Algiers*; And as they were generall afflictions to all honest men that came in their way, so the great Traders *Merchants* suffered much, and the *English* (because of their generall commerce) the most of all: and the State being busied in that honourable design of suppressing them, our neighbour *Dutchmen*, minded the more their gain, and were almost Masters at sea, in the *Northern fishing*, which because so farr and so small return, they went away with the whole benefit. But then, for they to settle upon the *Hering Busses*, and the general fishing of the very *Brittish* seas and our own Coasts, after much muttering of our *fish-mongers* and the complaint upon their *Markets*; the State were rowzed up, by several overtures and *Projects*, concerning *Bussos*, for our own Coast, and prevention of strangers, as an Inlawd over all the *Narrow-Seas*, some petty quarrels there about happened between us and the *Hollander*, and then began the dispute, which

Ship-money
designed and
upon what
ground.

Anno

1634.

Hist. p. 130.
Ob. p. 120.

which that able Scholar *Grotius* intended to conclude by his Tract of *Mare Liberum*, and although the *English* right was not now to be questioned by a new challenge of the *General* interest, and so to make the case common to all; and that by the Pen. Yet, to answer him therein also, he was incountred by as learned a *Piece* intituled *Mare Clausum*, the Author, Mr. *Selden* able enough to make it good, and did, so far as he intended towards them, proving the *Soveraignty* of those *Seas*, under the dominion of this Crown of *England*, and by continual practise of our former Kings levying monies of the Subject, meerly for that purpose to maintain that *Right*. But, when the *King* found that it was now in controversie, and must be kept by force, which his Coffers sayled to perform. Herein he considers the way, and means to require supply of his Subjects by *duty*, which hitherto had been refused of *Curtesie*, or by *Privy-Seals* or by *Loans* which are miscalled [*disgustfull Impositions illegal*] they were not so, they had been lawfully demanded and no *Impositions* but seemly and necessarily used, by all former *Soveraigns*. Disgustful indeed they might be, so are all demands of mony, from hard-hearted Subjects, and being restrained (by his own consent) to the late *Petition* of *Right*; he would depend upon his own the revenue by his right of *Prerogative*. And having *Precedents* of former *Soveraigns*, he sets on foot that payment of *Ship-mony* as a duty, for indeed Mr. *Selden* comes short of home in his proofs, bringing his Levies of *Naval-aid*, but to the time of *Henry* the second, and might no doubt by his reading have reached home without helpe, even of a *Parliament*.

But the course went on by the orderly, legal proceeding of *Writ*, in effect, an ancient *President* of raising a *Tax* upon the *Nation*, for setting forth a *Navy*, in case of danger. And being managed by that excellent Artizar of Law the *Attorney Noy*, whose Readings and search had no doubt hapened upon *Records* for Levying a *Naval-aid* by sole authority of the *King* for safety of the Kingdome, as also in time of those *Parliaments* when free *subsidies* and this enforced command of *aid* came together, the one by their love to support what might refer to himself, this other by authority, when it concerned the publique. But the wisdom of *State* made restrictions, and bounded the *writ* at the first but to *Maritime* Counties, as mostly receiving the present benefit of security from *Pirates*; but that not sufficient for the common necessity, the *writs* became afterwards Generall, to all *Counties*, and so did the quarrel; The whole (amounting unto two hundred thirty six thousand pounds, in lieu of all payments) came but to twenty thousand pounds per mensem. The *Clergy* never pleaded, but indeed they muttered (*their case*) to be free from all secular and civil charges: And to prevent the boldness of any pretence, the Laws made disputes of the three fold necessity binding all, *Clergy* and *Laitie*, viz. *aid in war*, *building of Bridges* and *raising of Forts*. Nor had they any *Execution*; that which

Hist. 131.

the

Anno
1634.

the *Arch-bishop* did for them, was upon their just *Complaint* of their *unequal Tax* by their Neighbour; therefore the *Sheriffs* were required not to tax the *Clergy* of *Parsonages* above a *tenth* part of their *Land-rate* of their several *Parishes*; and no doubt we may easily believe the *Inlanders* might mutter, as conceiving it strange to be concerned in the *Sea*. But in truth the main *Exception* was, to be taxed out of *Parliament* against the late *Petition* of *Right*, and indured long debate in *Courts* of *Justice* thereafter, whilst the first Mover, *Noy* the Attorney having set the Wheel a going, took his last leave, in *August*, to rest for ever from the toil of an Attorney General.

Attorney *Noy*
dies.

Oxenstiern
Ambassadour
from *Sweth-*
land.

Hist. p. 134.

And now was the great Design of the *Swedes* quarrel in *Germany* prosecuted, and *Ambassadors* abroad to all the Neighbour *Allies* for assistance; and *Axel Oxenstiern* the great *Chancellor* and Guider of those affairs of *State*, sent hither his Son in *Ambassy* impowred with *Credential Letters* (no doubt) from his *Sovereign Queen*, or from interest of the *Chancellor*, of which our *King* could not pretend ignorance, for in all outward reception he appeared so. I was present in the *Banqueting-house* at *White-hall* when he had *Audience* of his tedious peremptory *Oration*. But indeed whether because his *Address* had been before to the *French King*, from whom he had large promises and a great *Present*: or whether because our *Reasons of State* gave slender hopes to engage against the *Emperour*, with whom we were in Treaty concerning the *Palatinate*, he refused our *Kings Present* of equal value with that of *France*, and returned not well pleased.

Ireland in dis-
quiet.

The state of *Ireland* in some disquiet, dangerously now divided, between *Papist* and *Protestant*, the wise *Lord Deputy Wentworth* being necessitated to summon a *Parliament*, for the supply of a fresh *Contribution* for the *Army*: the former of *twenty thousand pounds per annum*, determining the next year; and provision must be assured before hand to discharge the *Kings Debt* of *eighty thousand pounds* besides. It is most true, that there was no ill *Husbandry* of former *Governours*, that caused a contraction of this Debt, but the wisdom of the *Sovereign*, not to charge the *Nation* with *Levies*; for they had granted but one *Subsidy* since *primo Jacobi*: the *Kingdom* in good condition since the *Wars*, and their *Estates* being by the *King* so lately settled, they could do no less than raise their Purves with their plenty, and give the *King Subsidies*, which they did.

The Civil affairs well forwarded, the care was to settle the *Ecclesiastick* by *Assembly* of a *Synod*. The Design was not more politick, as pious to repeal the Body of *Articles* formed Anno 1615. and to substitute those nine and thirty *Articles* of the *Church* of *England* in their room; and the rather because the nine *Articles* of *Lambeth* were included with the *Irish*, which in truth had been purposely inserted

Anno

1634.

The Scots
plotting a-
gainst the
King.

Lord Balme-
rino arreigned.

serted by King *James*, to ballance against the Tenets of *Armini-ans*, and were evermore started by the contrary Opinions, where the Points of *Predestination*, and the *Lords Day Sabbath* had found free acception; to these indeed, the *Alteration* seemed strange; some referring it to power, others to piety and reason also; the reason might be in relation to the *Papists*, who made a wonder that the Churches of three *Kingdoms* united, being under one chief *Head* and *Governour*, there should be three several and distinct *Confessions* of *Faith*, and yet all pretending to one *Religion*: and the conclusion and concession not huddled, but canvassed, and with some advantage in Vote for the *Church of England*, although (as some say) the *Primate of Ireland* interposed his *Negative*.

The *Scots* are busie, fomenting fundry pretended Designs of *State* against their *Liberties*, they became very bold, endeavouring to blast the *Kings* Proceedings in their last *Parliament*, as indirect, charging him, with corrupting and suborning the then *Votes*, and evermore of some tendency in favour of *Papists*; and to publish it in print, they framed a *Libel*, which passing through malignant hands, and so vented; but the *Lords* of the *Council* there, searching narrowly for the *Authour*, it fell upon one *William Hagge*, and he escaping, his *Abetter* was brought to the *Board*, being the *Lord Balmerino*, the Son of a Father of small Conscience, and less *Religion*, but *Secretary* he had been to King *James*, who shuffled a *Letter* of his own contriving (amongst others) for the *Kings* signature, too much complementing with the *Pope Clement* in favour of the *Catholicks*: which *Letter* being so sent, and some years after mentioned by *Cardinal Bellarmine*, to the *Kings* prejudice; and *Balmerino* questioned for it, did ingeniously confess the same, and after some outward sufferings, had his pardon and preferment: but time discovering the Policies of *State* another way, it is now averred, that the *Letter* was then devised by the *Kings* command, in some reason to gain upon the *Romish* party, in reference to his interest in *England*, where the *Papists* were prevalent, and more powerfull abroad: but now this *Lord* the Son, whether by nature perfidious, or made so by *Revenge*, elapsed into the like crime indeed, and suffered the same *Trial* and *Eviiction*, and found the same mercy, the *Kings* pardon and preferment for the present, but fell more foul in offending some years after. But the *Kings Pardon* to him, gave great encouragement to the discontented Party in *Scotland*, having now found by experience the *Kings* inclination, either by fear or affection, to be wrought upon, if not mastered, and having continual intelligence from his Majesties *Bed-chamber*, (the bane of the *King*) by persons near about him, (*Scots*) of all passages in *England*, concerning the interruption of three *Parliaments*, imprisoning the Members, and other civil Distractions, sufficient to discover a discontented

contented condition in *England* also; but it appears not who gave the first invitation for assistance to each other of a *War*. Either party (*Scots* and *English*) so forward, as that it seems they met joy'n'd at last in an unnatural *War* with their dread *Sovereign*. And yet untill 1637. that the *Service-book* was imposed on the *Scots*, both parties lay dormant without any perfect correspondence (that I can meet with) till that time, or a little after.

And then also *Cardinal Richelieu* sent over his *Chaplain Chambers* a *Scottishman*, to stir up the *fire-coales* into a *flame*; the *French* being then upon a *War* with *Spain*, and the *Cardinal* a great Statist knew that *Englands* best policy was ever to side with the weakest, to ballance the biggest power, neither of them to increase above the measure of moderation. To that end *Monsieur Montril* was sent *Emissary* and *Agent* to work out the Design in *England* and *Scotland*, as may appear by the *Scots* Letter to the *French King*, as hereafter follows; and that they had great incouragement from *Richelieu*, but what assistance under hand I could never finde out, fair promises, and no doubt, never to engage against them.

But *Balmerino* his great Enemy, the *Earl of Kinnol* Lord *Chancellour* of *Scotland* took his leave of this life, and left his Office to *Spotswood* (Son to the first *Superintendent*) formerly *Arch-bishop* of *Glasgow*, and now *Arch-bishop* of *St. Andrews*, aged above sixty years, a learned, moderate, wise man, as by his *History* appears, the first of his *Coat* since the Reformation of that Dignity, and that for the great advantage of the *Church* if rightly apprehended without that mistaken Vote, [*never known before for three hundred years, a Clergy-man to bear that Dignity.*] I shall remember those that were.

See the second Declaration, p. 57.

Andrews made Lord Chancellour of *Scotland*.

Hist. p. 134.

Andrew Foreman, 15 *Jac.* 4.

James Stuart, Brother to *James the fourth*.

James Beaton, 10 *Jac.* 5. and *Queen Maries* Reign.

David Beaton Cardinal, succeeded him.

Jo: Hamilton, Brother to the Duke of *Chattleheralt*, was the last of the *Popish Bishops*, and many more before those, and all of them *Arch-bishops* of *St. Andrews* and *Chancellours*.

Then there were *Willam Lowater*, anno 1412.

Andrew Foreman, *Jac.* 4.

Gawin Dunbar, *Præceptor* to *James 5*, and after him,

James Beaton.

And these following were *Arch-bishops* of *Glasgow*, and *Chancellours*.

Adam and *Patrick Bishops* of *Brocher*, *Chancellours*, annis 1360; & 1370.

Thomas Spence *Bishop* of *Galloway* and *Chancellour* to *Jac.* 2.

William Elphinston *Bishop* of *Aberdene*, *Chancellour* to *Jac.* 3.

Anno
1634.

Indeed in *Scotland* heretofore, Justice was performed by Itinerarie Courts (like to the Judicature of Courts in *England*) fifteen Judges, in all, seven Churchmen, and seven Laymen, and the President also a Churchman, and the best offices of State were formerly in Bishops and Abbots, which gave them abilities in purse to perform those great and pious works of charity, honour and common benefit: Abbies, Churches, Hospitals, Bridges, Causewayes and the like: all Acts of the Clergy heretofore, which now their successours destroy.

Death indeed was more indifferent with two Great Ones in *England*, two Eminent Men of several factions, the One *Sr. Richard Weston* Earl of *Portland*, Lord High Treasurer of *England*, the Kings great Favourite for his Abilities, at this time the more useful in promoting *Prerogatives*, and all advantages of raising money, with some regret of the Commons for such services. His place was therefore for the present, put under power of Commissioners for some time after.

The other was *Sr. Edward Cook*, a Common Lawyer, and so bred up himself to please the people, Increasing esteem on that score from his first rise, *Queen Elizabeths* Attorney General, chief Justice of the *Kings Bench*, under King *JAMES*, where he lost himself by too much liberty of Eloquence, or Impudence, and removed from that Court to his Countrey retirement, in the County of *Buckingham*, made high Sheriff to humble him towards this King, with a clause in his Commission, to avoyd his Election of being a *Burgesse* in Parliament, of which he was the more ambitious, because thereby the better able to shew his Enmity; but he got it in *Norfolk* his birth-place, and he a Law-wrangler was voted legally chosen, notwithstanding his Commission of Restraint.

Military affairs in Germany.

We may not forget the Affairs of *Germany*, the *Swede* having a continued confederacy with the protestant Princes, and the *French* assistance, against the *Emperour* and *Spain*; for although they fought and treated, for a conjunction, Duke *Barnard* had been so often baffled by former promises of *Wallestien* before his Murther, that now he trusted to fair words no longer. And the good Duke *Francis Albert* of *Saxony Leumburgh* the Instrument chosen to tye these two different dispositions, into a Ligament, was not his crafts master, but was carried prisoner for many years to *Vienna*.

The King of *Hungary* for the Imperial party having cured the Army with good gold, after the disorder of *Wallestiens* murther, and taken new Oath of the souldiers, when News came to his camp of a notable victory gotten by *Arnem* upon the Imperialists in *Silesia*, and of his marching towards *Prague*, whither the King sent so strong a supply, *Arnem* was constrained to retire into *Saxony*, at the

the same time that the Town of *Ratisbone* was regained for the Emperour in *July*, the brave and famous General *Aldring* being slain a little before at *Lanshut*; He was of *Luxenburgh* obscurely born, whose virtues and valour had raised, thus high and eminent in many battels against *John de Wiert* with successe.

And the businesse Military in *Germany* requiring all assistance for the Emperour against such a confederacy of friends: Thither comes the *Cardinal Infanto* from *Milan*, with the old *Spanish, Italian, and Burgundian Bands*, through all *Switzerland*, soon reforming the riotous *Swedes* by their example, into a true Military Discipline. These forces joyning with the Imperialists marched into the Duchy of *Weitemburgh*, but first must passe the fiery Tryal of a strong Town *Norlington*.

The *Swedes* and their Allies are likewise summoned together from all parts; *Horn* joyns with Duke *Barnard*, and advises to spare the Enemy a Town or two, than to hazzard the publicque cause. But the Duke would fight for it; and designed the day the sixth of *September*: and the rather because some private offer had been for Overtures of a Peace, which the *Swedes* took for a good Augure, what ere it presaged, It procured to both Armies the most horred bloody fight that had been between *Christians*.

To the Protestants party were already arrived the forces of the Duke of *Weitemburgh*, the Lantgrave of *Hassia* and Count *Cratz*, (He who was for *Bavaria*, and should have betrayed *Ingolstade* to the Enemy, and so being discovered, was fled hither) wanting none but the *Rhingrave*, and his four thousand men. The fight began early, the most furious first shock was for a Hillock; the storming of a mined fort lost many of the *Swedes* Infantry. The Canon, hidden behinde some bushes, did mighty Execution also, and the *Swedes* constrained to fly, and their Cavalry pursued by the Duke of *Lorain*, and *John de Wiert* were utterly defeated; eighty pieces of Canon, three hundred colours, and twelve thousand men slain, and six thousand prisoners, amongst whom, that brave man *Gustave Horn* Nobly received by the King. The fruit of this Battel began a peace, short and sweet, onely to let that miserable Countrey taste of the blessing, which lasted not long, when the revenger of blood, opens the veins; to let out more evil fumes. This Victory might answer for their Eminent successe heretofore at *Leipsick* and *Lutzen*, and as the *Swedes* did then, so does this Victorious General divide their great Body into flying Armies, carrying on an offensive War up and down where they pleased; for *Norlington* forthwith surrendred, the Duchy of *Weitemburgh* soon submits, and their Duke flies to *Strasburgh*. The Emperour sufficiently recovering his Eagles Plumes, formerly obscured by the *Septentrional Mars*; And yet to shew to the world reason and right from the difference of contraries. The one would have War in

Battel of Nor-
lington, Sep-
tember.

Anno

1634.

A short peace
concluded.

1635.

One fleet at
sea, set out by
Ship-money.

Hist. pag. 136.

Lord Keepers
speech to the
Judges con-
cerning Ship-
money.

the continuation of Conquest : But the Emperour declares his desire of peace even in Victory.

They would carry on all with violence, He, to restore all to the first owner by a moderate accommodation. And truly so it was offered by the King of *Hungary* to the Duke of *Saxony*, and the other Prince, which was afterwards the next year accepted for a while, until the *French Flower de Luce*, with her Odour, marred the scent of the sweet smelling Frankincense. In which time the Cardinall *Infanto* took time to visit his Government in *Flanders*.

The aid of *Ship-money*, had set out one Fleet for securing of the Narrow-Seas this summer ; under Command of the *Earl of Lindsey* [*not the Earl of Northumberland, till next year*] with fourty gallant Ships, the third of *May*, and the *Earl of Essex* his Vice-Admiral, with twenty sail : And being abroad at Sea, the King resolves to continue his designe for the future, with formidable Fleets annually, and so it was thought convenient to lay the charge of *Ship-money* univerversally upon all Counties. And therefore the *Lord Keeper* had command to direct the Judges of *Affizes* in their Circuits for the promoting of the *Writs*, which were to Issue out for the next year ; which he did, at the usual Assembly of the State, in *Star-chamber*, the end of *Midsummer* term the seventeenth of *June*, to this effect.

My Lords the Judges,

THe Term being ended, you are to divide your selves to your severall Circuits for the service of the King, and the good of the Subjects.

In the Terms the people follow and seek after justice four times in the year, but in the Circuits, Justice is carried down to them for their ease twice in the year ; so gracious is the frame and constitution of the Kings Government. It is the Custom, that you receive directions as his Majesties or his Council shall think seasonable to impart to you, that no cause may be of complaint, either for denial or delay of Justice.

Of the tryal of Nisi prius it moves in a frame, if your Officers do their duties you cannot tread awry : Look to the corruption of the Sheriffs and their deputies, the partiality of Jurors.

And because the time of Affizes is very short, therefore apply your selves to these particulars. Amongst many, I shall commend unto you, first the presenting and convicting of Recusants, those forfeitures, being many years assigned for the publique defence.

Next, to make a strict inquiry after Depopulations and Inclosures, a Crime of a crying Nature, robbing God of his honour, and
the

the King of his subjects, Churches and Houses going down together, the Freeholders hate them as oppressions of an high Nature, bringing to posterity that Wo which is pronounced to those, that lay house to house, and field to field, to dwell alone in the widest of the earth.

The next is the numerous erecting of Ale-houses, the pest of the Kingdome, none to be permitted without Licence, a few, in fit places according to Law. The Justices of peace are often to blame herein. I did once discharge two Justices, for setting up one Ale-house. You are to see that the vagabonds shall be duly punished. Constables, Headboroughs and watchmen are to do their duties herein, and these to be elected out of the better sort of Yeomanry. There have been Presidents, that the whole County hath been accountable to the King for the election of a faulty Coronor. And if the Lords of Leetes were so punished, for ill Constables, the mischief would finde remedy.

And for binding of Apprentices in the Country, the Justices of peace are to execute their printed directions therein, and you are to return the Names of the Justices of peace to the Lords of the Councell that are faulty in their duties.

One thing more I have in charge to give you, of great weight, the honour of the King and Kingdom, and their safety. Christendom is full of wars, the goodnesse of God to us that we are in peace and plenty. It is a good precept in Divinity, and holdeth in policie too, Jam proximus ardet, which, if well observed, it would warn our Neighbours: to stand upon our own Guard: Not to be enforced to fight, and therefore to arm our selves better then not to arm, and to be forced to fight: providence being better than necessity. The king therefore hath commanded all Land forces to be in readyness, and hath set to sea a Royal Fleet not all at his own charges, but also with the assistance of the Maritan places of the Kingdom. And his Majesty hath vouchsafed by his Writs to declare enough to satisfie well minded men, and to expresse the clearnesse of his princely heart in ayming at the general good of all. The dominion of the sea, as it is the ancient and undoubted right of the Crown, so it is the best security of this Land; and all good subjects will endeavour that the dominion of the Sea may be preserved, not to be lost, or deminished.

The Wooden Walls are the best walls of the Kingdom; and if the Riches and wealth of the Nation be respected, for that cause the dominion of the Sea is to be preserved, else what would become of our Woolls, Lead, and the like, the prizes would fall to nothing, if others should be Masters of the Sea.

There is a Case in the Book of Assizes 43. That certain men went down into the Countrey, and reported there, that no Wooll should passe over Sea that year; which occasioned the Woolls so low prized, that the men were questioned and fined; what then may follow in the
lesse

Anno

1635.

losse of the dominion of the Sea in all our Commodities, but losse of Trade?

Therefore as his Majesty thought fit to set forth that Fleet, now upon the sea; so he being ingaged for the honour of himself and Kingdom, to strengthen this with greater Forces and more shipping: therefore he upon advice is resolved to send forth new Writs, for the preparation of a greater Fleet the next year: not onely to the maritime Towns, but to the whole Kingdome, as wholly interested in the benefit. And that you the Judges are commanded in your charge at the Assizes, and at all places opportunely, to acquaint the people of his Majesties care and zeal to preserve his and the Kingdoms honour in the dominion of the Sea by a powerfull Fleet: and you are to let them know how just it is for his Majesty to require this for the common defence, and with what alacrity and chearfulness they are bound in duty to contribute; the best way to assure unto us a firm and sure Peace from all our Neighbours.

Hist. p. 136.

And accordingly produced the good effects in some measure. But we are told [that they did nothing neither of them] meaning the other Fleet also, which the Earl of Northumberland commanded the next year, and onely the Earl of Lindsey and Essex for this year.

Service of the
Fleets at Sea.
Obf. p. 128.

But pardon me my opinion, they did more than expectation: they secured the Seas, (you confesse) [from Pyracies formerly molesting] so then our Commodities were safely transported, and the Merchandize of Christendom came home with ease to our profit.

And it was accounted the best security for the King of Spain to intrust his Treasure Bullion in our English Bottoms, being coined here, (some hundred thousand pounds a year) became good benefit to the Kings Mint, and much thereof to the Merchant, whose Commodities were exchanged thereby, and the rest of the Money paid over by Exchange to the Spanish Army in Flanders.

It hath ever been the best ballance with England, not to endure an over-bias of any our great Neighbours, French or Spaniard.

And as our first interest with the Netherlands kept their Enemy aloof; so now themselves (forgetting their first Friends) had contracted Confederacy with France; the one to infest Dunkirk, and other parts of Flanders by Land, and the Hollanders by Sea, thereby to bring him under, who indeed was already bare enough, not able to bring ten thousand men into the Field. And so with other practices of the Dutch with the discontented Natives, the French prevailed at Diest and Tillemont, untill the monstrous insolencies of that Army French and Dutch together, inflamed the very Natives so far to resent their own sufferings by the Souldier both out of the Countrey. And to boot the English Fleet removed the Hollanders from before Dunkirk, that neither of the Confederates, nor thus

com-

The Reign of King Charles.

207

combined, could do other harm than to ravage the Countrey, but left no Hold behind them.

The *Prince Electour* wearied with long expectation of the *Emperours* Result upon former Overtures and Mediation of Neighbour-*States* towards the restauration of his Patrimony the *Palatinate*, was now come hither himself to solicit the *Kings* assistance; and for the present, and in order to the effect, had reception with all the Caresses of Court-ceremonies, and the *Prince Charles* dislodged from his *Quarter* at *White-hall* for this Kinsmans entertainment.

And soon after arrived his third Brother *Prince Rupert*.

The 28. of *December*, a Moneth after, the *Queen* was delivered of her second Daughter, and baptized *Elizabeth* the first of *January* after.

The effects of our Fleet, and resolution concerning the Sea besides, made the *Hollander* tack about to caress the *English* with the Ceremony of an *Ambassy*, sent outwardly onely, to congratulate the *Queens* happy delivery of a second *Princess*: but to work the more into favour, he came not empty-handed, and meant to get more by the loss of a *Present*, being a massie piece of *Amber-greece*, two fair and almost transparent *China Basons*, a rare *Clock* of excellent art, and four very admirable pieces of *Painting*, the Originals of *Tintinet* and *Tisian*, those admired ancient Artizans.

It was the wisdom of the *King* sufficiently to consider to whom this Treasury might best be intrusted.

This while the *Commissioners* served the Time, but not the *Kings* private turn. It was too publick, in many hands; the disposing of that, which more prudentially would do better in One, ordering it single by himself, to whom the *King* might communicate his In-comes and Expence; and therefore this Spring in *March*, he commits the Staff of that Office to Doctor *William Fuxon* Bishop of *London*, who had Religion to be honest, and no use of self-interest to be corrupt, a single person needs not to be covetous.

Former Treasurers being bound to keep up their Titles to the dignity of their Place, and their necessary expence to the fulness of their Family, made them too bold with the *Kings* Money, which he wanted.

A good Man this Bishop was before, and after, and so no doubt to the end. It was no wonder then, if the *Kings* insight in him, should pick him out, the most fit for that trust, as well as before to make him a Bishop. But our Historian was of greater insight, but of less opinion of the Bishops Clerkship, as [*none of the greatest Scholars*] implying a defect, which he found out, that deserves his censure.

The foreign affairs of the Sword were somewhat allaid in *Germany*, by the Peace concluded at *Prague* in *May* this year, and the *Protestants* reduced to their Profession, as it was settled *Anno* 1627. and

Anno

1635.

Prince Elector arrives.

Princess Elizabeth born.

The States of Holland caress the King and Queen with a Present.

Bishop Fuxon Lord Treasurer.

Hist. p. 137. Obs. p. 130.

The small effects of the Peace in Germany.

Anno

1635.

Swedes displeased.

and their Ecclesiastick Lands confirmed for forty years, (the Agreement at *Pastavia*) after that time to be compos'd in an annual way.

But the zealous, or rather the fiery parties of both sides, not well pleas'd, with whom *Cardinal Richelieu* designs undermined to bring all about back again, to a quarrel; which the *Emperour* wisely considering to make peace at home, for a War abroad, that may happen, pursues the Agreement, that such as were compris'd, should render up their Forces to the *Emperour* their Head, or to be declared Enemies; which caus'd many to submit by force, for the present. The Dukes of *Mecklenbergh* are re-invested; onely the *Swedes* enjoy what Lands they had seiz'd. Duke *Bernard* therefore excluded retires to *France*, and there juggled into an hatred of the *Swedes* for ever after.

In general, the *Swedes* were displeas'd with the Peace which they had purchas'd so dear with their great *Kings* blood, and death of so many of their own; which to appease the *Electour Saxony* proffers them a hundred thousand *Rix-dollers* from the *Protector* for their Reward, which they refuse, and might, having so many good Towns and Provinces, that the whole *Empire* was not able to beat them out of *Pomerania*; and so in fine they resolv'd to stand to it. And the Chancellour *Oxenstiern* (untill business might be quite fletched) puts all which the *Swedes* held about *Phelesbergh* into the hands of the *French*, for a huge sum of money, and retires into *Sweden*, to give counsel from thence, having sent before his Train, and a hundred and fifty brave Horses for Breed into *Pomerania*, all which fell into his Enemies hands: and some Spoils sunk in the Sea; a Vessel laden with invaluable Sacrilege of the *Church*, *Copes*, *Organs*, *Images*, *Chalices*, the twelve *Apostles* of *Wirtenbergh*, all shut up in the Belly of the Ship, which was deliver'd without a Midwife, within a League of the Coast of *Sweden*, and all lost. *The Spoils of the Church produce misfortune.*

But the *Swedes* are reproach'd for their avarice, having been well paid, Wages and Booty; their Recompenses freed the *Princes* from ungratefulness, and that their *Pretences* were but *Illusions*, and so were to be answer'd, which made them turn to treat with the *French*. *Cardinal Richelieu* the Instrument of all bloody Scenes in *Christendom*, was already watching so near, as *Lorain* for any *Mutations* of *Fortune*, and in a fury would needs besiege *Collen*, whom the *Hollanders* refuse to second, and so he was fain to desist: but he exercises his fury at home on the very *Branches* of the House of *Lorain*, persecutes the Duke of *Guise* to the death, and so to destroy the Family, which forc'd *Lorain* his *Manifesto*, That not able to contest with his powerfull Enemy, he transfers all his Rights upon his Brother Francis, and so retires to be General of the Catholick Army in *Germany*.

Richelieu assur'd that this mad deed of *Guise*, was but *pro tempore*,

porc, till that this *Dukes* Brother had sent to *Rome* for a *Dispensation* to marry his *Colin* *Germane*, and to render his *Cap* to the hands of his *Holinefs*, seizes him and his new *Bride* at *Paris* *Prisoners* to the *Bastile*, out of which they escape, disguised, through *Savoy*, *Florence*, and *Venice*, (so far about) ere they got safe to *Vien*.

Thus malicious was *Richelieu* to attempt the *extinction* of this most illustrious and most ancient *Family*, issued from *Charlemain* and other *Kings*, sacred for their Services to *Christendom*; nay, to *France* her self in the *Battel* of *Crecy*, and all the Wars of the *English*. And that story (of truth) that *John* of *Orleans* of this *Family*, like a second *Judah*, saved *France* from the oppression of *Strangers*. And so the *Cardinal* having deprived the lawfull *Prince*, called in the *Gothick* Nation to ruine it; and therefore they that accuse this *Duke* of having so often falsified his faith, silence the the cause thereof, either through malice or ignorance.

A wondrous
Floud and
Pettilence.

This year by a *Floud* near *Glucstat* in *Holstein* there were drowned six thousand persons, and above fifty thousand *Cattel*. And by the *Plague*, which beginning in the *North*, passed through *Holland*, there died about twenty thousand persons in the *Town* of *Leyden* onely, without reckoning those that were consumed in *Amsterdam* and other *Towns*. This *Contagion* was fomented by the *Famine* in *Germany*: not the *Living* able to bury the *Dead*.

The *French* were totally beaten out of *Germany*: and so we may observe *Catholicks* against *Catholicks*, *Lutherans* against *Catholicks*, and now follows *Lutherans* against *Lutherans*, and then the *Reformates* against the *Reformates*, the most extravagant War since the *World* began, wherein the most unbridled passions of man had the *Helm*. Vengeance produced *Licentiousness*, and that also such barbarous *Cruelties*, as can be imagined. And after their miserable effects, we in *Great Brittain* felt the like misfortunes, none escaping, where *Gods* hand of *Justice* prosecutes sinfull *Creatures*.

1636.
Commotion
about Church-
Ceremonies.

Laud Arch-bishop of *Canterbury* makes his *Visitation*, and, as usual with all his *Predecessours*, *Inquisition* is made, (but now more narrowly than had been heretofore) of the great neglect of religious *Duties*, both of *Clergy* and *Laity*, for a uniform obedience to the *Rules* of the *Church*, much neglected in Arch-bishop *Abbot's* time. And because some *Bishops* had been over-nice to examine their own *Diocess* in favour of the *Presbyterians*, this Arch-bishop, on purpose to direct them the way, was the rather severe; and so by his *Examinations* and *Example*, it began to be strictly observed, and as boldly opposed by the *Puritan*. It is instanced in the *Remove* of the *Communion Table* from the *Body* of the *Chancel* to the upper *East End*, with the side of the *Table* against the *Wall*, *Altar-wise*, with a *Rail* or *Ballafter* about it: and no new things commanded now: for the *Committee* of *Parliament* had taken liberty

Hist. p. 137.

Anno

1636.

See before
Anno 1628.
Obf.p.132.

Hist.p.138.

Obf.p.140.

eight years since, to except against some Ceremonies, and in fear or remissness to displease them, the neglect of Duties were the rather more narrowly commanded now; and but time, for never more profaness in divine Service, which the *King* understanding by often Complaints, thought fit to give order for the amendment. *In whose power by Statute 1 Eliz. c.2. he is to ordain and publish such further Rites and Ceremonies as may be most for the Advancement of Gods glory, the edifying of his Church, and the due reverence of Christ's holy Mysteries and Sacraments.* And this was done by the Dean and Chapter three years since at *Saint Gregories Church*; the *Communion Table* set *Altar-wise*, and though complained of by some ordinary *Parishioners*, the *King* and *Council* hearing the cause made an *Order* for confirmation thereof. So then these Proceedings had been before, First, the Statute of *Queen Elizabeth*, the *Kings* Prerogative, and the ancient Laws of the Land; and indeed it was a Renovation of a Rite, not an Innovation. And truly to instance the Bishop of *Lincoln* for opposing with his *Holy Table*, *Name* and *Thing*, which was rather to oppose the *Kings* Command, than to speak his Conscience; for never *Prelate* lived more *Episcopal* than he, when he was retired at *Bugden*; yet for his ends, after he seemed a *Puritan*, and what not? perfidious to secure himself, and to please the *Publick*, and so at last became a professed *Presbyterian*, and there he settled to be one of their own, whose Characters are much minced in their demerits, if you afford them [*free of any moral scandal*] I wish they were not, but I fear, rather guilty of all, by their *Hypocrisie* in all. And without doubt more to blame than the *Prelate* Ministers, who are falsely reproached to be [*vitious even to scandal*] for which he is justly blamed.

And as the Ceremonies of outward worship were inquired into, so were the Doctrines and Manners of Ministers, specially of the *Lecturers*, chosen by the People, the more factious the fitter for their *Pulpits*. Such an Examination came before the *King* and his *Council*, between the *Bailiffs* of the Town of *Yarmouth* in *Norfolk*, on the one side; and the *Dean* and *Chapter* of *Norwich*, and Master *Brooks* the Minister and Preacher there, on the other side; upon the Return of a Commission sent thither for the Examinations of Proofs. The Case was thus.

Mr. *Brooks* being Minister and Preacher at *Yarmouth* by the Patronage and supplyment of the *Dean* and *Chapter* to whom it belonged. The factious there, had notwithstanding set up one Mr. *Brinesley* not conform to the canons of the Church, to be a *Lecturer* of their own; and to officiate in a room called a *Chappel*, being formerly used by the *Dutch* for their assembling in their service, never consecrated, and but lately a ware-house for Merchants goods: And the rather the people were invited thither in throngs, neglecting their Parish Churches. Against Mr. *Brinesley* comes thither an

an *Inhibition* from the Arch Bishop of *Canterbury*, directed to Mr. *Brooks*, who serves him therewith in his Meeting-place. And for which, the Town authority committed Mr. *Brooks* by the heels: encouraging the other to go on in his Lecturing. Whereupon, It was Ordered (with this Preface).

Anno
1636.

That the Matters of the Church at Yarmouth had been factiously carried by the refractory spirits of some Persons in chief places of power there, whereby the busie humours of those whose Ears itch after Novelty have been nourished and encouraged. And therefore his Majesty being sensible and careful in the countenancing and maintainance, as well of Ecclesiasticall Authority and Discipline, as of civil Order and Government doth Order.

That Mr. Brooks and the Dean and Chapters shall be satisfied all their charges in this suit by their Adversaries.

That Ezekias Harris Thomas Green, Miles Corbet and Henry Davy, who subscribed the Mittimus for Mr. Brooks Imprisonment, and for the wrong done to his Person, and the indignity offered to his place and function, shall be committed to Prison during his Majesties pleasure, and they to make further acknowledgement of their offence, as shall be hereafter Ordered.

That Mr. Brinesley shall be removed from that Town (onely) yet shall not Officiate any where, unlesse conforming to the Canons of the Church.

That the said pretended Chappel be converted to the first use, a Ware house.

25. March, 1632.

The Kings power now appeared in the Narrow Seas, with three-score sail of well manned Ships under command of the Earl of *Northumberland* who set out from the *Downes* towards the North, where the *Dutch* Busses were Interrupted in their fishing, some of them being seized, and others sunk, until they were enforced to fly from thence to his Majesties harbour, their Commissions for that purpose, craving leave to fish and trade with the *English*, by permission under the Kings Grant, as a perquisite of the *English* Interest, and preservation of his Regality in the *Brittish* Sea. And therefore to say, the King had no designe paramount there unto, but [*onely to reduce them to a precarious condition*] is much mistaken, for he both fought more, and they yeilded to more without any such policy as to careesse them for their Amity.

Another Navy for the Narrow Seas.

Hist. p. 138.

Ferdinand the second weakened in body by many years, and tormented

Diet at Ratibone.

Anno
1636.

Emperor dies.

mented in minde by mighty Wars, resolving to settle the Empire, calls a Diet at *Ratisbone*, the midst of *September*, where, after consultation for succession, the *French* under hand promoting *Bavaria*, but the *Poland* Ambassadour prevailed more by his eloquent oration for the Emperours Sonne (already King of *Hungary*) to be elect King of the *Romanes*, by the Name of *Fardinand* the third, the 22. of *December*, and the Father died the 15. of *February* following. This Emperour, by the good successe of his Lieutenants in Wars, had maintained his Scepter in and out, sometimes several, and altogether against all the world, almost; For no sooner crowned King of *Boheme*, then that people revolted, and chose another; when he became Emperour, the seditions of the *Hungarians*, and of his own subjects in *Austria*, *Mansfealt* and *Halderstadt* never left worrying him whilest they lived. The *Danes* felt the force and smart of his Army, the *English*, *Scots* and *Hollanders* combined against him. The *Swedes* and the whole *Protestant* Body of the Princes; Nay the *French* also by profusion of blood and treasure. His peasants excited against him, and to corrupt the Faith of his great Ministers; no sooner got out of one war, but springs up another, like *Hydra's*, to torment him. His best weapons were his own dayly pious prayers, which the late King *Gustave* seemed more to dread then he did his Armies. He Attacked the Arms of the *Turk*, *Catholicks*, *Lutherans*, and *Reformates*, and over all Triumphant. He lived to see his Son Crowned King of the *Romanes* in spite of all his Enemies, the *Swedes* to be shut up in *Pomerania*; and the *French* beaten out of *Germany*, and the Armies of *Austria* almost at the gates of *Paris*. He hearkened religiously to the *Jesuites*, the reason of the *Reformates*, to revolt, and to call in a stranger the *Swede*, to gnaw out their own entralls, which they soon repented.

E. of Arundel
Ambassadour
to the new
Emperor.

And now was the Earl of *Arundel*, Earl Marshal of *England*, assigned Ambassadour to the new Emperour *Fardinand* the third, elected at this Imperial Diet.

To whom he presents the condition of his Majesties Nephew the *Palsgrave* of the *Rhene*. And being now in the *English* Court, the eyes of all the *Christian* Princes were fixed upon the cause of his sufferings, which had been so often represented to his Imperial Predecessours not without great expectation to his restauration, which his Master hoped might take good effect by his now Imperial grace and favour.

And for answer, The Emperour told him, That he made no doubt in time he might be considered, for enjoying the *Lower-Palatinate*; But for the other, It much concerned the Duke of *Bavaria's* present Interest and possession, and how he could be induced to a Treaty disadvantageous to himself, he wished the Ambassadour to make that Counsel the best of his business. To that end he was to dispute with the deputies of the Emperour; with some of them he prevailed for their good Inclinations towards the *Palsgrave*, as very effectuall
for

Anno
1636.

for confirmation of a settled peace amongst the Princes; And to that end they made their several respective humble Remonstrance and advice. But *Bavaria* spake like a souldier, That what he had, with so much hazzard of his Person and expence of treasure, wonne by the sword, in defence of the Empire against an enemy, he would now maintain with the same power in the possession. The Ambassadour was now assured, that this his resolution needed not so much mis-spent time in the Treaty, but to have been told it at the first; And to shew his disdain to be thus used, took no leave at all, but hastened homewards; nor could the *Emperours* friends (two Ambassadors *Spanish* and *Polish*) sent after to moderate his anger, and to promise better effects after some weeks patience; nothing prevails to invite him back again, he comes directly home, where he found the King in some regret at this affront of his Ambassadour, and so returned with like disdain upon an Imperial Agent, sent hither, to excuse the one, and to offer some conditions as improbably to bring other effects, which therefore was an entrance to a further breach of amity between these Princes, and much increased by the hopes of a Marriage between the King of *Poland*, and the Lady *Elizabeth* (Sister to the Prince Elector) and Prince *Ratzevil* sent hither to treat it with our King, and almost concluded, whilest the Diet of that Nation met, and consulted for their consents, and soon granted by the Peers and people; but the third Estate, the Clergy, so much Jesuite as to be foundered by the way with propositions from the House of *Austria* (Emperour and King of *Spain*) for *Cecilia* Arch Duchesse, and second Sister of the Emperour, and so was this instantly concluded, and the other fell off, as did the Prince Elector to an absolute dispair of his former Interests.

Overtures of a Marriage between the King of *Poland* with the Lady *Elizabeth*.

The usual visitations Provincial of Arch Bishops of *England* for settling Church affairs, having good effects from that of *Canterbury*. He now also intends the like upon the University of *Cambridge*, somewhat out of tune in several Coledges; *Emanuel* and *Sidney*, *Chappels* not Consecrated for divine Service and Sacraments, which yet were solemnly administred there. And this the University challenged within their own Charter, and power to examine, and were exempt from any visitation, unlesse of themselves, or the Kings Majesty as their gracious Founder. But at the dispute before the King and his Privy Councel at *Hampton Court*, the case was concluded for the Arch Bishop, as the greatest reason not to rule themselves, having suffered such an Inconvenience there without so much as taking notice, much lesse reforming.

Ecclesiastical visitations of the University.

It had been more then fifteen moneths, that the *Writs* of *Ship-money* were issued out to divers Counties, many Men (and in special Mr. *Hambden* of *Buckingham* Shire) being Assisted by the Sheriff, made default of payment, this Person well known, and supposed a stake for others, not without a resolved factious assistance of powerful

Debate about *Ship-money*.

Anno
1636.

powerful parties; And therefore the King this Michaelmas Term, not precipitate into a quarrel, advised the opinion of his Judges, stating the Case by Letter to them.

To our trusty and well-beloved Sir John Bramstone, Knight, Chief Justice of Our Bench, Sir John Finch, Knight, Chief Justice of Our Court of Common Pleas, Sir Humphrey Davenport, Knight, Chief Baron of Our Court of Exchequer, and to the rest of the Judges of Our Courts of Kings Bench, Common Pleas, and the Barons of our court of Exchequer,

Charls Rex.

‘Trusty and well-beloved, we greet you
 ‘well, taking into our Princely consideration,
 ‘that the Honor and safety of this Our Realm
 ‘of *England*, the preservation whereof is onely
 ‘entrusted to Our care, was, and is, more dear-
 ‘ly concern’d then in late former times; as well
 ‘by divers counsels and attempts to take from
 ‘Us the Dominions of the Seas, of which We
 ‘are sole Lord, and rightful Owner, or Pro-
 ‘priator, and the losse whereof would be of
 ‘greatest danger, and peril to this Kingdom,
 ‘and other Our Dominions, and many other
 ‘wayes: We, for the avoiding of these and
 ‘the like dangers, well weighing with our self
 ‘that where the good and safety of the King-
 ‘dom in general is concerned, and the whole
 ‘Kingdom in danger, there the charge and de-
 ‘fence ought to be born by all the Realm in
 general

Anno
1636.

‘ general: did, for the preventing so pub-
‘ lique a mischief, resolve with our self to have
‘ a Royal Navy prepared, that might be of
‘ force and power (with Almighty Gods blef-
‘ sing and assistance) to protect and defend this
‘ Our Realm, and Our Subjects therein from
‘ all such perils and dangers, and for that pur-
‘ pose We issued forth Writs under our Great
‘ Seal of *England*, directed to all Our Sheriffs
‘ of Our several Counties of *England* and
‘ *Wales*, Commanding thereby all Our said
‘ Subjects, in every City, Town, and Vil-
‘ lage, to provide such a number of Ships, well
‘ furnisht, as might serve for this Royal pur-
‘ pose, and which might be done with the
‘ greatest equality that could be. In perform-
‘ ance whereof, though generally throughout
‘ all the Counties of this Our Realm, We
‘ have found in Our Subjects great chearful-
‘ nesse and alacrity, which We graciously in-
‘ terpret as a testimony, as well of their duti-
‘ ful affection to us, and our service, as of the
‘ respect they have to the Publique, which well
‘ becometh every good Subject; Nevertheless
‘ finding that some few, happily out of igno-
‘ rance what the Laws and Customs of this
‘ Realm are, or out of a desire to be eased in
‘ their particulars, how general soever the
‘ charge be, or ought to be, have not yet paid
‘ and

Anno

1636.

‘ and contributed to the several Rates and
 ‘ Assessments that were set upon them. And
 ‘ fore-seeing in Our Princely wisdom, that
 ‘ from thence divers Suits and Actions are
 ‘ not unlikely to be commenced, and prosecuted
 ‘ in our several Courts at *Westminster* ;
 ‘ We, desirous to avoid such inconvenien-
 ‘ cies, and out of Our Princely love and af-
 ‘ fection to all Our People, being willing to
 ‘ prevent such Errours as any of Our loving
 ‘ Subjects may happen to run into, have
 ‘ thought fit in a case of this nature to advise
 ‘ with you Our Judges, who We doubt not
 ‘ are well studied and informed in the Rights
 ‘ of Our Sovereignty. And because the
 ‘ Trials in Our several Courts, by the For-
 ‘ malities in Pleading, will require a long
 ‘ protraction, We have thought fit by this
 ‘ Letter directed to you all, to require your
 ‘ Judgments in the Case, as it is set down in
 ‘ the inclosed Paper, which will not onely
 ‘ gain time, but also be of more authority to
 ‘ over-rule any prejudicate opinions of o-
 ‘ thers in the Point. Given under Our
 ‘ Signet at our Court of *White-hall*, the Se-
 ‘ cond Day of *February* in the Twelfth Year
 ‘ of Our Reign, 1636.

CHARLS Rex.

CHARLS

Anno
1636.

CHARLS REX.

When the good and safety of the Kingdom in general is concern'd, and the whole Kingdom in danger; whether may not the King by Writ under the great Seal of England, command all the Subjects in his Kingdom, at their charge, to provide and furnish such number of Ships, with Men, Victuals, and Munition, and for such time as he shall think fit for the Defence and Safeguard of the Kingdom from such Danger and Peril, and by Law compel the doing thereof in case of Retusal or Refractoriness: and whether in such case is not the King the sole Judge both of the Danger, and when, and how the same is to be prevented and avoided?

The Judges return their Opinions thus:

May it please your Most Excellent Majesty, we have according to your Majesties Command, severally, and every Man by himself, and all of us together, taken into serious consideration the Case and Questions signed by your Majesty, and inclosed in your Letter. And we are of opinion, that, when the Good and Safety of the Kingdom in general is concerned, and the whole Kingdom in Danger, your Majesty may by Writ, under your Great Seal of England, command all the Subjects of this your Kingdom, at their charge, to provide and furnish such number of Ships with Men, Victual, Munition, and for such time as your Majesty shall think fit, for the Defence and Safeguard of the Kingdom from such Peril and Danger. And, that by Law your Majesty may compell the doing thereof in case of

Ff

Refusal

Anno
1636.

Refusal or Refractoriness. And we are also of opinion, that in such Case your Majesty is the sole Judg both of the Danger, and when, and how the same is to be prevented and avoided.

John Bramston.
John Finch.
Humphrey Davenport.
John Denham.
Richard Hutton.
William Jones.

George Crook.
Thomas Trever.
George Vernon.
Robert Barkly.
Francis Crauly.
Richard Weston.

Thus they subscribe, which was inrolled in all Courts at *Westminster Hall*, and without doubt Warrant sufficient for the King to proceed against any Defaulters, specially singly against *Hambden*, who appeared upon *Process*, and required *Oyer* of the *Ship Writs*, and so being heard, he *demurred* in Law, and demanded the *Judges* opinion upon the *Legality* of those *Writs*, which being argued in the *Exchequer*, all the *Judges* and those *Barons* (except *Crook* and *Hutton*) were of opinion for the *Writs*, and the *Barons* gave *Judgment* accordingly against *Hambden*, who (under hand advised) held up the *Quarrel* by *Intermissions*, till further time and conveniency.

The Queen bare the Princess *Ann* the seventeenth of *March*, the third Daughter to the King.

Princess *Ann*
born.

1637.
Burton, *Bastwick* and
Pryn censured.
Hist. p. 145.

This *Midsummer Term*, were censured in Star-chamber three Delinquents confederate; A medley of Mal-contents. The one a Divine Mr. *Burton*, who is a mistiled [*Sometime Tutor to the King*] which he never was, nor any other but Mr. *Thomas Murray* a *Scotishman*; Indeed he had been Clerk of the Chappel-closet, when he was *Prince*; a very mean place for so proud a Person, as in earnest he was so observed to be, by such as could search into insides; outwardly concealed from ordinary observation, and wanting preferment of his own conceited merit, he grew factious first, and then insolent in print, in two Pamphlets against Episcopacy; sharp and full of rancour.

Bastwick the second. Having been heretofore (about the 10. of the King) censured by the High-Commission, for writing and speaking against Government. And thereupon three years since he writ his Latine Apology *ad presules Anglicanos* and a name very reproachful against them all, by name, the Arch Bishop *Lawd*, the Lord Treasurer *Fuxton* Bishop of *London*, *flagello Pontificis* where he says, *Paris enim in Parem non esse Imperium*, Bishops and Presbyters alike, he invited father William of *Canterbury* his holiness, and

William

William London *Magnificus Rector of the Treasury, and the Whore of Babylon* to be witnesses to his Childs Baptizing. And in his Latine (he says)

Anno
1637.

—ridentem dicere verum
Quis vetet? —

But, not to mistake him without Book, see how he intitles his *Answers*.

The Answers of John Bastwick Doctor of Physick to the information of Sir Iohn Bancks Knight, Atturney General: in which there is a sufficient demonstration. That the Prelates are Invaders of the Kings Prerogative royall, contemnners and despisers of the Holy Scriptures, Advancers of Popery, Superstition, Idolatry and prophaneſs. Also, that they abuse the Kings authority to the oppression of his Loyaleſt Subjects; and therein exercise great Cruelty, Tyranny, and Injustice; and in the execution of these impious performances, they shew neither wit, honesty, nor temperance. Nor are they either servants of God, or of the King (as they are not indeed) but of the Devil, being Enemies of God and the King, and of every living thing that is good. All which the said Dr. Bastwick is ready to maintain &c.

Cruelty.

And so fills his answers of six large skins of Parchment, to the amaze of the Court, nor could he be brought to be briefer. Imprints this, and dedicates it to the King with an Epistle to prove all.

Mr. Pryn was the third, a Barrester of *Lincolns-Inn*, his crime as of the same, some Pamphlets scandalous to the King and Church, but he suffered the most amongst them now, for being censured there before; and not to beware, is punished the more. He was fined five thousand pounds to the King, to lose the remainder of his ears in the Pillory, to be stigmatized on both cheeks with an S. for schismatick, and perpetual imprisonment in Carnarvan Castle in Wales. Bastwick and Burton each five thousand pounds fine to the King, to loose their ears in the Pillory and to be imprisoned, the first in Lanceson Castle in Cornwall, and the other in Lancaster Castle. But had they been brought to the Kings Bench Bar, and so to have made an end with them there, they had not risen up in policy and power to joyn their revenge upon the King and all their accusers; as they did hereafter, see the eight and twentieth of November 1640.

Pryn.

But as to those Schismatiques and other such like deformities, so also a severe eye had been upon the *Romish* Catholiques, their numerous resort to private conventicles to the Ambassadors strangers, their chappels, and most notorious, to the antient chappel at Denmark house, whereto the English in flocks repaired and many others

Papists pursued.

Anno

1637.

Prince Elect-
or and his
brother depart.
Hist. p. 145.

others under leave of the Court domestiques, the receptacle and countenance to all other Catholiques. Of which the Arch Bishop publicly complained to the King, and Councell Table: telling his Majesty that the Insolencies of others took advantage from such audacious behaviour, as Mr. *Walter Mountague*, Sir. *Toby Mathews*, all the *Queens* Officers, and others of the *Kings* Court, a rol of whom he there presented, to which the *King* professed, that he had it in his mind to have referred the consideration thereof to the Board from his own observation, and commanded them all to see it reformed.

June the 26, the *Prince Elector* [beginning to languish (saies one) in his hopes of succour from his Uncle] departed, with his Brother *Prince Rupert*; for *Holland* they did depart, but not in languish, and being purposely sent back upon a design of doing somewhat beyond Seas, in reference to his Interest of his Patrimony of the Palatinate, which took not effect. For the next year, them two Brothers, by assistance of his Uncles purse and credit (though in privacie) with the Prince of *Orang* and some of the States, had raised a small beginning of an Army, with which, and the hopes increasing, they advance into *Westphalia* and besiege *Lemgea*; and were as suddainly enforced to rise and fight with one of the *Emperours* Generals *Hatiffeld*, who slew two thousand, and took *Prince Rupert* and the Lod *Craven* Prisoners, the *Electer* escaping by flight back again to the *Haghe*, where he remained forlorn, till the next year after, when you shall find him in *England* again.

Bishop of Lin-
coln sentenced
in Star-cham-
ber.

Hist. p. 145.

Williams Bishop of *Lincoln* comes now to be censured in *Star-chamber*, of whom we observed his first declension heretofore, the first of this *King* 1625. when he parted from the great seal to the Lord *Coventry*, but kept his Bishoprick, (and Deanery of *Westminster*) and so continued (not a peer) but a Prelate in *Parliament*; and powerfull enough of purse and cunning to revenge upon the *King*; fomenting under hand all Malevolent and popular disaffections against his Sovereign; and being *Narrowly* watcht when his wit and will tempted him to talking disloyally of the *King*, and as usually increased (by the late telling) to be intolerable, for which he had been put into a Bill in *Star-chamber*, 4 *Car.* and then somewhat slackned, because the Bill would not bear it out to proof, till 4 years after, 8 *Car.* and then revived towards a Trial. The Bishop wondrous bare of defence had only *Predeon* for his sufficient witness, who was charged with getting a barn on *Bess Hodson*, and so became perhaps invalid to be trusted with his testimony for truth. The Bishop suborns his two country men Agents, *Powel* and *Owen Welchmen*, to procure the suppression of the order of the publique session at *Lincoln*, which charged *Prideon* the reputed father; and afterwards, 10 *Car.* to lodge the bastard upon *Boon*; and the other to be acquit; which cost his purse soundly (saies one,) twelve hundred

pounds

The Reign of King Charles.

221

Anno
1637.

pounds to bring this about, the cause and consequence of his Trial in July this year, and sentence, *Ten thousand pounds to the King, and to the Tower during pleasure. Suspension ab officiis et beneficiis, and referred to the High Commission for the rest which concerned that Courts Jurisdiction*, which punishments fitted his villanies, for after reveng.

King James had a design not once, but alwaies after his coming into England, to reform that deformity of the Kirk of Scotland into a decent discipline, as in the Church of England, which received opposition and intermissions, till the year 1616. where at Aberdeen, their general assembly of Clergy made an act, authorizing some of their Bishops to compile a form of *Liturgie* or book of *Common-Prayer*; first, for the King to approve, which was so considerately there revised and returned, for that Kingdome to practice, which same service book was now sent for, by this King, and committed to some Bishops here of their own, to review, and finding the difference not much from the *English*, He gave command in Scotland, to be read twice a day in the Kings Chappel at Holyrood-house at Edensburgh, that Communion should be administered in that form, and taking on their knees, once a month, the Bishop to wear his Rocket, the Minister his surplice, and so to inure the people by president of his own Chappel, there first, and afterward in all parts for the publique; The Scottish Bishops liked it reasonable well for the matter, but the manner of imposing it from hence upon them, was conceived somewhat too much dependencie of theirs, on our *English* Church, & therefore excepting against the *Psalms*, *Epistles* and *Gospels*, and other sentences of Scriptures in the *English* book, beeing of a different translation from that of King James, they desired a *Liturgie* of their own, and to alter the *English*, answerable to that, and so peculiar to the Church of Scotland, which indeed was more liker that of King Edward the sixth, which the *Papist* better approved, and so was the rather permitted by the King, as to win them the better to our Church, And so had it been accustomed to the Scottish several Churches for some years without any great regret, and now particularly proclaimed to be used in all Churches, & to begin on *Easter Sunday*, which was respited to Sunday the three and twentieth of July, being then to be countenanced at Edensburgh by the Lords of Session then sitting, as it had been before commanded in publique Sermons to the people, by divers Ministers, by Ratlock that Covenanter afterwards, and others of the same, And accordingly in St. Giles Church the chief of Edensburgh, the Dean in presence of the Counsell, Bishops, Lords, and Magistrates, beginning to read, the women first and meaner men, began the Mutiny, clapping their hands and cursing with their tongues, raising such a hubbub that none could be heard but themselves. The Bishop designed for the Sermon, stept up into the Pulpit, to interpose their madness, and minding

Hist. 146.

Originall of
the Scots In-
junction.

Liturgie com-
passed in Scot-
land.

and imposed
there upon
them.

disorder a-
gainst the
Liturgie.

Anno

1637.

minding them of their irreverence and horrible prophanation of that sacred place, which incensed them into fury, flinging what came to hand, Stones, Seats, Stooles and cordgells almost to his murther. Then the Arch Bishop St. *Andrews*, Lord *Chancellor* and others, offering to a peace, were no better handled untill the Provost Bayliffs and civill Magistrates, were forced to shut the multitude out of the Church. And so the *Service-book* was read throughout, though with the rage of the people, hollowing knocking and battering of the windows without, with staves and stones, and watching for the Preachers the Bishops, he was incompassed with the cominalty of the baser sort, and hardly escaped their intent to smother him to death. And so in sundry other Churches in the City with the like clamour and disorder; which moved the Council further to assemble at the Chancellors, and there to command the Lord *Revall* and Officers to order the people into a more quiet, for the afternoon, which was done with some moderation in the Churches, but after Sermon endangering the Earl of *Roxborough* Lord Privy seal, to be the first Martyr St. *Stephen*; for, but having the Bishop of *Edenburgh* put in the Coach with him. And in outward shew Magistrates dissembled their resentment of those disorders, and pronounced an order of the Council to themselves, to advice upon an obligatory Act of security to the Ministers persons that did, or hereafter that should undertake to read the Book, and maintenance also for them. And afterwards (in shew) some of the most unruly were slightly punished, as being therefore under hand encouraged to do so again; for which at first, had they been hanged, the example might have discovered all others from falling into the like folly; the King having then force enough at Sea to have blocked up their *Haven*, he might soon have brought the *Edenburghs* to obedience, and after them the whole Nation. But by his suffering of them then, and of such like, following after, he was come to that misery (as one saies well) *cum vel excedenda sit natura, minuenda dignitas*; either out go his own nature, or forgoe his own Authority. And the *Scots* were so well assured of the Kings Levy, as that with a couple of Letters from them to the Arch Bishop of *Canterbury* to palliate the practice, and to promise their paines to the compleat effecting of his *Majesties* desire in the *Service-book*, and so signed by all the Bayliffs, who proved afterwards the onely Actors in the like mutinie. The Stage indeed became afterwards better hanged, and the *Schemes* better set out their intended Tragedy with a specious Title of *Piety* and *Religion*.

Howen.

Mutiny again.

The next Moneth of businesse abroad (Vacation and Harvest) employed them from their confluence of acting until *October*, when all such came to *Edinburgh*, of all conditions, and from all Counties of that Kingdom, which looked so like a Muster

ster for Insurrection, that the Council was put to prevent it, by three *Proclamations* the 17. of *October*.

Anno

1637.

Three Proclamations.

1. *That no Church matters should be resolved, but that all persons depart home, unlesse they shew good cause to the Council upon pain of Rebellion.*

2. *For removing the Session (or Term) from Edingburgh, to Lithgow for the present, and afterwards the succeeding Sessions to Dunace, till further pleasure.*

3. *And the third for calling in, and burning a Jeditious Book, intituled, A Dispute against the English Popish Convention, obtruded upon the Kirk of Scotland.*

These proceedings prevailed not to appease them; for the next day, the Council Chamber being the place appointed for Examination of a Judicial Tryal before *Sr. William Elphinstone*; and the Bishop of *Galloway* passing thither, was suddenly surrounded, with the tumult of disordered people to the very Council House; where he was again assaulted with a fresh Troop, to the hazzard of his life, had he not been defended and pulled in, whom yet they demanded with such outrage, as necessarily called to his succour the Earl of *Trahair*, then *Treasurer*, and the Earl of *Wiggon* of the Council; who got in, and were then in worse case, being all besieged and enforced to send for aid to the Provost and Officers, assembled at the City Council. They also in the like extremity, sent word (by their Messenger *Sr. Thomas Thomson*) of the same mischief to themselves; and that to save their lives from fury, were forced to subscribe,

1. *To joyn in opposition to the Service-Book, and in Petitioning to that purpose.*
2. *To restore Ramfey and Rollock two silenced Ministers.*
3. *And to receive Henderson again their former Reader.*

Important reasons no doubt for a Rebellion, yet it somewhat appeased the multitudes rage, and gave opportunity for some of the chief Officers to endeavour to raise the siege against the poor Bishop of *Galloway* and Lords at the Council, and to passe thorow the rude company; who cryed out, *God defend all such as defend the Cause, and confound the Service-Book, and the maintainers of it.*

In this outrage, *Trahair* troden down under foot, almost to death, the City Officers were sent to sundry Lords privately assembled on behalf of the common Cause against the Service-Book,

Anno
1637.

Proclamation
to keep the
Peace.

Book, who resenting the present danger of destruction to all, guarded those out of the Councel chamber through the croud, to their severall Lodgings; and amongst those Ring-leaders, who more busie then two of the Bayliffs that subscribed these former Letters to the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*.

Somewhat calmed; That afternoon was Proclaimed this their seditious Insurrection, for all persons to disband their convention, and to keep the peace upon the highest pain to offenders. But to little effect; for now the Citizens send Commissioners to the Councel Table, to expostulate and require satisfaction, and performance of the Paper, promised upon the Pacification.

And thus began their new Religious and glorious Reformation, which they say, God hath so miraculously prospered. The first acted (as we have heard) in the Church; The second in the streets of the chief City, upon the persons of the most eminent of Birth and Authority, by the very pattern of *Geneva*, their Mother Discipline; And by this rascal example, the third Insurrection becomes countenanced by others, and at last Acted and drawn into the form of two Petitions to the Chancellor: The first from the common rowt of gathering hands of *Men, Women, and Children*. The other brings up the Rear to the Councel, In the Name of the *Noblemen, Gentry, Ministers and Burgeses*, And both of them against the *Service-Book* and *Canons* of the Church.

Insolent Petitions.

To my Lord Chancellor.

Wee Men, Women and Children, &c. urged with this Book of Service, and having considered the same, &c. childrens consideration, &c.)

To the Secret Councel,

Complaining, *That the Arch-Bishop and Bishops have drawn Two Books, the One of Prayers containing the seeds of severall superstitions, Idolatry and false doctrine. The Other of Canons against such as oppose that Book, on pain of Excommunication; And a hundred Canons more (say they) tending to superstition and errors, which we must either obey, or break our Covenant with God, or be Horned for Rebels.*

Or, outlawed.

These Petitions were Poasted to the King, who rather expected submission and for pardon of the former Insurrections, and therefore delayed any answer, but caused the Councels Proclamation there, to satisfie the subjects of the Kings averinesse from Popery, which was pretended in all their Pulpits to make him odious in their intentions.

And *Rixburgh* Lord Privy Seal being come to Court to tell the

Anno

1637.

the Newes, was returned back with Instructions to the Councel, who sat at *Dalkieth* near *Edinburgh*; lest by a further distance, the Rebellion might take boldnesse to increase. And they removed the Session or Term from *Lithgow* to *Sterling*, a place of strength, twenty four miles from *Edinburgh*. And *Trahair* also coming to the King, was soon returned also with further Instructions, and all the Councel being met, proclaimed the disperision of the Multitude got together.

And now indeed the confederate Lords and others did the same thing which formerly they called the *Uproars of Rascalls*. Themselves avowing the first affront to the King, his *Authority* and *Laws*. The Earl of *Hume* and the Lord *Lindsey*, being assisted with numbers of all Ranks, made Protestation against the Proclamations at *Sterling* and after at *Lithgow*, and last at *Edenburgh*. And the Kings Heralds with their Coats of Arms, forced to stay and hear the Protestation in scorn of all Authority.

Lords Protest
against the
Proclamation.

In which Protestation of theirs, may be observed their Insolent demands, in humble terms protesting, *against All Acts to be done in Councel, where the Bishops shall be present, Their Protestation against them, making them parties, that they may not be Judges, and so they must be forthwith removed; and then afterwards accused: Condemn first, and try them after.* And comparing these demands now, with such other succeeding, you will finde that a nearer in likelihood of the Kings Concession, the farther they fly to Capitulations intolerable.

And now begins that most unnatural, causelesse and horrible Rebellion, that former times, or I hope, after ages will paralel. But somewhat more must be said to discover the temper of such of the Nobility actors herein.

The Earl of *Trahair* by his subtile insinuations and seeming affections to the Church, crept into close friendship with *Laund* Arch Bishop of *Canterbury*, and by his means advanced to be Lord *Treasurer* of *Scotland*, by the resignation of the Earl of *Morton*, for a sum of money from the King, and the command of the Kings Yeomen of the Guard, resigned to *Morton* by the Earl of *Holland*, who was then made Groom of the stool. *Trahair* thus settled into favour and power, professed his obligations to the Arch Bishop, calling him *Patron*, the better to deceive him, who in truth raised him up thereby, to be a more able Instrument (and as he thought him willing) for the service of the Church, and settling the *Service Book*, and Book of *Canons* than the *Scottish* Bishops themselves could be; But the very day before that the Book was to be read, *Trahair* with others of the Privy Councel there, accessary with him, withdrew to *Dalk-house* seven miles from *Edinburgh*, to expect the event at that distance, and though the story is truly set down by the Kings grand De-

Earl of Tra-
hair and o-
thers treache-
rous.

Anno

1637.

claration, and with much favour to *Hamilton, Roxburgh* and *Trahair*, whose treacheries were shadowed in those actions, and in that time, even from the King himself and all others, until of late discovered by the event, See page 124. grand Declaration. But most strange it is, that not any one of them, nor their complices, nor of the Councel, should prove so honest or loyal to their Sovereign, that had deserved well from them all, as to give the least Intelligence to the King from thence, to have set him in the right way of preventing their treachery. And yet 'tis true, that the honest Earl of *Nidsdale*, Sr. *Robert Spotswood*, and some of the Bishops, posted hither to Court, Informing the King of their strong combination, which might have been then dissipated, but *Hamiltons* and *Roxburghs* power and Interest put them by, for upon the first tumult 23. *July*, the King sends *Roxburgh* to discover and examine the setters on of the common people, who returns with assurance that not any person of quality had been abettors; all the Officers and Ministers of Justice very dutifull and earnest to suppress them, and to prevent the future; which soon after proved the contrary, when it was too late to discover the mischief. And indeed the Arch Bishops direction failed hereafter, in not discovering the subtilty to Dr. *Balcanqual* the penner of that Declaration, a Creature of *Hamilton*, and perfect hater of the Arch-Bishop, who hindered his preferment to an *English* Bishoprick, out of an innate disaffection to the *Scots* Nation; but offered him a poor *Scots* Bishoprick, that he might dispose of his Benefices in *England* of 1200 *l. per annum*. A fit Instrument he was to drive on *Hamiltons* designs, being of a nimble Wit, and clear expression, dissolute of life, and easily drawn to do evil for preferment, which in part the *Marquesse* procured him, to be Master of the *Savoy*, and Dean of *Durham*; the latter falling to him after the Declaration, which the *Scots* say, was his reward for betraying their Church therein. And because it discovers their juggling to the life, they forced the King in his necessity, and time of declension, by his act of oblivion first, and then to call it in as containing untruths; But they have not disproved any passage therein, of the true Narrative part, unlesse in too much respect and favour to *Hamilton* and his Complices, See great Declaration, page 324; 326.

But to pacifie these Distempers, *Hamilton* must be designed the Kings high Commissioner into *Scotland*, In which trust, how treacherously he managed the Kings Interest hereafter follows.

The Bishops and others of the royal party advised the King to have delegated the *Marquesse* of *Huntley* his high Commissioner to manage the affairs of *Scotland*, but by *Morton, Roxborough* and *Trahair*, *Hamilton* had that honour, with the treacherous help of the *Scottish* Grooms of the Bed Chamber, *Mall*,

Murray,

Murrey and *Maxwel*, who for all their falsities were made *Scotish* Earls for their reward.

Hamilton thus intrusted abuses the *King* in that Commission, trifling the time from the three and twentieth of *July*, 1637. untill the sixth of *June* 1638. with *Declarations*; *Proclamations*, *Messages*, *Letters*, whilst the *Scots* raised *Officers*, *Arms*, *Ammunition*, from abroad: four Moneths more, till the nine and twentieth of *November*, in vain Disputes and three Journeys to the *King*, and back again, with the expence of so much Money as might have reduced them by reward or power; Treachery always mercenary, even to Liberty, Life, and all.

For by this time their General *Lestly* and other Commanders and Officers from far, that never had or ever would come home again, but by Design, being likened to a Puff of Winde behinde, that never returns, and *William Dyck* Merchant at *Edinburgh*, and *Thomas Cunningham* Factor at *Camphere*, provides them Arms, for which they were afterwards knighted, and *Cunningham* preferred also *Conservator*, an Office of trust taken from an honest man, Sir *Patrick Drummond*, without Law or Trial, having served King *James* many years, and ever since till now in that Place with good repute.

And although these Noble-men and others were main Enemies to the *Scots* Bishops, yet they flattered them most into temporal Places of Judicature, in the *Council*, *Exchequer*, and *Sessions*, and were Suiters to the *King* for their Preferments thither, as best able to serve him, on purpose thereby to pick out matter of Exceptions, for the Peoples hatred; so that of fourteen Bishops, eleven of them were thus invested. And although sundry of the Nobility and Gentry were joyned with them in Judicature, even in their *High-commission* Court; the other were induced to forbear, that the odium of *Fines* and *Confinements* might lodg on the Bishops alone, the most of them very weak in temporal, and most ignorant in State-affairs.

And to promote the *Covenant*, the Countess of *Roxborough*, a cunning old Courtier of Queen *Anns*, being sent for from *Scotland*, insinuates into this young *Queens* favour, Lady of the Bedchamber, and Governesse to the Princess *Mary*, the chief *Marian* to mannage their Designs amongst the Women, giving intelligence to her Husband, a subtil old Fox, who the rather resided with her at the Nursery-court, *St. James's*, the Rendezvouz of *Scotish* Designs against their Bishops; *Roxborough* not in duty to Religion, but in fear to lose his Lordships rich Abby of *Kelso*, with the Demesns, and seven and thirty Parish-churches impropriate, (a small Bishop himself) and it not all to be returned to the Church, yet the impropriate was in hazzard, and so intimated, towards the erection of the new Bishoprick of *Edenburgh*.

Anno
1638.

And with this Countess all the chief leading *Covenanters* in all Designs had their private Consults.

The honest Duke of *Richmond* mis-lead by *Trahair*, and almost all the *Scots* in Court favouring the *Covenanters*.

Thus was the *King* amused to the time that the War commenced, *June 1639*. before the *King* marched to *Berwick*, and the Earl of *Arundel* made General by Land, and *Hamilton* Admiral by Sea, a considerable Fleet, with Land-forces likewise of five thousand Foot, and sent to the *Frith*, sufficient enough to have reduced the *Covenanters*, onely by hindering their Commerce and forreign Trade, had he not been false; and a considerable Army of a few *Scots* standing for the *King* for the present at *Aberdene*, but much suspected since to be designed for themselves.

But *Hamilton* keeping intelligence under hand with the *Covenanters*, and his Mother like a *Virago*, riding with Pistols at her Saddle-bowe, to encourage them and all his Kindred and Vassals *Covenanters*; and this great Fleet doing no harm, onely Colonel *Gun* was sent Northwards with a Regiment to betray those of the *Kings* Friends, for which he was knighted at *London*.

The *Scots* Army incamped at *Dunslow*, having before scattered in *England* a cunning Declaration, to withdraw the People from assistance of the *King*, alleging their taking Arms was for his Defence against wicked Bishops and their Episcopal War, which Declarations were sent into the *Kings* Camp, and divulged even by his *Scottish* Servants of the Court.

But the *King* came, and the Treaty began, *Hamilton* leaves his charge in trust to another, posts to the *Kings* Camp, promotes the base patched *Pacification*, sudden and upon any terms; the *Covenanters* assured that the *Kings* Army once disbanded, (their onely aim) it would not be easie for his Majesty in these Times of the general Distemper of both Nations to raise another, themselves resolving to keep theirs intire still; whereas, had but the *King* marched towards *Edinburgh*, it was generally believed the *Scots* durst not have opposed him, having five thousand the most accomplished Cavalry, the prime Gentry of *England*, and sixteen thousand well appointed good Foot.

The *Covenanters* not more than two thousand Nags, hunting Saddles, *Scots* Pistols, no Back, nor Breast, or Head-piece, and not twelve thousand Foot, raw and ill armed.

But here begins their *Pacification*, and ends the Quarrel for that time, which was in *June 1639*. Thus much in brief, the Particulars follow.

The *Covenanters* pretend their first cause of *Rebellion*, was the *Service-book* imposed on their *Kirk*, by the *Kings* immediate Authority. All *Christian Kings* being (they themselves confess) *Custodes utriusque Tabule*, Nursing Fathers to the Church; *Episcopi*
extra

Covenanters
pretended
cause of Re-
bellion.

Anno
1638.

See Hist. Qu.
of Scots, p. 21.

extra Ecclesiam, as *Constantine* is stiled by *Eusebius* in the first *Nicene Council*, *Vos estis Episcopi intra Ecclesiam, Ego vero extra*. And consequently have power to give order for the external part of Gods Service, as was by *Parliament* granted to *Queen Elizabeth*, and her Successours. And the first *Congregators* calling themselves *Protestants* by Contract with *Queen Elizabeth*, Anno 1559. received by Contract the *Common Service-book* of the Church of *England*, for the better obtaining assistance from her, to beat out the *French* then nestled in *Scotland*, as *Buchanan* confesses, *Scoti ex servitute Gallica Anglorum auxiliis liberati, eisdem Ritibus, cum Anglis communibus, subscripserunt, lib. 19. in fine*: which was done by way of *Indenture*: and thereupon *Queen Elizabeth* assisted them at their own charges, and the *English Service-book* was so received by the *Protestant Kirk* of *Scotland*, and practised, as appears in *John Knox* his *History*, p. 111. of *David Buchanan*'s Edition in these words.

It is thought convenient, advised, and ordained, that in all Parishes of this Realm (Scotland) the Common Prayer-book be publicly read weekly on Sundays and other Festival Days, with the Lessons of the Old and New Testament, therein contained, conform to the Order of the said Book of Common Prayer, and, if the Curates of the Parishes be qualified to cause them reade the same, and if they be not, or refuse, that the most qualified in every Parish shall reade it. And that Preaching and Interpretation of Scriptures be used privately in the most convenient Houses, where the People may quietly convene, untill it shall please God to move the Princes heart to grant liberty of publick Preaching by faithfull and true Ministers.

And this was done Anno 1560. being so agreed upon the Year before. And according to *Queen Elizabeths* Contract, on her part she sent the Lord *Grey* with an Army of ten thousand Land-forces, and an Navy by Sea, which expelled the *French* from thence: but their turn served, they afterwards devised another way of *Discipline* of their own; like as those *Covenanters* did now refuse this *Service-book*, not for any fault therein, but because they would not have their *Kirk* depend upon the Jurisdiction and Order of the Church of *England*.

And whereas these *Covenanters* accused the *Arch-bishop* of *Canterbury* as *Author* of this *Book*, with the success thereafter, as that they presumed to put their *Platform* of *Geneva Discipline*, even upon the very Church of *England*, as by their *Solemn League and Covenant* hereafter appeareth; which though it take for a time with the prevalent party of their *Faction* in *England*, yet shortly after, as extravagant, and they have since received their reward of slavery, so just it is with God.

Some

Anno

1638.

Digression.

The Earl of
Stratherns de-
scend and title
to Sovereign-
ty.

Some upright and honest *Scots* were in policy taken off, either by subtilty or force. And because the Earl of *Strathern* a hold man, and had the *Kings* ear, and deservedly too, being faithfull and true; these men set on Sir *John Scot* (*Directour* of the *Chancery*) a busie Person, to inform against his *Descent*, (which they call *Service*) as Heir to *David* Earl of *Strathern*, pretending to the *Crown*. The story was thus briefly.

Robert the second of that Name, and first of *Stuarts*, about the Year of God 1370. entred his Reign at fifty years old, having been Regent for his Uncle King *David Bruce*, and had Issue by his Concubine *Elizabeth*, (*Sir Adam Moor's Daughter*) three Sons, viz. *John* called *Robert the third*, *Robert Duke of Albany* and *Earl of Fife*, and *Alexander Earl of Buchan*. In the second year of his Reign, he married *Aufeme Daughter* to the *Earl of Rosse*, and begat of her two Sons, *Walter Earl of Athol*, and *David Earl of Strathern*, infeofing upon them great Estates of *Crown-lands*, intailed onely to their Heirs male legitime, or to return to the *Crown*. The King aged and infirm, intrusted the power of the *Militia* to his eldest Son *John*, *Earl of Carrick* and *Lord of Kyll*, a valiant Person. The Queen dying, and leaving two young Sons, the King marries his former Concubine *Besse Moor*, and preferred her three Sons, (begotten out of Marriage) before his legitimate Sons, this being done by the *Popes Dispensation*, and by Act of *Parliament*, or by a Prior clandestine Marriage, as was pretended, yet the History bears it not. But *John* succeeded by the name of *Robert the third*, (because two Kings *Johns* of *England* and *France* had been unfortunate) And from this *Robert* lineally the Race of the subsequent Kings are descended. *David Earl of Strathern* left onely one Daughter married to the *Lord Graham's* second Son, who left onely one young Son *Melissus Graham Earl of Strathern*; and King *James the first* returning to *Scotland*, after eighteen years (but noble) Captivity in *England*, and finding the *Crown-rents* much decayed, caused a general search of the Dilapidation, and the return made (among others) that the *Earldom of Strathern* ought to devolve to the *Crown* by the *Intail*, and so it was reassumed; but the young Earl so near a Kinsman, he created *Earl of Menteth*, with some small Rents; at which the young mans Uncles, the *Earl of Athol*, (aspiring to the *Crown*) and *Sir Robert Graham*, quarrel, and murdered the King, but were exemplarily punished, and *Athol* forfeited; since which time the *Earls of Menteth* lived privately, untill this man was set up by the late *Duke of Buckingham*, obtaining of the King (neither of them acquainted with the Genealogy) to be lineal Heir to that *David Earl of Strathern*, his Predecessor, to have the Title of *Earl of Strathern*, who some years after vainly let fall these words, that the King held the *Crown* of him; and being tried, and found guilty, the Title was recalled, and he had given to him the Title of *Earl of Airth*, but discountred, and put out of place,

Raised to his
ruine.

Anno
1638.

Dangerous to
Sovereigns to
prefer any Pre-
tenders of
Title.

place, or further meddling in State-affairs, extremely and specially aimed at by the former Contrivers of his ruine, lest he might hinder their wicked intended Designs against the King, and the estate of the Church and Bishops; for the Man was noted to be very honest and faithfull, though folly invented those words, without any intention of mischief.

But it is dangerous to dally with the Sovereignty of Kings, much more with their Crowns, lest the wound become incurable, nothing more dear than their Titles and Posterity. And the restoring of Menteth in blood was very disadvantageous to the King, and indeed dangerous to the Earl himself, comparing his case with others, the like heretofore.

Henry the sixth of England restoring in blood the Descent and Title of the Duke of York, who openly thereafter made claim in Parliament for the Crown, as in his own right, laying down his Title thus, The Son of Ann Mortimer who came of the Daughter and sole Heir of Lionel Duke of Clarence, third Son of King Edward the third, is to be preferred by very good right in succession of this Kingdom, before the Children of John of Gaunt the fourth Son of Edward the third, but Richard Duke of York is come of Philippe the Daughter and sole Heir of Lionel Duke of Clarence, third Son of King Edward the third, and to be preferred before the Children of the fourth Son who was Henry.

The very same reason in the Title of the Earl of Strathern, the Children of a first Marriage, by Common Law are to be preferred in the succession before the Children of the second Marriage; for the marrying of Elizabeth Moor did but legitimate her Children to succeed after the Children of the first Marriage. As for the authority of Parliament, we may consider whether that Authority may confer and intail a Crown from a lawfull Heir thereof to the next apparant Heirs? Or whether an Oath given unto a King by Mans Law, should be performed when it tendeth to the suppression of Truth and Right which stand by the Law of God? Then if one Parliament hath power to intail a Crown, whether may not another Parliament upon the like consideration restore the same to the right Heirs?

But it may be objected, that the Subject resigneth all his Right to his King, and then consider whether a Subject may safely capitulate with his Prince, that is, to give over and quit claim all Right and Title which he hath to his Sovereign Crown, his right being sufficient? And if by his Capitulation his Heirs be bound? And if (besides) it be honourable for a Prince to accept his conditions?

The trouble which Edward Baliol raised in Scotland, their Histories mention; notwithstanding that his Father John Baliol had resigned unto Robert King of Scotland all the Right which he or any other of his, had, or thereafter might have, to the Crown of Scotland. He, anno 1355. gave to Edward the third, King of England, a full Resignation of his pretended Right of the Crown of Scotland, as before, being assisted by the said King, and the confederate Gentlemen of Scotland, in a Parliament

Anno
1638.

a Parliament holden at Perth, where he had been confirmed King of Scotland, by the three Estates.

If the Pope, the King of Spain or France, after some Revolution of years, seeking to trouble the peace of this Isle, should entertain and maintain one of the Heirs of the Earl of Strathern (as Queen Elizabeth did Don Antonio the Prior of Crato, who claimed the Crown of Portugal, to reclaim whose Kingdom she sent a Fleet to settle him) or should marry one of them to their nearest Kinswoman, and served him armed with power to claim his Title to the Crown of Scotland, as King James the fourth of Scotland practised upon Perkin Warbeck, named Richard Duke of York, to whom he gave in Marriage Katherine Gordoun Daughter to the Earl of Huntley, and thereafter all his Forces, to establish his said Ally invaded England, whether had he not a fair Bridg to come over to this Isle?

It would be likewise considered, if the Earl of Strathern though a mean Subject these two hundred years, having been debarred all Title to the Crown, and now by the favour of King Charls being restored in bloud, and served Heir to his great Progenitours, and indirectly, as by appendices to the Crown, if either out of displeasure and want of means to maintain his Estate, he or his should sell or dispose their Right and Title of the Kingdom of Scotland, to some mighty Prince, such as was perhaps lately the King of Sweden, who wanted nothing but a Title to invade a Kingdom; not knowing whether to discharge his victorious Forces? It would be considered, if that Title disposed to such a Prince were sufficient to make him King of Scotland: or if establishing his Right upon fair conditions, such as is Liberty of conscience, absolution and freedom from all Taxes, Subsidies; the People of Scotland might give him their Oath of Allegiance, or if he might redact the King of Scotland to give him satisfaction or composition for his Right to the Crown of Scotland. It was to be considered, the times turning away the mindes of Subjects from their Prince, by changes, (as hath befallen that inconstant Nation to these present times) how dangerous was it besides to his own person?

And for the Earl the Examples following may inform: for first, Lewis King of France having under stood that a Nobleman of Artois called Canacare, had vaunted to be lineally descended (as in truth he was) from Clodioule Chevelu, and so by that succession was Heir to the Crown, caused him extirpate, and all his Race.

Henry 4. King of England after the depasure of King Richard the second, kept Edmund Mortimer Earl of March, who had a just Title to the Crown, under such Guard as he could never attempt any thing till to his Death.

But Henry the seventh King of England took away Edward Plantaginet Duke of Warwick, Heir to George Duke of Clarence, in jealousy of his succession to his Uncle Edward the fourth.

Margaret Plantaginet his sole Daughter (married to Richard Pole)

by

by Henry the eighth, restored to the Earldom of Salisbury, was attainted three score and two years, after her Father had suffered, and was beheaded in the Tower, in whose Person died the Sirname of Plantaginet.

Ann Plantaginet, Daughter to Edward the fourth, being married unto Thomas Howard Earl of Surrey and Duke of Norfolk, was the ground and chief cause that King Henry the eighth cut off the Head of Henry Earl of Surrey, though he pretended that the cause of his Arreignment was, for bearing certain Arms of the House of York, which onely belonged to the King.

Mary Queen of England put to death the Lady Jane Grey, and the Lord Guiltord her Husband, for their Title to the Crown: and by the same reason was the destruction of Mary Queen of Scotland by Queen Elizabeth.

The like reason also made King James of Great Brittain imprison the Lady Arabella and her Husband, she being with childe, but by Imprisonment and flight, she miscarried and died, and then he was released.

The Duke of Guise deducing his Genealogy from Charls le grand, in the Reign of the French King Henry the third, was suspected to aspire to that Crown, and suffered at last for that presumption.

And to return to Scotland, it is evident in their History, that for these two hundred years last past, the Race of Euphane Ross in her children, David Earl of Strathern, and Walter Earl of Athol, have been kept under, and for good reason of State ought to be so still, unless the policy of a Prince would the rather raise them up to a considerable suspicion, thereby to deserve a greater Destruction.

This discourse of Strathern is inserted for particular satisfaction of some English that have doubted of his Descent.

And now the Scots begin to invest themselves with the supreme Ensigns of Sovereignty and Marks of Majesty, by erecting of four Tables of Council for ordering the Affairs of that Kindgom: a new way of Judicature of their own composing, in contempt of the King and his Council, (erected much like those of the detestable pretended holy League in France) entring into Covenant against all Opposers, the King himself not excepted.

The Scots design a new Government by Tables.

They erected many Tables in Edinburgh, four were principal, consisting of the Nobility, Gentry, Burroughs, and Ministers: many subordinate Tables of the Gentry, in reference to their Shires; these consulted of Propositions for the general Table, consisting of Commissioners (elected out of the other four Tables) which should be put in practice by a blinde Jesuitical zeal of obedience: a new form of Government in a Kingdome, evermore Monarchical to this day, and so they then would call it. And the first Dung from this General Table (or Stable rather) of these unruly Horses was their

Anno
1638.

Covenant and seditious *Band* pretended to preserve their Religion in renewing their ancient *Confession of their Faith*, and security of the Kings person, but aiming really at the destruction of both.

Concerning this their Confession of Faith :

The Confession of Faith,
1580.

1. First, It is observed (against the vulgar Errour) That the Ministers have been alwayes the Instrumental party subservient to the prevalent faction of the Nobility in all these late troubles (as in all former, since the first alteration of Religion) And when *Hamilton* and *Argyles* power vanished; it is manifest that the Ministers authority likewise took end, having the rise and fall together.

2. That the *Confession of Faith* in anno 1580. upon which the late Covenanters grounded and derived their *Covenant* in anno 1638. was onely a Negative Confession, containing an abjuration of all points of erroneous doctrine of the Romish Church which a *Jew*, *Pagan*, *Turk*, or any (except a *Romane Papist*) might have taken; being consonant to the Oath of Abjuration here in *England*, imposed upon suspected *Recusants* 1643. (and lately renewed by the Lord *Protector*, though upon different ends.) And that it was no *Covenant*, containing any *Band* of mutual defence without and against the Kings consent, as this did, but onely a *Band* for the maintenance of the true Religion and the Kings person, with the Kings warrant, and the Councils, and the General Assemblies approbation, anno 1590. as their own words bear in the frontispice of this their *Covenant* 1638. All which it wanted, and consequently was a clear illegal combination of subjects against the King their undoubted lawful Supreme Magistrate, which is *High-Treason* by the laws of all kindes of Government. And that all strangers to the *Scots* History may the better apprehend what the *Negative Confession* was, It will not be amisse to set down briefly the reason that moved King *James* to impose the same upon his *Scotish* Subjects, It being inserted in the large Declaration, page 57, 58, 59, concluding in these words, *To whom with the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Ghost, &c.*

Negative confession, what, and when?

The rest therein after mentioned is forced in by the New Covenanters.

The occasion of that *Confession*.

See Hist. 9.
of Scots.

King *James* the sixth, having no kinred left in *Scotland*, of his Fathers side, except the Earl of *Lenox*, an aged decreped Man, without hopes of issue, sent to *France* for *Esure* Lord *Aubigny* near in blood, that was to *Lenox*: And being a young Gentleman of a comely personage and sweet disposition, he was made first,

first Gentleman of the *Bedchamber*, then Earl of *Lenox* (to preserve the house delapsd by right to the King) and then Lord High *Chamberlain*, Duke of *Lenox*, and *Privy Councillour*, with very great affection to boot; whom a strong part of the Nobility oppose, and set on some *boutefeu* Ministers, to pulpet him a *Papist*, and to be sent into *Scotland* by the House of *Guises* in *France*, to pervert the King, and subvert the Protestant Religion, and got Interest with Queen *Elizabeth* to side with them. The King commends him to Mr. *David Lindsay* Minister of *Leeth* (who understood *French*) and was by him converted, making his publique Recantation in *St. Giles Church* afterwards, the Cathedral of *Edinburgh*, and constantly came to the duties of the Church: But this they said was done by *dispensation from the Pope*, so that the King commanded his Chaplain Mr. *Craig* to draw up that *Negative Confession*, subscribing it first himself, then the *Duke*, and after them his whole *Houhold*. All this would not satisfie the *Nobles*, nor their factious Ministers; but they seized the King at *Ruthen Castle*, and enforced him to banish the *Duke*, who died shortly after a true Protestant at *Paris*.

3. That the Interpretation which the *New Covenanters* (without any lawful warrant of publique authority) put upon the *Negative Confession*, by making it abjure *Episcopacy*, and the five Articles of *Perth Assembly*, anno 1618. was contrary to the former practice of their own Kirk, ever since either of them was determined, See *Grand Declaration*, page 364. which proves, by Acts of *Parliament*, that the Bishops had still votes in Parliament, according to former times.

4. That the *Negative Confession* was an un-handfom way for a King to take, to suppress a few Mutinous Ministers, appears clearly by common reason, and King *James* his own disallowing of it afterwards, in his conference at *Hampton Court*, anno 1603. But his first Ordination thereof was onely *pro tempore*, & *morte Mandatoris expirat Mandatum*, unlesse it had been renewed by the present King, it could not be loyal.

5. King *Charles* by his *Coronation Oath* 1633. is sworn to maintain the Church as then it was. And all Ministers upon their Admission did take Oath of obedience to their Ordinary Bishops and to the five Articles of *Perth*, by Acts of Parliament so commanded for so many years past; at least these should have been removed by Acts of Parliaments, before they could be renounced without perjury.

6. Whether the *Limitation* contained in the third Article of the

Anno
1638.

Solemn League and Covenant, viz. *To preserve and defend his Majesties Person and Authority in the third place, and conditionally, in the defence of the true Religion, and Liberties of the Kingdoms,* (not exprest, nor known in the large extent, as newly interpreted) *doth not fetter the Subjects Allegiance,* and open a back door for them to rebel against the King, if they imagine he doth oppose it, which they conceive to be the *true Religion and Liberties*, though never so false: and how this can stand with the three and twentieth Article of the large *Confession of Faith*, authorized in both Kingdoms 1645. by acts of Synods; Holding forth *That Infidelity or difference in Religion, doth not make void the just Authority of the Magistrate, or free the people from their due Obedience to him?* this being so, how can the Covenanters give answer hereunto?

But the *Title* to this New device, was thus:

The Scots title to their new Confession of Faith examined.

The *Confession of Faith* subscribed at first by the Kings Majesty and his Household in the year of God, 1580. thereafter by persons of all ranks 1581. By Ordinance of the Lords of secret Counsel, and Acts of General Assemblies; subscribed again by all sorts of persons 1590. By a new Ordinance of Council at the desire of the General Assembly, with a general *Band*, for maintenance of the true Religion and the Kings person, and now subscribed in the year of God 1638. by us *Noblemen, Barons, Gentlemen, Burgessees, Ministers and Commons* under subscribing.

To which, the *Royall Narration* makes these Questions:

By what authority they durst exact an Oath without him, or his Deputy Magistrate? Seeing therein their Title bears evidence against them? for in their three first subscriptions is exprest, either King *James* his own act, or an ordinance of the secret Council equivalent to regality, or at the desire of the General Assembly to intreat it.

If they had power to command the new taking of an old Oath, (as they had not) what authority had they to interpret it? concerning the five *Articles of Perth*, the *Service Book*, the *Book of Canons*, and high Commission, their Predecessours abjuring onely those Romish corruptions of that time, near sixty years since: but what could not be more evident was taken upon trust, with Jesuitical *Equivocation* to many such Objections; The former *Confession* and *Band* annexed heretofore, was made *in defence of the King, his Authority and Person, with their bodies and lives, in defence of the Gospel of Christ, and Liberties of that Kingdom.* To which they now have added *a mutual defence of one another, against*

gainst all opposers, the King not excepted, nor any for him: Nay, by two Acts of their own Parliaments, Declare all leagues, of subjects amongst themselves without the King, to be seditious and punishable. The Oath of *James* the sixth, and ninth Parliament of *Queen Mary*, the Kings consent never granted, nor ever asked.

The fire of this seditious Covenant flaming throughout the corners of that Kingdom; the King to appease those passages, sends the Marquesse of *Hamilton* with power of *High Commissioner*, to conclude and determine for the peace of the Kingdom; But why a peace-maker Commissioner, and not a war-like Commander? And if by a fair Imparlance, why *Hamilton* so much reason to be distrusted, as before observed? unlesse rather to be deceived, than to distrust against the advice of some *scotish* Lords: the Earl of *Sterling* Secretary of State, the Bishops of *Rosse* and *Breken*, Privy Counsellours, Sr. *Robert Spotswood*, Lord President of the Colledge of Justice, and Sr. *John Hay* Master of the Robes, who came post hither, to dissuade the King from him, and to present the Marquesse *Huntley* for that service, one utterly in Enmity against Covenanters, where the other was suspected; But the King carried on by fate, suffered the weak contribution of the Duke of *Lenox* his advise (though the old Enemy of his house) than, that a County Lord *Huntley* should carry it from them both.

Hamilton high Commissioner to *Scotland*.

And indeed it was a *Royal deputation* fitted for King *Hamiltons* ambition; who having lost the *scotish* army, for the King of *Swedes* ayd; He fell upon secret designs for his own ends, obliging all *Scots* at Court his dependants; and by his authority in *Scotland*, he had the means to alien any from the King, to himself, as he did in his trust cosen the King, by granting what the Covenanters desired, even to his Crown, by degrees. To suspend, and after to suppress the *Common Prayer* and *Canons*; the five Articles of *Perth*, got by Inches from his Father to be confirmed by Parliament, and the Covenant authorized, with the calling of General Assemblies; for votes of Covenanters to censure and Excommunicate the Bishops, and to abolish *Episcopacy* and all the Royal Clergy to be ruined, making himself the greatest figure in *Scotland*, and the King his cypher: He acting all in the after Warre, as the story proceeds to shew in particular.

His Commission read in publique.

But in *June* the sixth day his Commission was read at *Dalkieth*, four miles from *Edinburgh*, where the Covenanters increased; devising, (because some powder landing at the *Fryth* for supply of the provision of *Edinburgh Castle*) that assuredly the plot was, to blow away the Covenant, by destroying the Covenanters, And in earnest they were, to disdain any notice of the Commissioner or his arrand, unlesse he came to them; where they were fixed, with

Anno
1638.

Covenanters
demands.

with better force than to adventure out of *Edinburgh*, they having openly landed two good ships, loaded with *Arms* and *Ammunition*, and then invited him to come thither, which he did.

Being met with the Nobility and Gentry, *Covenanters*, and all sides, making a lane of the looser sort, who were made believe that *Popery* and Bishops were One, with bitter cursings against both: and therefore He being settled at *Haly-rood House*, desired the *Covenanters* to dismisse their Multitude, which they did, to be eased of the charge. And then He demanded: first, *What they would expect from him?* Secondly, *What might be expected from them, in duty to the King?* To the first, *That nothing but a General Assembly and Parliament would please them:* and so in both they would be their own Judges; and for return to any former obedience, they acknowledge no dissention in the least degree, from justifying their actions, and rather renounce Baptism, than loose one *Article* of their *Covenant*, or rebate one syllable of the literal rigour of it.

Religion and Laws be at stake; They double their guards of the city; the Ministers libel the pulpits, and send to the Commissioner the *Sunday Eve*, that whosoever should read the *English* service, though in the Kings Chappel, should die the death: where they were observed; and increasing Insolency, they send several letters to each of the secret Council, to require them to take the *Covenant*, Therein expressing, *the comfortable experience they have already of the wonderfull favour of God upon renewing their Confession of their Faith and Covenant, their resolution and beginnings of Universal Reformation to God his great glory, contentment of his Majesty, blessing to the Kingdom, and joy of all good subjects:* And doubt not that your Lordship will both subscribe to the *Covenant*, and be promover to it, in the duty of a good Patriot, the Office and trust of a Privy Councillour, this the time of trial of your affection to Religion, the respect of your fame, the eyes of men and Angels being upon your carriage, the Lord Jesus a secret witnesse to observe, and a Judge hereafter to reward and confesse such men before his Father, that take his part before men. All and each of these call and cry to God and your Lordship in a cause of so great and singular necessity, as you expect at the hour of death to be free of the terrour of God, and to be refreshed with the comfortable remembrance of Christ Jesus, King of Kings, and Lord of Lords.

The Marquesse now findes this place too hot for him, and removes to *Dalkieth*, without adventuring upon the *English Divine Service*, formerly continually used there for twenty years in audience of the Council, Nobility and Judges; and here he

Proclames

Anno
1638.

Proclamation.

Proclames his Maiesties gracious *Declaration* for relieving of their grievances, and satisfying of good people in his forwardnesse for maintenance of the Religion professed in that Kingdom. His avernesse from Popery, Not to presse the practise of the Service-Book and Canons, but in a legal way of proceeding, and had ordered the discharge of all acts and Councils concerning them, and to indict a General Assembly or Convocation, and Parliament to agitate the welfare of the Church and Kingdom. The Covenanters afraid that this Justice and clemency might take with the people, besought the Marquesse to forbear avowing to protest against it. This caution no doubt should not have wrought upon authority to decline the hazzard, yet the Commissioner somewhat tainted with their heresie, publicquely forbore, supposing that the Declaration might avert the humour of the people unto better affections, which he did not really intend; But wasted time to their advantage; *Sending to the King to sweeten it with larger exemptions and graces, to command the return of the Terms and Meetings again to Edinburgh, almost depopulated into penury (the best policy) and to give him leave to return to the King with such emergent Instructions, not otherwise to be committed to paper or Message.* To these he had Commission, To amend the Declaration, to recall the Terms, and to commit the affairs publique to the secret Council, and after all, to come to the King.

These were, as they had contrived, and being full of the conveniency for their better Assembling, never care to stir from a good Town. They resent this high favour with most humble thanks to the King in a Letter subscribed by these (that you may know their Names hereafter)

Traquare, Roxborough, Marr, Morton, Winton, Lithgow, Wigtown, Kingorn, Haddington, Lauderdale, Kinow, Southesk, Lorne, Naper, Dalziel, Thay, James Carmichel, Thomas Hope, John Hamilton, July 2. 1638.

Then their consciences thwarting with jealousies and fears, they most boldly demand the remove out of the Session, Spotswood the President, and Hay the Master of the Rolls, as *affectors to Prelacy, and abettors of Innovation.* So to punish them by this suspension and to convict them afterwards, without processe or probation, if not done, they would protest against all Acts of Session, either of them being present, to be null, but there they were denied. And the Marquesse leaves them brangling in Session, and posts to the King; But so privately, as it was a pitiful policy [*To have told them that the stock of his Instructions was spent, and he must hie him home for to fetch a fresh supply*] No, he needed not, being returned ere they hardly missed him, and so well he was observed here, during that short stay, as the more knowing Courtiers held him for a *Knave.* But

Hamilton posts
to the King.

Anno
1638.

August 5.
And returns.

But so cunningly was it carried, that forsooth, His Grace must be rumored to be well affected to the Covenant, and was compelled to vindicate himself, by the ayd of his compurgators, (some such as himself) of the Councel and Nobility. And now comes the time of their General Assembly, and thereof they raise a suspicion of freedom, in the condition of their Members, and of their Matter there to be handled; But they would have the Assembly it self to be Judge, both of their own members and of their Matters. To which the Marquesse declares his Instructions absolutely depending upon necessary concession of these Ten Articles.

1. That all Ministers deposed or suspended by Presbyteries since the first of February last, without warrant of the Ordinary, should be restored till they were legally convicted.

2. That all moderators of Presbyteries, deposed since that time without such warrant, be restored, and all others chosen in their stead to desist from acting as Moderators.

3. That no Minister, admitted since that time, without such warrant, shall exercise the Function of the Ministry.

4. That all Parishoners repair to their own Church, and that Elders assist the Ministers in the Discipline of the Church.

5. That all Bishops and Ministers have their rents and stipends duely paid them.

6. That all Ministers attend their own Churches, and none come to the Assembly, but such as shall be chosen Commissioners from the Presbyteries.

7. That every Moderator be appointed to be a Commissioner from that Presbytery whereof he is a Moderator, according to the Act of the Assembly 1606.

8. That Bishops, and others, who shall attend the Assembly, be secured in their persons from all trouble.

9. That no Lay person meddle in the choise of Commissioners from Presbyteries.

10. That all Convocations and meetings be dissolved,

and

Anno
1638.

and that the Countrey be reduted to a peaceable Posture.

But from these ten Articles they appeal to a General Assembly, there to be properly discussed, which so seemingly incensed him, that he contracted those Propositions into these two.

Contracted
into two.

1. If the Lords and the rest will undertake for themselves, and the rest, that no Laicks shall have Vote in chusing the Ministers to be sent from the several Presbyteries to the General Assembly, nor none else but the Ministers of the same Presbytery :

2. If they will undertake that the Assembly shall not go about to determine of things established by Act of Parliament, otherways than by remonstrance to the Parliament, leaving the determining of things Ecclesiastical to the General Assembly ; and things settled by Acts of Parliament to the Parliament.

Then I will presently indict a General Assembly, and promise upon mine Honour, immediately after to call a Parliament.

These though so reasonable, they in rage refused, and resolve to be their own Carvers, and to call a general Assembly themselves ; and much ado he had with them to forbear untill he should return from the King. Their outcry against his weak Instructions, not impowring him sufficiently ; and therefore to fetch them more ample, they limit him the one and twentieth of September next, and promise him to stay till that time.

Hamilton
poasts to the
King again.

What could be more obvious to observation ? This Commissioner having for his future ends treacherously insinuated into most of the Kings secret Council there, (as yet firm for his service) by these degrees to connive with him, to the increase of all the Covenanters insolent demands, and then for him to fetch another freak to the King, with tales and fears of the Scots Formalities, wrought so, as to confirm what they demanded, and gave them time and opportunity to prepare for their following Rebellion.

He comes accordingly to the King and to his Counsellours at Oatlands, who (God knows) knew little of the Scots affairs, condescended to all that they had till then desired, (tracing the way for others hereafter to do so too) In a word, like a Council distracted, left all the management without limitation to his ample Instructi-

Anno
1638.

And return to
Scotland, Sep-
tember 22.

The Kings
Declaration
published.

For the gene-
ral Assembly
another.

Their Letter
of thanks to
the King.

ons, framed as himself and *English* Covenanters could advise him.

Within his time limited he returns to *Scotland*, but findes them more forward to order their own Election, and to fit the two and twentieth of *September*, the very next day after the former prefixt; yet he assembles the Council, and acquaints them with his intended course, which no sooner discovered, and to be wondrous satisfactory to the People, and to prevent the *Declaration*, they procured that the Hubbub began crying out in the Streets, *No Declaration*, flocking about the *Market Cross* with such Multitudes, that for some days it was respited till the calm came; indeed affording them time to consult their *Protestation* against it, and then it was published thus:

Charls by the grace of God, &c. We free our Subjects of the least of our Intention to innovate any thing in Religion or Laws, and to satisfie, not onely their desires, but their doubts, we do discharge the Service-Book, Book of Canons, and High Commission, and do annull and rescind all Acts for establishing of them, and do discharge all persons from urging the practice of the five articles of Perth. That all persons whomsoever shall be liable to the censure of Parliament, General Assembly, or any other Judicatories, competent to the nature of the offence. That no other Oath be administred for the free Entry of Ministers than that which is contained in the Act of Parliament. That the ancient Confession of Faith and Band annexed should be subscribed and received as in the Fathers time, that a General Assembly be holden at Glasgow the one and twentieth of November, 1638. and a Parliament at Edinburgh the fifteenth of May, 1639. Pardons all former offences, and appoints a General Fast. Dated at Oatlands, the ninth of September, 1638.

And immediately after this *Declaration* published, the *Confession of Faith* was read and subscribed by the Marquess and the secret Council. Then followed a *Proclamation* for a *General Assembly* for the amplier *Parliament*. And lastly, was claimed an Act of the Council, requiring a general Subscription of the *Confession of Faith*, and a Commission directed to divers, for taking their Subscriptions.

And all these were finished, and put into an Act of Council, heartily and freely subscribed unto, the two and twentieth of *September*, 1638. with their *Letter* of thanks to the King.

Most sacred Sovereign,

If ever faithfull and loyal Subjects had reason to acknowledg extraordinary favour shewn to a Nation, and in a most submissive and hearty manner to give real demonstration of the grace vouchsafed, then do we unanimously profess that such Acts cannot proceed from any Prince sa-
ving

ving from him who is on Earth, the lively Image of the great God, Author of all goodness: for return of so transcendent grace fortified with the real expression of unparalleled piety, royal inclinations to peace, and universal love to all and every loving Subject; we do in all humility render our most bounden thanks, and offer in testimony thereof to sacrifice our lives and fortunes to your sacred Majesties service.

And much more as could be expressed to which they subscribed: and in truth the most rigid *Covenanters* could not challenge any one particular ever desired by them in any of their *Supplications*, *Remonstrances*, *Protestations*, *Declarations*, written and printed, which was not in that gracious *Declaration* granted to a People: who now seeing their Design utterly defeated, wildly and madly assisted one *Johnston* in reading a most wicked, treasonable, and yet ignorant *Protestation*, and after printed, wherein was Scripture grossly abused, the Name of God solemnly invoked to such notorious false ends; and to their rebellious courses and *Covenant* those Attributes of infallibility given, which are onely proper to the sacred Scriptures. Royal Authority affronted, with such peremptory alterations, ignorant and senseless reason, as may appear upon the view, which is very long and tedious, and subsigned *James* Earl of *Montross* for the Noble-men, *Alexander Gibson* for the Barons, *Potefield* for the Burroughs, *Rollock* for the Ministers, and *Johnston* the Reader hereof, in name of all *Covenanters*, &c. giving a Copy thereof to the *Kings* Herald.

And now they proceed of themselves to elect Commissioners for the Assembly, issuing out their Table Orders, *That every Parish should send to the Presbytery of their Limit one Lay-man, a Ruling Elder, with equal Vote to the Minister in the Presbytery.* And by alteration in Election it would happen to the Ministry to be over-numbered in Vote, *six to one*, an observation (say some) of indiscretion in the Ministry to weaken their party: but surely they wanted not Brains for evil Designs, which they might learn from Master *John Calvin*, in his disciplining *Geneva*, where, as there was a *Civil Senate*, so he erected an *Ecclesiastical Assembly* of twelve simple Citizens, and (observe his modesty) but six Ministers, the odds making it more colourable for *Calvin*, their's for number, his for value; (*union* in a prepared Conspiracy prevails more than *number*) so these Ministers command all, though to the regret of the Communalty, whom at pleasure the other suspend from the *Communion*, the very Scepter of their pretended *Sion*. But these Ministers now went another way to work.

So soon as the *Lay Elders* came to sit they were refused.

First, because for forty years none had sate in their Presbyteries.

Covenanters
assume all authority.

Anno
1638.

Secondly, because at the first Reformation they were taken to assist, not to equalize in number, and so an Innovation.

Thirdly, it seemed strange, that Lay-men should chuse the Ministers Commissioners for the Assembly, how could they know the Ministers sufficiency, that were ignorant of themselves.

But for the present three Elders prevailed, and possessed suffrage. Then the Covenanters move the Commissioner to grant Citations against the Arch bishops and Bishops to appear at the Assembly, as rei (or guilty persons) charging them with many misdemeanours. But he refusing, they presented this Bill to the Presbyters at *Edenburgh*, which *October 24.* warned them to compeer at the next General Assembly, *November 21.* at *Glasgow*: at which Assembly the Marquess's Commission was read. The next day a Declaration or Protestation was presented to the Commissioner in the name of the Arch-bishops and Bishops against the Assembly, containing a Nullity of it, which was refused to be read; and therefore the Commissioner entered Protestation against the Denial, and so did Doctor Hamilton for the Bishops: then they elect Alexander Henderson the prime and most rigid Covenanter to be their Moderator. Then again they come, some offered the Declaration to be read, which they yet refused, untill the Assembly be fully constituted, and so they fell to debate the Elections, which was handled with much caution and scrutiny, as that no man was left standing in the quality of a Commissioner, who was not absolute for them, and clear of their opinions. The Lay Elders much opposed. Many Exceptions were urged against the free and legal proceeding of their Session, and the very Presbytery of *Glasgow*, the place of their Assembly, therein most forward to complain. And so was it resented by the Marquess, because they absolutely refused to entertain 6. Lords Privy Counsellours, named by the King Assesses to his Commissioner in that Assembly, nor to allow their Suffrage, protesting, *That were the King himself present he should have but his Vote, and not a Negative Vote neither.* No more than the meanest Shop-keeper that was elected a Lay Elder, and had place there.

And to increase belief of their *Diana* Covenant, they forged a Romish Imposture, a Popish trick of deceit; A Ministers Daughter one *Milchbesden* distracted by fits, they feigned her to be inspired with Divination, her Raving tended to the Admiration of the Covenant; and her good memory assisting, with such Phrases of Scripture, and bitter Invectives, as the Pulpits used against the Opposers, the Bishops, the Service-book and Canons. Master Rollock Minister of *Edenburgh*, her special Favourite, would with a counterfeited love and tears in his Pulpit recount to the People the joy and comfort of such a Messenger from Heaven. She spake like the Oracles (forsooth) but seldom, as to learn instructions the while, and

A covenant-
ing Female
Imposture.

Anno
1638.

and then to exercise her heavenly gifts, (as they stiled her diabolical prating) and which *Rollock* would interpret, (that his Master speaking in her, they ought with reverence not to interrupt) she being transported (he said) with supernatural Raptures, calling *Christ Covenanting Jesus*, that it was approved and ratified in *Heaven*, but all the *Kings Covenants, Declarations*, were Inventions of Satan. But her Speeches were averred by the *Covenanters*, and admired by the People, with as much veneration as their Pulpit dictates.

Put all together, their rebellious behaviours, contempts of the King and his Commissioner and Councils, intervening his gracious *Proclamations and Declarations*, with their carriage concerning this Assembly, and practices herein. All amounting to a resolved Insurrection and over-turning the Frame and Government of *Church and State*; which being made apparant also to the *King*, he commanded his Commissioner to discharge their Assembly.

The Commissioner told them, *That perhaps he might have continued a little longer, had they not fallen upon Points inforcing his Deserting, being about to settle the pretended lawfulness of this Judicatory, and the competency of it against the Bishops, illegally cited, and so prosecuted, which he may not allow, with his duty towards God, or his loyalty to the King.*

Assembly discharged.

And so giving in a Paper signed by himself, expressing in particular the *Kings* grace and favour to them, during his being there his Majesties Commissioner. And reciting also their undue practices, in reference to their Elections to this Assembly, and their proceedings there, not to be free. He therefore in the *Kings* Name commanded and required them not to proceed any further in this Assembly.

Somewhat the moderate said in defence of their Proceedings, and somewhat more, the Lords were about to speak in vindication of themselves, but the Commissioner choaked their confidence, producing two Papers, containing their secret Instructions without the knowledg of their Tables, directly plotting for their illegal proceedings, and conclude that the ablest Man in each Prebytery be provided to dispute *de potestate supremi Magistratus in Ecclesiasticis, praesertim in convocandis Conciliis, de senioribus, de Episcopatu, de Furamento, de Liturgia & corruptelis ejudem*. But how lamely these were performed, the Acts and Passages are evident, (too tedious to be inserted.)

And so the next Day was proclaimed the Dissolving that Assembly, *Novemb. 29. 14 Car. 1638.*

Against which the *Covenanters* protested at the same time, that it was lawfull for them to continue their Assembly, and to adhere to their

Against which the Covenanters protest.

Anno
1638.

Hamilton re-
turns to Eng-
land, and the
Scots begin to
arm.

July.
Eruption of
Fire out of
the Sea.

their former *Protestations*, and accordingly declared six former General Assemblies to be held, which were disserviceable for their interests, though formerly confirmed by Parliaments; then they deprived all the Bishops, excommunicate some, and soon after abolish *Episcopacy*, as inconsistent with the Rites of their Kirk. In an hour condemn all the *Arminian* Tenets, as they called them; and under that notion many things received of the *Reformed Churches*, without defining what either of them were.

And the Commissioner no sooner got into *England*, but the *Covenanters* began to levy Souldiers, impose Taxes, raise Fortifications, seize or block up the *Kings* Castles, and in a word, to form a War with the best force they can, having had time enough by the Commissioners palpable Protractions to enable them to be before hand with the *King* in his Preparations.

The first publick Appearance since 1589. that the *Presbyters* durst appear in opposition, though we may be well assured they have been tampering to a Rebellion from that time, as you may reade at the full in the History of the Reigns of *Mary* Queen of *Scotland* and *King James*, with the Rise and Growth of the *Geneva* Discipline.

This News came but now, that betwixt the *Ferera* Islands in the Ocean, in the height of eight and thirty Degrees and an half, North Latitude, there is a site of Water called *Feraria*, distant two Leagues from the Isle of *Saint Michael*; on the third of *July*, 1638. from the bottom of that Sea, an hundred and fifty Fathoms deep, there arose with an horrible noise a space of Earth, half an Acre, with a vehement force of an impetuous fire, against which the Sea could not make resistance, disgorging into the air the height of three Pikes length both water and stones, with an hideous clattering noise, the broken pieces thereof being carried into the neighbour Island, and taken up mouldred into black Ashes, all the circuit of the water thereabout covered with the same sulphereous matter, appeared like black Cinders, and became of an Aliment continually burning, and by the multitude of stones mixing, it became a new Island, which is increased to a League and an half in length, and sixty Fathoms high, continually burning for ten days, choaking all the Fish within eight Leagues, which were cast up by the force of the Sea upon the Coasts of the neighbour Islands, in number sufficient to lade many Ships, and were buried from infecting the air. The Sea round about boiling up, the smoak and rubbish in the air darkened the light of the Sun.

There preceded this Fire an Earthquake for eight days, the Inhabitants of the neighbour Islands fled into the Fields from the danger, and had not the Winde blown the Fire from the Islands, it might have endangered their Habitations into another Cineration, which happened eight years there before.

The

The last day of *October* brought the *Queen Mother of France* (*Mary de Medices*) to *London*, and so to *Saint James's*, she had been a busie Governess in her Sons minority, not without dangerous Designs, the ruine of *France*, by her Favourite *d'Ancre*, after his Assassination she wained by the growth of the young *King* and his politick *Richelieu*, too subtil for her, and the impetuous banding and combining with *Monsieur Duke of Orleans*, whom she loved dearer than his Brother; but her Adversary often prevailing, she was lead about in the *Kings Army* as a Prisoner, but suffered to fly away into other places for succour, which she did first to their Enemy at *Bruxels*, Anno 1631. to the *Cardinal d'Infanto*, honourably treated, till her unquiet spirit ever plotting, moved the People to pursue her with Cursings and Imprecations, politickly made so to be rid of their trouble, which she carried along with her to the Pr. of *Orange*, 1637. and thence invited hither by our *Queen* her Daughter, at the beginning of our Ingagement into all the misery that succeeded, wherein she was said to be ominous, where ere she came.

For now the *Scots* having got the start of the *King*, he prepares himself for an Army with all possible expedition; first, with his Peoples affections, and so with their Prayers. To that end he sets forth his *Proclamation and Declaration*, To inform his loving Subjects of the seditious practices of some in *Scotland* seeking the overthrow of this Royal Power, under false pretext of Religion, the seven and twentieth of February, 1638. (referring to theirs in *Edinburgh*, the fourth of February before) and therein he discovers their traiterous intentions, by the multitudes of their Pamphlets and Libels against Regal Authority, by their Letters to private persons, inciting them against the *King*, by their Covenanters private meetings at *London*, and in sundry places of the Kingdom, some whereof he knows, and some he hath seen; by their contempt and protests against his Majesties commands; by their rejecting of his Covenant, because commanded by him, and their inducing their own into Band and Covenant of conspiracy against him, and lastly by their hostile preparations of Arms.

He remonstrates all the former passages of his grace, clemency, and indulgence towards them, their undutifull returns of all, and now their insolencies: by their erecting a Print of their own, raise Arms, block up and besiege his Castles, tax his Subjects, slight his Counsellours, set up Tables, (Councils) of their own, sit by Committees of their late pretended Assembly. He takes God to witness, he is constrained by these their Treasons to take Arms for the safety of that and this Kingdom.

They refusing the Oath of Allegiance and Supremacy, because they have taken their Covenant.

He resolves to maintain Episcopacy there, and refers to a large Declaration coming forth (which suddenly succeeded) of all the Passages (as afore mentioned) to that Day, of the Date February 27. at White-Hall.

Anno

1638.

Queen Mother of France comes hither.

The King prepares an Army.

Proclaims the occasion.

Anno
1638.

To which they answer by theirs at *Edinburgh* the two and twentieth of *March* next following, under the title of *An Ordinance of the General Assembly*.

And begin with their usual Canting, *That though the secrets of Gods way cannot be sounded, yet considering his Providence in their personal affairs, the Lord is about some great Work on Earth, for the Cup of affliction propined to other Reformed Kirks is now presented to them, though instead of a gracious Return of their humble Petitions from time to time, the Return is a late Declaration of the seven and twentieth of February last libelled against them, though the Gates of Hell shall not prevail against their Cause and the Kingdom of our Lord Jesus Christ, now in question; which Declaration proceeds from the unchristian Prelates and their party, inserting the image of their Hierarchy into the Kings Portraict, and by their unequal poise overturn the Boat of all the Passengers, and the Steer-man himself to perish. And in good earnest they rip up their Reasons, first by their long suffering of the Prelates insolency, against their Ministry purity of Doctrine, their Reformation, the wonderfull Work of Gods Mercy to that Nation: and so most falsly seting down the aforesaid Passages to their own ends; fearing Popery to be introduced; and because all the particular mischiefs, calamities, and curses recited, shall not fall upon them, to prevent the after-quelling of their childrens return, wherefore hath the Lord done thus and thus against: then the men shall say, because they have forsaken the Covenant of the Lord, therefore have all these Evils come upon them.*

And for doing any harm to England, cursed be their breasts if they harbour any such thought. Implore the good opinion of their well affected Brethren in England. And so to conclude their War defensive: they cite the Law Natural and Civil, that Ad defensionem sufficit quod præcedat offensa, vel justus timor offensæ, nec debet quis expectare primum istum; melius enim jura intacta servare, quam post vulneratam causam remedium quærere; quando præcedunt signa & actus manifestæ offensionis, & quando aliter nosmet tueri non possumus, tum inculcata & necessaria dicitur tutela, ac in dubia; insultus quicquid facit in incontinenti, præsumitur ad sui defensionem facere. It is enough for defence, that the offer of offence or just fear of offence go before, as we profess it to be our case at this present, even the defence of God and his Religion. Edinburgh the 22. of March, 1639.

And so you see the occasion of this War, which is untruly said to be the *Arch-bishops* advice, and we are told the reason, [*because it was the Bishops War*] the *Covenanters* called it so, by which the Historian is observed to be one, and that though it was so hinted a

War

Anno
1638.

War to maintain the *Bishops* Hierarchy, we are assured of the truth, that though their *contract* and *Covenant* against the *Liturgy* and *Episcopacy* were their chief *pretences*, yet not the *causes*, *Religion* the *Vizard* to disguise *Rebellions*, when *covetousness*, *sacrilege*, *rapine*, have a chief hand then, as you may reade the true occasion in the entrance of this History, under this Title, *The Scots Interest*.

But as the *English* Clergy, so the Nobility and Gentry had contributed largely, and raised a considerable Power, under Conduct of the Earl of *Arundel* the *Kings* General, the Earl of *Essex* Lieutenant General of the Foot, and the Earl of *Holland* of the Horse, a considerable part of the Royal Navy, with plenty of Corn and Ammunition intrusted (the *Kings* fatal oversight) to the command of the Marquess *Hamilton*, who is marked out by an Observer, and that justly, to have anchored with his Fleet in the *Frith* of *Edinburgh*, receiving his Mothers Visit, a rigid *Covenanter*, which the *Scots* themselves could then interpret, *That the Son of such a Mother would not hurt them*; for there he loitered to no good purpose for the *King*, untill that he was informed of the Treaty tending to *Pacification* at *Barwick*, and then he got on Land, and boasted thither on purpose to disturb the intentions, or master them to his own sinister respects, as you shall reade hereafter.

English Army.

And with these Forces the *King* himself sets out, the very day of the same Moneth of his advance to this Crown, *March* 27. And because it was a sudden War, we shall soon march to the Enemy; for in *April* he came to *York*, where he stayed some time, being the Rendezvous for his Army, marshalling his Men, and consulting also of necessary Affairs of the State and Council-table, and to indulge with a *Proclamation*, *April* 13. Revoking and making null sundry *Grants*, *Licences*, and *Commissions*, unduly obtained upon false suggestions; I shall number them, to the shame of such corrupt Ministers, as did not prevent them, *viz.* against *Cottages*, and *Inmates*, *Scriveners*, and *Brokers*, several *Commissions* for compounding with Offenders, for transporting of *Butter*, for importing of *Log-wood*, for selling Under-sheriffs Places, for destruction of Woods in Iron-works, for *Concealments* and *Incroachments* within twenty Miles of *London*, for transporting *Sheep-skins* and *Lamb-skins*, for dressing *Venison*, *Pheasants*, *Partridges* in *Inns*, *Ale-houses*, *Ordinaries*, and *Taverns*; for licensing *Wine-cask*, *Brewers*; transporting *Lampers*.

1639.

The Army
marches to the
North.

And revokes several *Grants*, *viz.* for weighing *Hay* and *Straw* in *London* and three Miles compass, the Office for registering *Bankrupts* in the County, for gaging of *Red Herrings*, for making of *Iron*, for sealing *Bone-lace*, for gaging *Butter-cask*, for *Kelp* and *Sea-weed*, sealing *Linnen-cloath*, gathering of *Rags*.

Several Offices, *viz.* of *Factory* for *Scotish* Merchants, for
K k searching

Anno
1639.

searching and sealing of foreign Hops, for sealing of Buttons: all Grants of Fines and Forfeitures before Judgment however granted, all Patents for new Inventions not put in practice.

Of several Incorporations, making Hat-bands, Gut-strings, Combs, Tobacco pipes, Butchers, and Horners. All these aforesaid to be called by *Quo Warranto*, or *Scire facias*, which brought the Attorney General sufficient gain to his Place.

These were intolerable, the Devices of Projectors for the needy Courtier, and Agents also for the best of their Lordships.

And almost not any of these, but *Hamilton* and his *Scots* had a hand therein.

The eight and twentieth of *May* brought the *King* to *Barwick*, in gaze of the Enemy, and proved an Interview of each Army, not fighting at all.

The *English* Army compleat for such a considerable number, the most of Gallantry that ever attended any *King* of *England*, in their *Scotish* Expeditions; nor were the Men we are assured less irefull now, than in those days when we most hated a *Scot*; and yet we are told, the *King* never meant to fight, but rather by terrour to scare them into reason of obedience. Nay, I have heard that the *King* said so at *Oxford* Garrison, taking occasion to speak of the Earl of *Holland's* infidelity, that the Army was not in earnest, which made him chuse such Commanders in chief.

But in his March by the way he gave leave for the *Scots* to apply themselves for mercy by Capitulation of the Earls of *Roxborough* and *Traquair*, and these to meet him at *York*, where the first of them was committed for tampering with some *English* Lords, and correspondence with the *Covenanters*, telling our Lords that the *Scots* ruine would enable the *King* to command what the *English* might be unwilling to obey, mitigates the displeasure of some, and the courage of others; which being discovered, and throughly observed, *Traquair* was also confined at *New-castle*, but both of them soon released, and so sent home, after they had done their secret business, betraying the *King* to their own Companions.

And ere they parted, they took caution how to keep intelligence with some of the *English*. It is well observed, how suddenly the expected courage of the *English* Lords was cooled, which occasioned the *Scots* to advance; and the Earl of *Holland* with his Horse Brigade but onely observing their motion, he either in fear or fraud (says one) retired in pestilent danger to be over-ridden with the *Scots* *Galloway* nags; the Foot also did no more but run, and yet not ashamed of what was done; the *English* hasten to the Overtures tending to *Pacification*, managed (it seems) of purpose by such of the *English* made Commissioners, as the *King* might have been assured, they never had a minde or meaning to fight.

And

Obs. p. 157.

The Scots and
English in
view.

And who were those? the Earls of *Pembroke*, *Salisbury*, *Holland*, and *Barkshire*, Secretary *Vane*, and his Brother Secretary *Cook*. And the *Scots* were the Earls of *Rothes*, *Dumfirlmin*, Lord *Lowdon*, *Dowglas* Sheriff of *Tividale*, *Henderson*, and *Fohnston* two fiery Ministers, and the 17. of *June* conclude upon a *Pacification* signed by both parties,

But because there followed much alteration and difference concerning the *Articles*, signed unto by the *English*, and those which the Commissioners presented unto their people, which deserved conditions never dreamed of. And which an *Historian* professes he never could learn what they were. [*Being delivered* (he says) *into the hands of the English Nobility*] But to undeceive him from the *Scots* deceit, I shall discover those mystical conditions which I have, as also the rest of the whole matter from the Kings own *Declaration To all his loving Subjects*, and, to be sincere in the result of all, I shall justly insert the *Scots* answer to all.

After the King had been sometime in his Camp near *Berwick*, and the *Scots* encamped with their Army at *Dunslow* in view, the beginning of *June*, wherein the *Scots* and *English* that underhand favoured the *Covenanters*, perswaded the King, not to enter *Scotland* by way of *Invasion*, lest it should irritate them the more, but to encamp upon *English* ground, to win them fairly to obedience, and by a patched peace, to elude the King to dismiss his forces. Even as the Duke of *Norfolk* served *James* the fifth King of *Scotland* to his ruine, they falling down at the Kings feet, did most humbly supplicate to appoint some of this Kingdom, to hear their humble desires, the One was, *That the Acts of the late Assembly at Glasgow*, might be ratified in the ensuing *Parliament*, professing [*It is their grief that the King should have been provoked to wrath against them his most humble and loving subjects, and that it shall be their delight, upon his gracious assurance of the preservation of their Religion and Laws, to give ensample to others of all civil and temporal Obedience, which can be required or expected from loving subjects*] Because the King would not surprize them, he gave them time to come prepared in writing,

The Armies
Treat.

Which was,

Our desires are onely the enjoying of our Religion and Liberties according to the Ecclesiastical and Civil Lawes of the Kingdom, To clear by sufficient grounds, that the particulars which we humbly crave, are such, and shall not insist to crave any point which is not so warranted, and that we humbly offer all Civil and Temporal obedience to your Majesty which can be required or expected of loyal Subjects.

The Scots desires.

Signed LOWDON.

Anno
1639.

To which was answered,

THat if their desires were onely the enjoying of their Religion and Liberties according to the Ecclesiastical and Civil Lawes, the King does not onely agree to the same, but shall alwayes protect them therein. And if they shall not insist upon any thing but that which is so warranted, he will most willingly and readily condescend unto it, so that in the mean time they pay unto him that civil and temporal obedience which can be justly required and expected from loyal Subjects.

This being the ground of the Agreement which was after concluded and hudled up into Articles, the seventeenth, of June, 1639. And the Kings Declaration of that date conformable thereto, were these.

The Kings
Declaration.

THat though We cannot condescend to ratifie and approve the Act of the pretended General Assembly at Glasgow, for many grave and weighty considerations, which have happened both before and since, much importing the security and honour of that true Monarchical Government lineally descended upon us, yet We are pleased to confirm and make good what ever Our Hamilton Commissioner hath granted. And that all matters Ecclesiastical shall be determined by the Assemblies of the Kirk, and matters Civil by the Parliament, and other inferiour Judicatories established by Law, which Assembly shall be kept once a year, or as shall be agreed upon by the General Assembly, and our Commissioner for the time being.

That a free and General Assembly be kept at Edinburgh the sixth of August next, where we intend, God willing, to be personally present, and thereafter a Parliament the twentieth of August, and there an Act of Oblivion to be passed.

And that upon their disarming and disbanding of their forces, dissolving and discharging all their pretended Tables and Conventions, and restoring to the King all his Castles, forts and Ammunition, as also his Royal honours, and to every one of his good Subjects their Liberties, Lands, Houses, goods and means whatsoever, taken and detained since the late pretended General Assembly; the King will presently thereafter recal his Fleet, and retire his Forces, and cause restitution of their Ships and goods since the aforesaid time.

And since hereby it appears, His Majesty intends not any alteration of Religion or Laws, He expects their dutiful obedience. And he takes God to witnesse that whatever calamities shall ensue, by his necessitated suppressing of the Insolent disobedience, is not occasioned by him, but by their own procurement.

The

The Articles of *Pacification* were these, the seventeenth of *June*, 1639.

Articles of Pa-
cification.

1. The forces of *Scotland* to be disbanded and dissolved, within twenty four hours after the agreement of the Kings Declaration.

2. The Kings Castles for Ammunition and Royal Honours to be delivered after the said Publication, so soon as he should send to receive them.

3. His Ships to depart presently after the delivery of the Castles, and in the mean time no interruption of Trade.

4. All persons goods and Ships detained by the King, since the first of *November*, to be restored.

5. No Meetings, Treatings, Consultations, or Convocations of any of the *Scots*, but such as are warranted by Act of *Parliament*.

6. All Fortifications to desist, and to be remitted to the Kings pleasure.

7. To restore to every one their Liberties, Lands, houses, goods and means whatever taken and retained from them by whatsoever means, since the first of *November* last.

The eighteenth of *June*, the Declaration was signed by the King, and these Articles by the *Scots*, with this submission.

IN Obedience to his Majesties Royal Commands, Wee shall upon Thursday next, the twentieth of June, dismisse our Forces, and Immediately thereafter deliver His Majesties Castles, &c. And shall ever in all things carry our selves like humble and loyal subjects.
Signed,

Scots Submission.

Roths. Dumfirlin. Lowdon. Dowglas. Henderson. Johnston.

Now to shew how the *Scots* performed these Articles:
Observe:

I. That at the *Scots* very publishing of these Articles of *Pacification*, though so infinitely advantagious to them, they meet them with their Protestation, scandalous and dishonourable to the King.

Scots Protestation.

2. They published a scandalous paper, Intituled *Some conditions of His Majesties Treaty with His subjects of Scotland*, before the

the

Anno

1639.

The proceedings in their Parliament in August.

the English Nobility, are set down here for remembrance; So untrue and seditious as was burned by the Hangman. They kept in body diverse forces, and in pay all their Officers. The fortification at Lieth kept up intire, as at first. They did (after the time limited and expired) continue their unlawful meetings upon matters of State, Ecclesiastical and Civil, contrary to the Laws and Acts of Parliament. They enforce subscription of the subject to the late pretended Assembly at Glasgow, contrary to the Kings Proclamation. They brand all such persons as took arms for the King, with the appellation of Incendiaries, and Traytors to God and their Countrey. They protest that all the members of the Colledge of Justice, and all other the subjects, were not to attend the Session, and would null all their Acts as ineffectual.

3. They come to a Parliament, wherein they deny the most essential and inherent Prerogatives of the Crown, striving to alter the constitutions of Parliament, and frame of Government, as appears by their first Act, which was, that nothing done, or to be done in Parliament should be valid, except the form of electing the Articles (heretofore observed) were altered, contrary to former Parliaments, and the power of the Articles, which have been ever since King *David Bruce*, more then 300. years. (for the Lords of the Articles, prepare all business, bring them to the Parliament, as appears, the fourth Parliament of King *James* the sixth, cap. 218. and indeed for eschewing impertinent confusion, all Propositions and Motions are to be delivered to the Clerk Register, and by him presented to the Lords of Articles, which now they will not endure) They urge to confound the third Estate in Parliament, of Bishops formerly called the first Estate, which King *James* the sixth, and all his Predecessors before and since the Reformation, were careful to preserve, as appears anno 1560. when all Church Jurisdiction in the persons of Bishops is alleadged to be dissolved. And in anno 1587. when all Temporalities of Benefices were annexed to the Crown, the Clergy retained still their Vote in Parliament, and represented the third Estate, see the first Parliament of *James* the sixth, 1587 1597. 1609. Nay by a special Act, the eighth Parliament of King *James* the 6. It is declared treason, to impugn the three Estates, to procure the Innovation of the power and authority of the same 3. Estates, or any of them; and so these men are thereby now guilty of Treason. And to the Act of *Oblivion*, they seek to justify themselves, and all their former proceedings, and urge an act of *Justification* to be recorded in Parliament, which in truth is contrary to the nature of an Act of *Oblivion*, as appears in that Act of *Oblivion*, 1563. And whereas by their Article of *Pacification* they were to restore to the subject, Liberty, Lands, goods &c. the binding part of the Act, never intended (it seems) to restore

store Bishops and Ministers, &c. They urge that all Scots assistant to the King shall be made equal, if not more lyable to the defraying of their pretended charge in the late Expedition; so that in this point, the King must not onely justifie his subjects Rebellion, but contribute his consent to pay their wages. Then consider their demands of the King in this Parliament.

1. That the Coyn be not medled with, but by advice of Parliament.
2. No stranger to command or to inhabit in any Castles of the Kings, but by their advice.
3. No Honour to be granted to any stranger, but such as have a competency of Land rent in Scotland.
4. No Commissioner of Justiciary or Lieutenancy but for a limited time.

They protest against the Precedency of the Lord Treasurer, and Lord Privy Seal, as not warranted by a positive Law, And though these demands answer themselves in the Negative, see what may be said to them.

1. For the Coyn, Certainly it is a prerogative peculiar to the Crown, and in any other person High Treason, as in all Kingdoms in the world.
2. No doubt they malign at the English strangers. In good sooth, the English did resent the dishonour, to have a poor Scot created an Earl of England without a foot of land, or a groat in his purse, to perk above an English Viscount at home in England.
3. It is very memorative; how hardly King James the sixth procured the Post-Nati of Scotland, by which they are admitted, to all dignities, priviledges and offices in England; must they have freedom here, and must the English be debarred there? o Tempora, o Mores!
4. How many of themselves at that instant, had preferment to hereditable rites of Judiciary, and why must the King be now limited?
5. The Chancellour of Scotland holds his precedency without any positive Law, why not the Treasurer and Privy Seal? the first branch of the Kings Crown is to distribute honours and precedencies as he please.

But the King having knowledge of these their Extravagancies, sent to his Commissioner the Earl of Traquair to Prorogate the Parliament until the second of June, and if they should presume to sit still, then to discharge them upon pain of Treason. But if they did yeeld obedience thereto, his Majesty was graciously

Scotish Parliament prorogued;

Anno

1639.

Their Prote-
station.

ously pleased to admit such persons to his presence as they should send to represent their desires, and his Commissioner to repair to the King, and to bring all the transactions of that Session.

Against this command they protest, and stile it a *Declaration* of the Parliaments, 18. December, 1639.

WHereas John Earl of Traquair his Majesties Commissioner, having closed the Assembly, and sitting in Parliament with them, did now take upon him, without their consent, or offence to prorogate the Parliament upon a private warrant, this being a new and unusual way, without president in this Kingdom heretofore, once being convened, have continuation by the expresse consent of the Estates; We therefore declare, that any prorogation made by the Commissioners Grace without consent of Parliament, shall be of no force, and the actors to be censured in Parliament. And knowing that Declarations have been published against us, and our proceedings made odious to such as do not consider that we are not private subjects, but a sitting Parliament, We therefore declare, that whatsoever we might do lawfully in sitting still; yet we have resolved for the present to make Remonstrance to his Majesty, and some of each Estate to remain still at Edinburgh to attend his gracious Answer. And if it shall happen that our malicious enemies do notwithstanding prevail against us, we profess our selves free of the outrages and Insolencies that may be committed; in the mean time, we do our best to prevent confusion and misery. And the Committee appointed to expect the Kings Answer, were, the Earls Lothian and Dalhousie, the Lords Yester, Balmerino, Cranston, and Naper, for the Barons, the Commissioners of the Lothians, Fife, and Twidale; the Burroughs, named the Commissioners of Edinburgh, Lithgow, Sterlin, Haddington, Dunbar, to attend at Edinburgh the return of his Majesties Answer.

The Scots de-
puties to the
King.

Their Deputies came to the King at White Hall, the Earl of Dumfrylin, and the Lord London, but coming without warrant, from the Kings Commissioner Traquair, being a high contempt, they were in disdain commanded home again without audience. Then comes Traquair, and privately consults a whole night with Hamilton, and between them, was framed a writing, a representation to the Council of the most considerable matters proposed in that Parliament, satisfactory enough to make the wound wider, for however Traquair managed his Commission, the end of the designe was to foment a war, and to engage the King; and for the Scots, they were prepared. And it is most true, that a muttering there was in Court against Traquairs treachery; for the Arch Bishop of St. Andrews, the Bishops of Ross and Breichen accused Traquair of High-Treason in the grosse miscarriage of his Commission in the General Assembly and Parliament, and subscribed the charge; the Scots law in such cases bearing *pœnam Talionis* if they could not prove

prove it. A strange law against the security of Kings; certainly treasonable in the making, and no where else is practized but in Scotland.

But upon the whole matter related by *Traquair*, the debate was, whether considering the Insolency and height of their demands; even in civil obedience, it were not fit to reduce them to their duty? Then the *Question*, whether by the presence of the Kings Person, and acting power of justice there? But that was expressly opposed by arguments of policy, and other reasons offered in writing, with this title.

Shall the King go to Scotland? I wish he may, if with honour, and safety he can; but as the case stands, and spirits are affected, I see neither.

1. **T**He treaty of peace is by them most falsely interpreted, without any regard at all to His Majesties honour.

2. The many and palpable violations of the Articles of peace are known to the King.

3. It is evident what his Majesty expects at their hands, for to let go all the disgraces offered to his Royal authority since the beginning of these troubles, what one thing the King hath obtained of them in acknowledgement of so many favours upon their several petitions bestowed upon them?

4. Their obstinate resolution to adhere in all points to their Assembly at *Glasgow*, is undeniable, witnesse their false and disgraceful glosse upon that Article of the treatie, witnesse their oath of adherence to that Assembly, since the peace; witnesse their protestation against calling of *Bishops* and *Arch Bishops* to the Assembly; witnesse the violence offered to the Clergy for not adhering to the Assembly, even since the peace.

5. So the Assembly now to be holden at *Edinburgh* shall have but one act for all, and that shall be the ratification of the Assembly held at *Glasgow*.

6. Now shall the King countenance such an Assembly, the very constitution and first meeting whereof is most derogatory to the honour of his Crown, while by a mutinous crew of Incendiarie Preachers, and a conspiracy of Lay Elders, the Prelates of the Church, are by meer violence against all authority, Law, example, or reason, excluded, abjured, excommunicated.

Anno

1639.

7. Shall the most *Christian Defender* of *Faith* countenance such a conspiracy against God, his Church, and himself, where the most matchlesse Villany that ever was hatched shall be made piety, Rebelions conscience, and Treason reason; all the Loyal and Orthodox Clergy banished, most Ignorant and trayterous fire-brands put in their places, the Supream power in Spiritual and Ecclesiastical causes violently pulled from the *Crown*, and devolved in the hands of a mixt meeting of Ministers and Laymen.

8. It is high Treason in my minde, to conceal from His Majesty that his Supremacy in Elections is in greater security for the *Crown*, in the hands of any whosoever, then in the power of such men whose pernicious maximes subjects the *Crown* to the pleasure of the people; whom they have ever since their Reformation set on fire when they have been so pleased, and stirred up to *Rebellion* by their seditious Sermons, have countenanced all the commotions against authority in King *James* his reign, and robbed the King of the hearts of his Subjects, by most trayterous calumnies, And now there is not one *Presbytery* free of Seditious Sermons even since the peace.

9. Shall the King countenance an *Assembly*, where Episcopacy is abjured, though the propheticall Government of the Church from Christ and his Apostles, the onely support of the *Crown*, and in lieu thereof, an Estate erected in the Kingdom, Independent from the King, which rejects his Supremacy and power in Elections, which holds he may be Excommunicated by their *Assembly*; censured and deposed by their *Parliament*; which maintains most treasonable tenets, with a discipline which was never yet in a Monarchy without Rebellion?

10. Shall the King go to *Scotland* to do against his Oath at his Coronation, to doe against his royal word and promise, in open and Printed *Proclamations*, to grant that, that in his *Declaration* he professeth to all the world he never will endure?

11. Shall the King go to *Scotland*, where he is not able by power or prayer, so much as to do Justice to the oppressed, to obtain peace for his own servants, exiled as Traytours to their Countrey, for adhering to the *King*, to re-establish the Prelates in their places, or any one Orthodox, conform or Loyal Preacher or professor in any Church or Colledge of this his Native and ancient Kingdom?

12 Shall

Anno
1639.

12. Shall the *King* countenance that Assembly, which is only free from Gods Laws, and his own; where all the members are inviolably tyed by Covenant, Oath and Band, *in alteram partem*. contradiction, where deliberation can have no place, all parties coming with prejudice, and predetermination of the business in question?

13. And yet this Assembly thus free from all Law and authority, so hardly obtained, so highly honoured with his Majesties presence, howsoever contrary to his conscience and honour, shall be the most solemn Assembly that ever was in *Scotland*, and that be a president for *England* and *Ireland*.

14. Shall the King go to *Scotland*, to break Laws, make Laws, take Laws, at the pleasure of lawlesse *Rebells* to absolve the *Traytors*, with what Justice? to condemn the Innocent, with what conscience? and both with what honour? this is no lesse then to lay royalty at the feet of rebellion.

15. Shall the King go to *Scotland*, to hear, see, and suffer the honour of his Royal Father, with the integrity of whole *Parliaments*, the equity of his Laws quarrelled and questioned; by those whom his Clemency hath imboldened to all villany?

16. Shall the King go to *Scotland* to encourage the *Rebells* to futher mischief, to discourage all his Loyal Servants, and to make it a time never to be faithful to a King hereafter? this is as much, as to Un-King himself with his own hands.

17. Now all this, and worse (if worse can be) shall infallibly fall out, if His Majesty go to *Scotland*; for having him in their power, they shall either force his approbation of their will, or use him as their prisoner, for thus they served his Royal Father of happy memory.

18. As they wish to be absolved from Treason, and have all their Rebellious proceedings justified, as fervently must they desire to have the King at home among them.

19. And having the King in their power, can any man think that so desperate Rebels, who have gone on in all this business, with so high a hand, with such contempt of authority, with such success, that they have eluded all his Majesties Councils, contemned his forces, frustrate his Intentions, and interpreted all this as *Gods blessing* upon their good cause, I say, can any man imagine that having so fair an occasion, they will be de-

Anno
1639.

ficient to themselves, and not rather attempt, or do any thing to *Crown* all their knavery with the Kings approbation.

20. Now for so Mighty a *Monarch* to involve himself without any necessity into such a labyrinth of misery, as shall presently burst out either upon his Majesties condescendence to the Rebels, or upon his detention by them, is (me thinks) to tempt God.

21. At any rate (though at the highest that can be) authority must be vindicated, and redeemed from contempt, the life of government is reputation; make sure this, and the other prospers.

22. What will neighbour *Princes*, say and think of the managing of this matter, wherein all the honour and eminency of Majesty consists, what will not posterity abhorre in all these proceedings, if Royal honour for want of Council or courage shall become a prey to Rebellion?

23. Rebellion never leaveth Authority without addition, or diminution of dignity.

24. Usurped Royalty was never laid down by perswasion from Royal clemency; for *in armis jus omne regni*.

25. O that there were found so much Loyalty, wisdom, and valour in the whole *Monarchy*, as to suppress the Rebels, and put the *King* out of these straits.

26. This is the forest blow that ever our Religion received, and the greatest advantage that ever our adversary had, this doe all Protestants owe to the Reformation of *Scotland*, that no Christian *Prince* shall hereafter trust our profession.

27. The King cannot go to *Scotland* with honour, untill the Covenant be abjured, the Assembly of *Glasgow* renounced, and all things re-established, as they were before the Covenant.

THE VOTE.

And upon all : It was unanimously Voted, To force them to their Duty, Whereupon soon after the King resolved to call a *Parliament*, and that it was so called and appointed hereafter, let no man Imagine, but that besides his Councillours advice, his own Inclination was most affected thereto, as himself hereafter professeth.

After

After this comes four covenanting Commissioners from *Scotland*, *Dunfermlin*, *London*, *Sir W. Douglas*, & *Mr. Robert Berkley* of *Derreyn*.

The King receives a handsom *Petition* with humble thanks in the general; and to be heard in their further desires, but absolutely refuse to appear before a *Committee* of the *Council*, without the *Kings* own personal presence.

And to him *London* makes a long *Speech*, of the *Independency* of the *Parliament* of *Scotland*, subject to no *Judicature*. A *Profession* of their *Loyalty* and *Affection* to the *King*. A *Justification* of their *Assembly* and *Parliament* agreeable to the *Articles* of *Pacification*, the *Laws* and *practice* of the *Kingdom*; And thereupon they desire, that the *King* would *ratifie* and *confirm* their *Proceedings*, and that their *Parliament* might proceed to determine of all the *Articles* (or *Bills*) brought to them to the *establishing* of *Religion* and *Peace*, &c.

But the *Council* examining their *Commission*, it was found short of impowring them in any consideration to oblige those that sent them; onely they produced a *Paper*, authorizing *Dunfermlyn* and *London* therein, but their *Parliament* now not sitting, they could have no other, and indeed to avoid their clamour, it was accepted, and they went on.

Deans answer. *First*, for a free *Parliament*.

It was answered, Not to pass the bounds of the *Ecclesiastick* and *civil Laws*, to fly at *Monarchical Government*, to rob the *Crown* of the fairest flowers, and to destroy all *regal power*.

Dean. They assume that liberty by the *Kings* allowing of their *Covenant*, to which his former *Commissioner* *Hamilton* had signed, and other *Subjects*.

Answer. That *Covenant* subscribed by him is the same *Covenant* and *Band* made by *King James* the sixth, 1580. obliging those mutually to assist one another at the *Kings* command: but this *Band* of theirs made without the *Kings* consent, and excepting him, is a cunning *Combination* against, and to abuse the *People*, as if by it, they were tied by *Oath* to joyn in *Arms* or *Rebellion*. No *Covenant* in the whole *World* that ever had left out the *Head*, or had not a *Negative* voice, except in cases of *Rebellion*, as this is.

Then they were told of their *treasonable actions*. Their provisions of *Arms*. Their levying *Taxes* of ten *Marks per centum*, (every *Mark*, a *Hangmans* wages in *England*, thirteen pence half penny) publishing *seditions Papers*, burned by the *Hangman*, refusing the *Lord Estrich*, sent by the *King* to be *Governour* of *Edinburgh Castle*, committing *Outrages* upon the *Garrisons* there. Raised *Fortifications* against the *Castle*, and *Inchgarvy*, imprisoned the *Lord Southbeck* and others for their fidelity to the *King*, delivered up the power of *Government* of several *Towns* to a *Committee*, which

Anno
1639.

Four Com-
missioners
from Scotland;

London his
Speech.

Their Treas-
ons summed
up.

Anno
1639.

The Protesta-
tion of the
Assembly, and
like of the
Parliament.
Simeon and
Levi.

is *High Treason*; and then to fill up the measure to the brim, the King produces their own *Letter* to the *French Kirk*, to call in foreign aid. So then the *Covenant*, the *Articles of Perth*, the *scandalous Paper burnt*, and this *Letter* is to be particularly expressed, and somewhat to be said concerning them.

This *Covenant* was accompanied with a *Supplication*, or *Imprecation*, upon Record, and witness to posterity against them.

That we the General Assembly acknowledg, that there reſteth nothing for crowning of his Majesties incomparable goodness towards us, but that the Members of this Church and Kingdom be joyned in one and the same Confession and Covenant with God, with the Kings Majesty, and amongst our selves; and do even declare before God and the World, that we never had, nor have any thought of withdrawing our selves from that humble and dutifull subjection and obedience to his Majesty and his Government, which by the descent and under the Reign of an hundred and seven Kings is most chearfully acknowledged by us and our Predecessors.

That we never had, nor have, any intencion or desire, to attempt any thing that may tend to the dishonour of God, or diminution of the Kings greatness and authority; but on the contrary, acknowledg all our quietnes, stability, and happiness, to depend upon the safety of his Majesties person, and maintenance of his greatness and Royal authority, as Gods Vicegerent, set over us for the maintenance of Religion, and Ministration of Justice.

We have solemnly sworn and do swear, not onely our mutual concurrence and assistance for the cause of Religion, and to the utmost of our power, with our means and life, to stand to the defence of our Dread Sovereign his Person and Authority in the preservation and defence of the said true Religion, Liberties, and Laws of this Church and Kingdom, but also in every cause which may concern his Majesties honour, shall according to the Laws of this Kingdom, and the duty of good Subjects, concur with our Friends and Followers in quiet manner or in Arms, as we shalbe required of his Majesty, his Council, or any having his authority; and therefore being most desirous to clear our selves of all imputation of this kinde, and following the laudable example of our Predecessors, 1589. do most humbly supplicate your gracious Majesty, and the Lords of his Majesties most honourable Privy Council to injoyn by Act of Council, that this Confession and Covenant, which as a testimony of our fidelity to God, and loyalty to our King, we have inscribed, be subscribed by all his Majesties Subjects of what kinde and quality soever. The thirtieth of August, 1639.

How they have faithfully observed this *National Profession*, let the *World* judg; and how they have grounded their *Covenant* which follows, God will judg of their *Oath*.

It was presented to his Majesties Commissioners, by this assembly, That (besides many other) the true and real causes of so many evils which hath troubled this Kirk and Kingdome, might appear.

First the pressing of this Kirk by Prelates with a Service-book or Common-prayer, without direction or warrant from the Kirk, and containyng (besides the Popish frame thereof) divers Popish Errors and Ceremonies, and the seed of manifold gross superstitions and Idolatry with a Book of Canons, without warrant or direction from the general Assembly, establishing a Tyranical power over the Kirk in the persons of Bishops, and overthrowing the whole discipline and Government of the Kirk, by Assemblies; with a Book of consecration and ordination, without warrant or authority civil or Ecclesiastical, appointing Offices in the house of God, which are not warranted by the word of God, and repugnant to the discipline and acts of our Kirk, and with the High-commission, erected without the consent of this Kirk, subverting the Jurisdiction and ordinary Judicatories of this Kirk, and giving to persons meerely Ecclesiastical the power of both swords, and to persons meerly civil the power of the Keyes and Kirk-censures.

A second cause was the Articles of Perth, viz. The observation of festival daies, kneeling at the Communion, confirmation, administration of the Sacraments in private places, which were brought in by a Null Assembly and are contrary to the confession of faith, as it was meant and subscribed anno 1580. and divers times since, and to the order and constitution of this Kirk.

Thirdly, the change of the Government of this Kirk from the assemblies of the Kirk, to the persons of some Kirkmen, usurping priority and power over their brethren, by the way and under the name of Episcopal Government, against the confession of faith, 1580. against the order set down in the Book of Policy, and against the intention and constitution of this Kirk from the beginning.

Fourthly, The civil places & power of Kirkmen, their sitting in Session, Councill, and Exchequer, their riding, sitting & voycing in Parliament; and their sitting on the Bench as Justices of peace, which, according to the constitutions of this Kirk, are Incompatible with their spiritual function, lift them up above their brethren in worldly pomp, and do tend to the hindrance of the Ministry.

Fifthly, their keeping and authorizing corrupt assemblies in Linlithgow 1606. and 1608. at Glascow, 1610. at Aberdine, 1616. at Saint Andrews, 1617. at Perth, 1618. Which are null and unlawful, as being called and constitute, quite contrary to the order and constitution of this Kirk, received and practized ever since the reformation of Religion, and withal labouring to introduce novations in this Kirk, against the order and Religion established.

A sixth cause is the want of lawfull and free assemblies, rightly constitute of Pastors, Doctors, and Elders, yearly and oftener, pro ne nata according

ANNO
1639.

The Covenanters Declaration of grievances.

Observations thereupon.

It was ratified by Parliament.

most false: never ratified by Parliament.

never forbidden by any Act of Parliament.

These were confirmed by Parliaments, and never repealed, but now most illegally called in question without King or Parliament.

Anno
1639.

Is this Assembly without the King, of more validity. fix former Assemblies approved, by the King and Parliament. It Was no covenant but only a bare negative confession and abjuration of all points of Popery.

Nunquam de fide constare, dum semper de fide disputamus. Tertul: If one Assembly null what others did act and constitute, how shall the people be certain of their Religion?

Twenty years hence another Assembly was upon new alterations, and all, which this hath done and there shall be never any certain Religion settled.

according to the liberty of this Kirk, expressed in the Book of Policie and acknowledged in the act of Parliament, 1592. After which the whole assembly with one heart and voice did declare: that these and such other proceedings, from the neglect and breach of the Nationall Covenant of this Kirk and Kingdome, made anno 1580. have been indeed the true and main causes of all our evils and distractions.

And therefore ordaine, according to the constitutions of the generall Assemblies of this Kirk, and upon the grounds *respective* above specified. That the aforesaid *Service-book*, Books of canons and ordination and the High-commission be still rejected. That the Articles of *Perth* be no more practized. That Episcopall Government and the civil places and the power of Kirkmen be holden still as unlawfull in this Kirk. That above named pretended Assemblies at *Linlithgow*, 1606. and 1608. at *Glasgow*, 1610. at *Aberdine*, 1616. at *St. Andrews*, 1617. at *Perth* 1618. be hereafter accounted null and unlawfull and of none effect. And that for preservation of Religion, and preventing of all such evils in time coming, general Assemblies rightly constitute, as the proper and competent Judge of all matters Ecclesiastical, hereafter be kept yearly and oftner, *pro re nata*, as occasion and necessity require. The necessity of the occasional Assemblies being first remonstrate to his Majesty by humble supplication. As also that Kirk sessions, Presbyterians and Synodal Assemblies be constituted and observed according to the order of this Kirk, our session the seventeenth of *August*.

Hereupon an Act of Councill is formed, and all subjects are to subscribe: And the Commissioners consents to an Act of Assembly for confirming it. To which also the Commissioner doth subsign with his proviso. That the practice of the premisses prohibited within this Kirk and Kingdome, out with the Kingdome of *Scotland*, shall neither bind nor infer censure against the practizes outwith the Kingdome, but this last Proviso was not approved by the Assembly nor upon Record. but only inserted in the Register.

That in commanding to swear: the *Covenant*, 1580. and 1581. King *James the sixth* and his Council did not intend the abjuration of *Episcopacie*, and the reasons were put down in a paper, which paper was sent to the Covenanters, they were these.

First that if under those words (we abjure the Popes wicked Hierarchy) *Episcopacie* be sworn down, then they abjure both their Presbyters and Deacons; for the Council of *Trent* makes the Hierarchy, to consist of these three orders, *Bishops*, *Presbyters* and *Deacons*: and abjure one, and all: but then they answer, that they retain Presbyters and Deacons, as they are ordained in the Reformed Churches. The like may be replied for Bishops, being ordained in a form allowed by Reformed Churches; yet they took that forenamed Oath, as *John Arch Bishop of St. Andrews*, 1572. and

James

James Bishop of Dunkel, 1573. as appears by their Council books. And certainly their Presbyters must needs derive their orders, either from Bishops of that obedience, or from Presbyters, ordained by such Bishops, either from such or none, for they will not affirm, That *non Presbyter can ordinare Presbyterum*.

But thus much by the way, let their Inscribed distinctions reply. *Inter Regnum constituendum and Regnum constitutum*, and such like evasions.

But in a word we conclude in the Commissioner Traquair's own words, *That the Assembly* (saith he) *ought to render thanks to those that had been his Majesties good Informers in working these effects. If any think or conceive this to be due to me, I protest to act nothing but the part of an Eccho, for this Employment came upon me by my Lord Hamilton's work, and if you knew what I know, you should acknowledg him to be both a carefull, painfull, and faithfull Agent in this business, and in all that you have intrusted with him.*

This is not entered in their *Record*; it smells too rank of his Treachery; but it is most certain, he ended so, after he had subscribed.

But to encounter this their *Covenant*, it was ordered in *England*, that all the *Scottish* Subjects that were to take upon them the trust of the *King*, or Employment in his Affairs were put to an Oath in *England* and *Ireland*.

I A. B. one of his Majesties Subjects in the Kingdom of Scotland, do by the presents sign with my hand upon my great Oath, and, as I shall be answerable to God upon my Salvation and Condemnation, testifie and declare, That Charls by the grace of God King of Great Brittain, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, is my Sovereign Lord, and that next unto Almighty God, and his Son Christ Jesus, he is over all persons within his Majesties Kingdoms and Dominions, and in all Causes as well Ecclesiastical as Civil, supreme Governour: to whom, his Heirs, and Successours, I am bound in duty and allegiance to all obedience, if it were to the loss of my life, estate and fortunes: and do hereby abjure all Combinations, Covenants and Bands that can be pretended upon pretext of Religion, or Liberty of the Kingdom, and specially the damnable and treasonable Covenant commonly called the popular Covenant, so much magnified now in Scotland: and do promise never to take Arms against his Majesty, his Heirs and Successours, offensive or defensive, but to abide constant in allegiance, duty and obedience, which I profess Almighty God hath tied me unto, and to do the utmost of my power against all oppositions whatsoever, foreign or home-bred. So help me God.

Oath administered to the Scots against their Covenant.

Anno
1639.

And concerning the five *Articles* introduced by King *James* at the general Assembly of *Perth*, Anno 1618. it will not be amiss to know what they were.

First, Kneeling in the taking of the Communion, and out of the Ministers hands, whereas it was before taken sitting on their breech, and the Bread taken by themselves out of a Bason, and the Cup from one another, as if they were drinking to others, and the Beadle filling up the Cup, as it was emptied, out of a Flagon, which he filled in the Belfery, as it was spent.

Secondly, Private Communion to sick persons that were not able to come to Church, to be given with three or four Communicants besides.

Thirdly, Private Baptism, in case of necessity that the Childe is so sick, or weak, that he cannot be brought to Church without eminent danger of death, and to declare it to the Congregation the next Sunday thereafter.

Fourthly, Confirmation of Children after the Primitive way, which was, the bringing of them at eight, nine, or ten years of age, to the Bishop of the Diocess, to give him account of their Christian Faith, and receive his encouragement, commendation and benediction, to make them continue carefull in it, as they were carefully catechised by their Parents, and Parish Priests; and if any were not well instructed in their Faith, the Bishop sends them back without blessing, and some rebuke, to be better instructed.

Fifthly, Festival days onely five to be kept, viz. The Days of our Saviour's Birth, Passion, Resurrection, Ascension, and Descent of the Holy Spirit.

Now let any man of reason judg, whether any of these could truly fall under the censure of *Popery*; and if any man of any Reason and Learning would not rather follow the practice of the purest Primitive times in these, as likewise in those that were condemned for *Arminianism* by the Council of *Dort*, than new *Calvinistical*, *Presbyterian* inventions, contrary to all antiquity.

If you desire to be further informed there-anent, See the four and twenty Demands or Questions of the six Divines of *Aberdene*, and their Replies and Duplies never sufficiently answered. Against *Alexander Henderson*, *David Dickson*, and *Andrew Gaunt*, the three leading covenanting Ministers.

It is concluded and assented unto by the *Scots*, that the seven Articles of *Pacification* were signed and sealed unto at the Kings Camp, both

The Reign of King Charles.

267

ANNO

1639.

both parties consenting, June 17. Yet at the Scots return home, and the King come back to London, a Paper was scattered in a clandestine manner, intituled, *Some Conditions of his Majesties Treaty with his Subjects of Scotland before the English Nobility*, are set down here for remembrance. Which in truth are point blank in effect contrary to the signed *Articles of Pacification*. The Paper was this:

As for the Preface and Conclusion of his Majesties last Declaration, although it contained hard expressions of the Subjects in Scotland, yet his Majesty declared, that he had no such opinion of them, but required this Paper to stand for his credit, and for a point of honour with foreign Nations, and required they should not stand with him for words and expressions, so be that they obtained the matter.

The Scots
false Paper
which was
burnt.

Secondly, as for his calling the late Assembly, pretended; seeing the Subjects of Scotland professed they would never pass from the said Assembly and Decrees thereof; His Majesty professed, as he did not acknowledge that Assembly further than as it was registrate His Declaration, so would he not desire the Subjects to pass from the same.

Thirdly, concerning the constitution of the Assembly, it was shewn to his Majesty that none could be Members of the Assembly, but such as had a Commission, viz. two or three Ministers from every Presbytery, with a ruling Elder, one from each Burrough and University, and his Majesties Commissioner. His Majesty contended that his Assessors had Vote, and upon an Expression in his Majesties Declaration, that referred to some Reasons contained in former Proclamations, which were totally against the lawfulness of ruling Elders; It was desired that according to the customs of this Kirk, all controversies arising should be remitted to the Assembly it self. His Majesty had some Expressions craving these to be remitted to himself; but being told that it was against the constitutions of the Kirk, to have any other Judg but the Voicer of the Assembly, where his Majesty or his Commissioner should be present, and give the first voices. It was concluded, that the word free Assembly in his Majesties Declaration, did import the freedom in judging all questions arising there, concerning constitution, members or matter.

Observations. Then the King had no Negative Voice, onely one Affirmative, as the meanest ruling Elder had.

By the second *Article of Pacification*, all facts were to be delivered presently to the King.

The fourth and seventh *Articles of Pacification* are absolute, and the King accordingly performed the fourth, but the Covenanters invented a back-door to elude the seventh, contrary to the words of it.

Anno
1639.

Fourthly, concerning the restitution of the Castles, as the Subjects did it freely, so did they express, that what might concern the safety of the Countrey they referred to the time of the Parliament, at which time they should signify their desires by Petition to his Majesty. As also they told, it had cost much charges in fortifying and keeping thereof: the Representation whereof to his Majesty they referred to that time.

Fifthly, concerning the restitution of persons goods and Houses required by his Majesty, it was promised, providing that the great Sums contracted to the publick were repaid in an equal way by all, which behoved to be done either by Commission from his Majesty, or by Parliament. And when it was objected that much goods were already spent, the King answered, that as for goods or ammunition that was spent, they could not be restored, but these that are extant must be rendered.

Sixthly, his Majesty not allowing of the late Assembly, for the Reasons contained in the several Proclamations, being excepted against as a Declaration of his Majesties judgment against Ruling Elders, which pre-judged the right constitution of a free Assembly, his Majesty after a full Hearing deleted that clause.

Seventhly, that part of his Majesties Declaration which bears, that no other Oath be exacted of Furants, than that which is contained in the Act of Parliament; as also that clause bearing, that the pretended Bishops, &c. shall be censurable by the General Assembly, being excepted against as presupposing and importing the continuance of Episcopacy, which we could not acknowledg as being incompatible with the Confession of Faith, and constitution of the Kirk. His Majesty was pleased to delete both these clauses.

Eighthly, and it being with all humility and instancy pressed, Saturday, June 15. that his Majesty would satisfie that main desire of his Subjects, by declaring, that his Majesty would quit Episcopacy, did answer, that it was not sought in our desires. And when it was replied, that our first desire to have the Acts of our General Assembly ratified, imported the same, His Majesty acknowledged it to be so, and averred, that he did not refuse it, but would advise till Munday the seventeenth. At which time his Majesty being pressed to give some signification of quitting Episcopacy, and it being shewn to his Majesty, that if he would labour to maintain Episcopacy, it would breed a miserable Schism in this Kirk, and make such a rupture and division in this Kingdom as would prove incurable: and if his Majesty would let the Kirk and Countrey be freed of them, his Majesty would receive as hearty and dutifull obedience as ever any Prince received of a People. His Majesty answered, that he could not prelimit and forestall his — voice, but had

appointed a free Assembly which might judge of all Ecclesiastical matters, the constitutions whereof he promised to ratifie in the ensuing Parliament.

This Paper
was contradictory to the 7.
Articles of
Pacification.

This Paper being divulged by the Scots, but with cunning secrecy, and as appears in effect, with most *Machiavilian* policy, to elude the former seven Articles, and to delude the ignorant People, perswading them that these conditions aforesaid were the very Articles signed at *Barwick*; and they confessed in their Declaration, pag. 34. that their Commissions had no exact Joint Register of them, and that their several Relations taken by their Notes were found to be somewhat different both in word and writing. But all the English Lords disclaimed them as most false, forged, and scandalous, and some of them point-blank contradictory to the seven Articles, and others altogether derogatory to the Kings express Speeches in his former Declaration, and inconsistent with Monarchy; and if those could be had which were delivered to the English covenanting Lords, (as the Scots pretend they did) I am perswaded that they would be found different from these of their last Edition, as *pias fraudes de novo*, their grand Principle being *Quod nulla via est mala, cujus finis est bonus*, contrary to Saint Paul, *Non est faciendum malum ut bonum inde eveniat*. And because the major part of that ignorant infatuated Nation, remained as yet intangled in that Error, that these were the seven Articles of Pacification, and burnt by the Hangman, as the Ministry thundered out of their Pulpits to make the King odious. I conceive it very necessary for the undeceiving of the Multitude, and satisfying the most curious, to set down verbatim his Majesties Proclamation there anent, which is now rarely to be found; for the Scots endeavour to suppress such Truths.

A Proclamation, publishing an Act of State, and his Majesties Command concerning a scandalous Paper lately dispersed amongst many of his Subjects.

WHereas a Paper containing many Falshoods, and tending much to the dishonour of his Majesties late Proceedings in the Pacification, given to his Subjects of Scotland, hath been dispersed in divers parts of this Kingdom, whereupon an Act of Council hath been made in these words ensuing, viz.

On Sunday the fourth of August, sixteen hundred thirty nine, his Majesty being in Council, was pleased to acquaint the Lords with a Paper, which he had seen in *Barwick*, intituled, Some Conditions of his Majesties Treaty with his Subjects of Scotland, before the English Nobility, are set down here for remembrance. Which Paper be-
ing.

Anno
1639.

ing in most parts full of falshood, dishonour, and scandal to his Majesties Proceedings in the late Pacification, given of his Princely grace and goodness to his Subjects of Scotland, hath been very frequently spread here in England, and avowed in Scotland by some, to have been approved and allowed as Truth by some of these Lords in England, who attended his Majesty, and were present at the Pacification in the Camp. Whereupon the Paper having been read, and his Majesty commanding these English Lords to declare their knowledge thereof,

Arundel testifies.

The Earl Marshal first began to put his Majesty in remembrance, that some few days after the Pacification was concluded, some of the Scots Lords coming to the Lord Chamberlain's Tent, sent to speak with him and the Earl of Holland, and offered them a certain Paper, which they pretended to have been collected for the help of their memories, and not otherwise, nor to be published; but the said English Lords very dutifully and discreetly refused to accept of that or any such Paper, but referred themselves totally to the Articles of Pacification in writing; and the said Earl Marshal further declared, that now upon the reading, he for his part held the said Paper, for the most part false and scandalous, and no way agreeable to what his Majesty expressed at the Pacification.

Pembroke testifies.

Next the Lord Chamberlain declared, that being ready to take horse, and a number of his Friends about him taking their leave, the Lord Loudon pressed him with much importunity to receive a Paper, which he took, not knowing what it contained, but at night when he came to his Lodging, doubting it might be some such Paper as was formerly offered, and was refused, took it without reading of it, and sealed it up, and so kept it, untill he presented it to his Majesty at White-hall, professing, that till that time he had never read any one word of it, nor seen any other Copy thereof; which Paper being that which had been divulged, was the very same which his Majesty commanded to be read at the Board.

Salisbury testifies.

The Earl of Salisbury likewise desired to justify himself of a particular Scandal laid upon him, that he had received and brought Copies of this Paper from the North, which he declared could not be, because he was come away from the Camp before that Paper was offered, and had never seen it, nor any Copy thereof, before his Majesties return to Theobalds.

All the Lords concur.

After this the Lord Chamberlain, the Earls of Salisbury, Holland, and Berkshire, concurred with the Earl Marshal, that the Contents of that Paper were for the most part notoriously scandalous, false, and contrary to what his Majesty clearly expressed at the Pacification.

The Kings report.

His Majesty likewise declared, that before his coming from Berwick, he shewed a Copy of this scandalous Paper to the Earl of Lindsey, the Earl of Holland, Mr. Treasurer Dorine, and Secretary Cook, who fully concurred in the foresaid opinion with the other Lords; all which Lords, and particularly the Earl of Holland, avowed the falseness there-

of

Anno
1639.

of to the faces of these Scots Lords, who were believed to be the divulgers thereof, the Lords of the Council of Scotland being there likewise present.

All which considered, the whole Board unanimously became humble Petitioners to his Majesty, that this false and scandalous Paper might be publickly burnt by the Hangman, and that his Majesties pleasure might be published by Proclamation, that no person or persons hereafter of what Degree or Condition soever, presume to keep any Copy thereof, but that within ten days after the said Proclamation published, every such person and persons shall deliver to the next Justice of Peace all and every Copies thereof, the same to be immediately sent to one of the principal Secretaries, upon peril of such punishment as the Law inflicts upon such as keep up seditious Papers, which was accordingly ordered and commanded to be entred into the Council-book, as an Act of State.

His Majesty therefore by the advice of his Privy Conneil doth hereby publish the said Act of State unto all his loving Subjects, to the end that being forewarned, they may avoid the Danger, which may ensue by the detaining or concealing any Copy or Transcript of the said Paper, strictly charging and commanding all manner of persons whatsoever, that they presume not to keep any Copy of the same, according to this Act, upon such Penalties as are done by Law. And his Majesty is hereby graciously pleased to pardon and remit the offence of such persons, as have had any Copy of the said Paper, and shall deliver it up within ten Days after Publication hereof, as aforesaid.

Given at our Palace of Westminster the eleventh of August, 1639.

How evident it is to all men, how poorly these pacifying English Lords Commissioners came off, Pembroke, Salisbury, Holland, and Berkshire, Sir Harry Vane senior, and Secretary Cook; all (except honest Berkshire) sided afterwards with the Covenanters against the King.

And when the King charged the Scots Commissioners with this Paper, they made no Answer, as not being within their Instructions; but afterwards in their grand Declaration the State of Scotland makes this pitifull Answer or Excuse.

As we are most unwilling to fall upon any Question, which may seem to import the least contradiction with his Majesty, so if it had not been the trust which we gave to the Relation of our Commissioners who did report to us his Majesties gracious Expressions, related daily to us at Dunce, (the place of their Camp) and put into Notes by many of our Number, which were a great deal more satisfactory to us than the written Declaration, the same would not have been acceptable, which did call the Assembly, pretended; our humble and loyal Proceedings, disorders; our courses, disagreeable to Monarchical Government, nor the Castle

The Scots excuse concerning this Paper. They pretend that verbal grants made the King contradict the signed Articles.

of

Anno

1639.

A pretty conceit.

of Edingburgh rendered, (which was onely taken for the safety of the Town of Edinburgh) simply without assurance by Writ, of their indemnity, except for the trust we reposed in their Relation and confidence in his Majesties royal words, which we believe they did not forget, but will bring those which did hear the Treaty to a right remembrance thereof, which Paper was onely written for that cause, lest either his Majesty or his Subjects should averr that they spake any thing without a Warrant.

And yet the Lords of the English Council, and of their party, disavowed it openly at the Council-table.

And afterwards, pag. 33. they say, That the said Paper containing some of his Majesties expressions in the time of the Treaty, which were put in the hands of the English and others, have suffered innocently.

For first, it was the means that brought about the Pacification, and gave some satisfaction to his Majesties Subjects against certain words and clauses of the Declaration, which without that Mitigation they would never have been able to digest.

Secondly, it did bear nothing contrary to the Articles of Pacification, but was a mollifying of his Majesties Declaration, that it might be more readily received of the Subjects.

This is most untrue, or else there would have been no question made of it.

Thirdly, it had been extreme, and more than imaginable impudency, to put in the hands of the English Nobility a Paper professing what was openly spoken a little before in their own hearing, that it might be remembered afterwards as occasion should serve, and yet containing untruths and seditious Positions, contrary to all that was done for Peace.

So it was done, as they declared at the English Council-table.

Fourthly, when there was great Murmuring, and Exceptions taken at the words of the Kings Declaration, our Commissioners were carefull to remember every lenifying sentence and word which proceeded from his Majesties mouth, and the hearers were no less carefull to note all with their Pens which was by them related, every man according as he was able to conceive.

And thus at first, there were Relations somewhat different both in word and writ, (an evil very ordinarie at such times) till our Commissioners joyning did bring all to their remembrance, that neither more or less might be written than was spoken, and what was written might be written to some of the English, in futuram rei memoriam.

One thing it may be hath fallen further, contrary to his Majesties desire, that the Paper hath come to the knowledg of strangers, which we may averr hath not been done by us, and which was impossible for us to avoid; for our Commissioners being about the desired Peace could not in their Relations conceal his Majesties gracious Expressions, and these intended for our tranquillity, coming into so many hands at home, have possibly been divulged, unnecessarily carried abroad, contrary to our intended

The disagreeing of these Notes shew there was no truth in it.

This is like the rest, as if they themselves had not dispersed them.

tended

Anno
1639.

They were common and therefore one was burnt, and others called in.

tended desires. This in the simplicity of our hearts, we do declare to be the plain truth of that which hath been before urged against us, and is now so much noised, and it is likely that the smoke of the fire, and the hand of the hang-man, have carried it to the knowledge of many who otherwise would never have known of it by the breath or hands of other. And thus much concerning that Paper.

The Letter was written to the French King, with this endorsement, *Au Roy*, To our King, which in France is alwayes understood from those subjects onely, to their Natural Prince.

Sire,

Vostre Majeste Cessant l'asyle & sanctuaire des Princes & Estates affligez, &c.

S I R,

Y Our Majesty being the refuge and sanctuary of afflicted Princes and States, We have found it necessary to send this Gentleman Mr. Calvil, to represent unto your Majesty the candor and ingenuity, as well of our Actions and proceedings, as of our intentions, which we desire to be engraven and written to the whole world with a beam of the Sun, as well as to your Majesty. We therefore most humbly beseech you, Sir, to give Faith, and Credit to him, and to all that he shall say on our part, touching us and our affairs, being almost assured, Sir, of an assistance according to your wonted clemency, heretofore, and alwayes shewed to this Nation, which will not yeeld the glory to any other whatsoever, to be eternally,

Sir, Your Majesties most humble, most obedient
and most affectionate servants

Roths, Montrose, Lesly, Mar, Montgomery,
London, Forrester,

To which the Scots make this Excuse.

This Letter is the *Decumanus fluctus* (say they) This is that French Letter so much talked of, and insisted upon as to open a gate to let in foreign power into England, which by what consequence can be inferred, we would fain know, when a people is sore distressed by sea and land, is it not lawfull by the Law of God and Man, to call for help from God and Man?

If there were no help nor assistance by Intercession, by supply of money, &c. is all assistance by sword and men? may not friends and equals assist, as well as superiours? we never had intention to prefer any foreign power to our native King whom God hath set over us. The Proclamation at that time (as may be seen by our Remonstrance page 34.) was without example, Great for-

Anno
1639.

They acknow-
ledge this let-
ter by the
French king.

They did me-
diate with Den-
mark, Sweden,
and Holland,
for their assi-
stance, and of-
fered to Den-
mark the isles
of Orkney, and
had agents at
every place for
that effect.

ces by Sea and Land were coming upon us, Informations went abroad to foreign Nations, to the prejudice of us and our cause. *This made us resolve to write unto the French King*; apprehending that upon sinister resolution, his power might be used against us, what kinde of assistance, of men, or mediation are best known, by our Instructions ready to be seen, and are signed also by the Lord *Lowdon*: hand now in prison. Ayd and assistance hath been given in former times, as now in the return of our troubles upon *Denmark, Holland, Sweden, Poland*, or other Nations for help. And when all is said or done, the Letter is but an Embryo, forsaken in the birth, as containing some unfit expressions, and not agreeable to our Instructions, and therefore slighted by the subscribers. Another Letter was formed consonant to the Instructions, and signed by many hands, but neither of them sent. Their greatest trust was in their *English* brethren, and Mr. *Pickring* was then and afterwards with them to assure them thereof, until divers of them of better quality came there secretly and disguisedly, and gave them more assurance from their party here in *England*, and *Nath. Fines*, the Lord *Savil*, Mr. *Cambden*, Mr. *Lawrence* and others, as appeared afterwards in the petition of eleven Lords that posted to *York* in *August*, 1640. and Treaty at *Rippon*; because wee conceived it would come to late to *France*, to avert the danger.

The Letter it self carrieth two tokens unperfected:

First, That it wanted a date.

Secondly, That it hath no superscription from us.

Both these are turned against us. The blank date hath made our enemies to number this Letter amongst the number of our pretended faults, committed after the Parliament, whereas it was written in *May*, 1639. before our marching to the borders, and therefore ought to have been buried in the *Pacification*: and was occasionally made known to some *English* of quality in the Kings Camp: and the want of subscription hath made our adversaries to indorse it, *Au Roy*; But we affirm that it was neither sealed, folded nor indorsed by us, nor to our knowledge. Examples have been of Letters old and of late to other Princes, even to the Pope himself, which are not hid from the world, It sufficeth that we have justified the Lord *Lowdon* for putting his hand to such a Letter, the guiltinesse or Innocency herein not being personal or proper to him, but *National*, and common to us all. But had it been his fault, being before his Commission and employment to *England*, he ought to have returned, and to have been unclothed of his Commission, and a private Man, ere he had been questioned. The dignity and safety of Nations, Kingdoms, Estates, and Republicques are much interessed in their Commissioners and Legates dignity, whether from Prince or *Republique*, is the ground

*Multitudo pec-
catorum tollit
sensum & pe-
ccatum in peccati.*
Formerly the
Scots account
themselves a
free Republick

ground and law of Nations, the effects bring Religion to God, Piety towards our Countrey, propulation of injury, keeping of Faith, and Legates to be inviolable.

If any Person hath committed any offence at home against King, Countrey, or Subject, the fundamental Liberties and Independency of *Scotland*, and practise of all times before 1603. require; that it be tried and judged at home in a loyal way by the ordinary Judicatories of the Land, and therefore to intreat for his Liberty and safety, who is to us as our selves, and now imprisoned against all equity, law or conscience.

Thus much the *Scots* plead, not in excuse you see, but in justification of these three particulars so far objected against them.

And now let us examine the condition of the seven *Articles* themselves.

As for the three first on the Kings part, It was no great matter whether he would perform or no, the *Scots* had been their own Carvers, and had threatned to assemble of themselves, and if need were, could make it as useful as a Parliament. But to disband such an Army, upon any conditions was the first president from any Prince. It hath been the policy of all Potentates to strike into a power, without jealousy of their own subjects, even when they are at the best and safest terms with their Sovereigns, lest he should divert his forces upon them.

But it is truly observed, He had ground and cause enough from abroad, and at home also, without seeking for reasons: His two Invasions upon his potent Neighbours, provoking the *Spaniard* at the Isle of *Gades*, and the *French* at the Isle of *Rhe*. And therefore though it is a Maxim for an Army once raised, to keep it self by free quarter, rapine and Robbery, if not otherwise maintained, yet no such fear nor occasion now, the Gentry were up, and wilde for performing some gallantry of honour, and went not far to fetch it, nor to fear the purchasing, from a despised petty enemy. Nor was the King bound to disband, but to recall his forces by Land or Sea; from the coasts of that Kingdom, until they had first performed their *Articles* which they were intended, nor were the *English* willing to quit any of the charge and expence, their Equipage being already paid for, and fit for performance to the purpose intended, But contrary to their expectations were dismissed without any careffe for all their love and loyalty, which fell short to him ever after, when his following troubles had most cause and occasion to command them.

For at the Publication of the Kings Declaration in *Scotland*, the Covenants were provided, and did affront it with a Protestation.

To maintain their late General Assembly at *Glasgow*, to be a free and perfect Assembly of their Kirk, and all their proceedings there to stand in effect.

Anno
1639.

They forget another duty to our King. It is not against the law of nations for any King to imprison and execute his own Subjects.

Considerations upon the
7. Articles.

Obs. 160.

Anno
1639.

Especially, their sentences of *Deprivation* and Excommucation of the sometimes pretended Bishops.

Their solemn Covenant and *Declaration*, whereby the Office of Bishop is totally abjured.

That no Members of the Colledge of Justice shall attend the Session (or Term) upon avoyding and null of all their Acts and Sentences.

Nay, what more did they not do, to their not performing any one *Article*, of *Pacification*? Keeping up their Fortifications at *Lieth*, their Officers in pay, their continual unwarrantable consultations, and in stead of restauration to the Kings wel-affected subjects, what had been ravaged from them, they secured some of their persons, with a strickt eye upon them all.

I know not what their Intolencies were not incouraged to do, even from our own party; for that Libel which by the Title, some conditions of his Majesties Treaty with his subjects of *Scotland*, are here set down for Remembrance. Indeed *Pembroke*, *Salisbury*, *Holland* and *Barkshire* renounced them or any such consent of his Majesty, while they were Commissioners, and indeed they were burnt in *Smithfield* by the Hangman, and Secretary *Coke* one of the Commissioners was turn'd out of office therefore, and not unlikely to be guilty of that and too much contriving with those Covenanters then and alwayes after. And however not true, yet their Ministers made their pulpits speak it, to be the virtual part of the *Pacification*, and therefore the King to be no longer trusted. And all those passages even whilst the King was present, who therefore, not to be longer affronted to his face, and uncertain whom to trust there, and such a sudden contracted kindenesse being between two late enemies, that wise men mistrusted foul effects, and so did the King, who hasted home to consult with his Junto at *White hall* in *July*, and the *Scots* Covenanters busie to frame a *Protestation* against the time of the intended Proclamation for their General Assembly, and it was thus:

Protestation
of the Cove-
nanters, the
Preface.

WE Noblemen, Barons, Burgesses, &c. Acknowledging his Majesties high favour in calling again a free and Generall Assembly and Parliament, &c. And fearing to admit any thing which might import the violation of the Oath of God; which ties us to maintain the late Assembly at *Glasgow*, &c. where the Enemies to Religion, his Majesties honour, and our peace, the Office of Arch Bishops and Bishops (who are now cited by his Majesties Jurisdiction to assist in the next Assembly) is abjured, and they themselves for their Usurpations and Innovations were more solemnly Excommunicated. Therefore lest this Indiction should import the least prejudice to the said full, lawfull and National Assembly, &c. Wee therefore Declare,

I. To

1. To maintain the late Assembly at Glasgow as most lawfull, free and General, &c. ratifying all the Acts, sentences and constitutions, censures and proceedings, especially the sentence of deprivation and excommunication of the pretended Arch Bishop, and Bishops of this Kingdom.

2. To adhere to our solemn Covenant with God, whereby the Office of Bishops who yet usurp the Title, is declared to have been abjured.

3. That if they return to this Kingdom, they be used as accursed and delivered over to the Devil, and out of Christs body as Ethniks and Publicanes.

4. That all evil Concellours be accusable and censurable at the next Parliament, conform to the Statute of 4. Jac. and that all persons in this Kingdom, entertainers and maintainers of Excommunicated Prelates, be proceeded against with Excommunication, conform to the acts of this Kirk.

5. That seeing this Session (or Term) is now appointed to sit in prejudice of the people, who have been busie for the late defence of their Religion and this Nation, and now retired to settle their own affairs, and not having forty dayes warning as legally it ought to be, and now but twenty to come, Wee Protest that all the Members of the Colledge of Justice, and all other subjects, ought not to attend this Session; that all their Acts which they shall doe, shall be voyd.

6. Lastly, We Protest to have liberty to enlarge this our Protestation and Reasons: and thereupon the Earle of Dalhouse for the Lords, Sr. William Roffe for the Barons, the Provost of Sterling for the Barroughs, and Mr. Andro Ramsey for the Ministers, take Instrument hereof. Edinburgh, 1. July, 1639.

They that would excuse this Insolent impetuosity of proceeding in the Covenanters, so early after the accord, and so fair; do affirm, that by the endeavours which was lately used by the Commissioner Marquesse Hamilton, to disunite (as they call it) and corrupt the chief and most leading Covenanters, as namely Argyle, Rothes, Lindsay, Monrosse, Lowdon, Sr. William Dowglas, Mr. Alexander Henderson and others, by allurements of great offices: And that Argyle offered his Daughter in Marriage with Rothes, and Ten thousand pounds portion, and to remain forthwith and for ever to Rothes, in case Hamilton failed of performance.

But the Scots meet at their time appointed, the sixth of August, the General Assembly at Edinburgh, continuing till the twenty fourth, and there made good to themselves the first Article of the Kings reference to his Commissioners former promise, which
were

Anno
1639.

were in particular, *Abolishing Episcopacy*, the five Articles of *Perth*, High Commission *Liturgy*, and Book of Canons. And the *Marquesse Hamilton* designed with new Commission from the King to assent thereto, and to Act in other things; But he cunningly cast that Imployment upon *Traquair*, whose jugglings together, proved false and treacherous to all succeeding affairs of their Sovereigne.

For after the Assembly, the Parliament being prorogued to the twenty sixth of *August*, they then sit, And at the beginning debate the Interests to the Election of the *Lords of Articles*. The King heretofore named eight Bishops, and they eight Noblemen, and these sixteen elected eight Commissioners for the Sherifdoms, and eight others for the Burroughs and Corporations. And these thirty two, and no more, had the names of Lords of the Articles, and were a Committee to canvass and correct all Bills before they go to Vote, And so the King not to be prejudiced in his Nomination by the avoydance of Bishops, the Parliament yeilded to his Commissioner to chuse eight Noblemen for the present, bnt voted that hereafter every State should Elect their own Commissioners.

Thus far they were forward for businesse, but then how, and in what manner to supply the vacancy of Bishops Votes, and how to constitute the Third Estate. The Commissioner urged for the King fourteen Laiks, of such as were called Abbots and Priors, to represent the third Estate, which after some alteration was settled and voted into small Barons that represent the Commonalty, and then fell upon abrogating former Acts, of Inditions of Courts of Exchequer, Ward-lands, and other things; so peremptory to a kinde of Reforming all to a fresh new modeling of a Government of their own, without reference to Regality, the Commissioner had command from the King to Prorogue the Parliament until the second of *June* next, against which they frame a Declaration, to be of no effect without consent of Parliament, and might sit still: but in some shew of duty, they for the present would make Remonstrance of their Propositions and proceedings, and if by suggestions, Informations and Imputations, bad effects should follow, the world should witnesse their constraint to take such courses as might best conserve the Kirk and Kingdom from eminent confusion.

And accordingly and as a consequence, their Deputies the Earl of *Dumfirlin*, and the Lord *Lowdon* present their Remonstrance, and the Commissioner *Traquair* came also to the King to give the account of all, not before a select Committee of Councellours, but the whole body of the Councel; and to hear both parties, with very fierce Reproofs, Recriminations, between them, where the deputies (their old impudent manner) not at all qualifying any

any mistakes or oversights, but absolutely insisting upon direct justification of all and every Act of both Assembly and Parliament in their transactions to the very, not onely, lessening of the Kings prerogative, but over ruling if not destroying of all soveraign authority, which nothing but power and force could reduce to moderation or reason, and these passages made an end of the moneth *September*.

During these *Scotish* affairs, about the middle of *July* came over hither into *England* the Prince *Elect*or, who the last year had ill successe of his designe into *Westphalia*, where he was beaten; and his brother *Rupert* taken prisoner. And now Duke *Bernard* a gallant Commander lately dead; the Prince of *Orange* advised the *Elect*or to procure assistance of his Uncle the King of *England*, to get command of that Dukes Army. And although our home affairs were in great necessity of support here, yet the King upon his score encouraged him therein, and withall, dealt with the *French* Ambassadour Leiger here to procure his Master into a League of assistance with him, Intimating so much to Cardinal *Richlieu*, the great manager of the *French* affairs and Councils, [and glad (sayes one) to serve his Majesty and Nephew] Quite another way; for though a Treaty therein was set on foot, yet with no intent or policy in the Cardinal too much to further the effect, and indeed but a by shift of our King for the present: for how could *Richlieu* be righty perswaded to it, being so lately, hardly reconciled for the *English* account upon the Isle of *Rhe*, and the relief of *Rochel*, and from whence he took rise and resolution of revenge by plots and counsels with the *Scots* in all their Rebellions against the King, as you shall see hereafter. And in truth even now whilst the Treaty; the Palsgrave in *November* was treacherously advised (even by the Cardinals designe) to passe disguised through *France* to the *Suedes* army, but discovered all the way, first by our own Fleet at the Downs, saluted with a voley of great Guns, and so by the ship the like, which landed him at *Boullen* for *Paris*, and after to *Lions*, where he was seized, and (denying himself) arrested, and (as it was managed by the *Elect*or) very perfidious to the *French* in the time of Treaty, and he deserved as he found by a strict guard of Horse and Foot, no better than others to be so imprisoned.

And whilst we are abroad, we may mention our other neighbours with their two Fleets, *Spain* and *Holland*, in the *English* Roade the Downs, the one seventy Sail, intended for a recruit of men and money for *Flanders*, and to land at *Dunkirk*; But by the way they meet with the *Hollanders* Vice-admiral with seventeen gallant men of War, And the seventh of *September*, were forced to a fight, wherea's the *Hollander* over powred and unable

Anno
1639.

Prince *Elect*or
comes over.

Hist. p. 163.

Fleets of *Spain*
and *Holland*
engage.

Anno
1639.

unable to hold out, with the loss of two Ships sunk, got to Windward, and went along with them towards *Dunkirk* presuming to meet his *Admiral* who lay before it, and to that end gave warning by firing his *Ordnance* all the way upon the *Enemy*. And as it was intended, the next morning the *Admiral* hears the *Reports*, and came up to his *Vice-admiral*, and joyns his *Fleet*, between *Dover* and *Calais*, being now five and twenty *Sail* in all, who encounter the *Spaniard* in sharp *Fight* till past Noon, having much the better, by taking two *Gallions*, sunk another, and shattered the rest, enforcing them on the *English Coast* near *Dover*, and so bore off for the *Coast of France*, till they should consult whether here to force them any further.

The *Spanish Resident* importuned the *King* to keep the *Hollanders* in subjection but two *Tides*, whilst the *Spaniard* might have the means to get back into *Spain*; and withall under hand here had hired some *English Ships* to transport their *Souldiers* and *Treasure* to *Dunkirk*; but upon *Complaint* and *Opposition* of the *Hollands Ambassiadour*, the *King* being in amity with both, was resolved to stand *Neuter*, with command, that no *Spaniard* should be taken in or pass beyond *Graves-end* without licence. And thus both *Enemies* at gaze, devising by what *Designs* to either's prejudice, the *Spaniard* found means and opportunity in the night to convey to *Dunkirk* fourteen Ships, and in them four hundred thousand pounds.

And then the *King* sends the *Earl of Arundel*, to the *Admiral of Spain*, *Don Antonio D' Oquendo*, desiring him to retreat upon the first fair winde, as not willing they should ingage within his *Seas*; but the *Easterly Winde* (not usual so long at this time) held them here, and helped the *Hollander* near him with fresh *Supply*, till they were complete an hundred *Sail*, incompassing their *Enemy* within *Pistol-shot*, so near arriving as kept not long from ingaging; for on the eleventh Day of *September* the *Dutch Admiral Van Trump* charged the *Spaniard* with his *Cannon* and *Fire-ships* so furiously, as that they cut their *Cables*, and being fifty three in number, twenty three ran a shore and stranded in the *Downs*, whereof three were burnt, two sunk, and two perished on the shore, one of these was a great *Gallion* the *Vice-admiral* of *Gallicia*, *Don Andrea de Castro* with fifty *Brass Pieces* of *Ordnance* in her. The remainder of the twenty three deserted by the *Spaniard* who went on Land were mann'd by the *English*, to save them from the *Dutch*; the other thirty *Spanish Ships* under the command of *Admiral Oquendo*, and *Lopus* of *Portugal* went to *Sea*, and kept in close order untill a great *Fog* fell upon them, when the *Dutch* taking the advantage, interposed betwixt the *Admirals* and their *Fleet*, and fought them valiantly till the *Fog* cleared up, when the *Admiral of Portugal* began to flame, being fired with two *Holland Fire-ships*, which *Oquendo* perceiving, he
forth-

Arundel sent
aboard the
Spaniards.

Anno
1639.

Forthwith bent his course towards *Dunkirk*, with the *Admiral* of that place, and some few *Ships* more, (for most of the rest were taken) and of these thirty, eleven of them were taken and sent into *Holland*, three perished upon the Coast of *France*, one near *Dover*, five sunk in the *Fight*, and onely ten escaped, to carry the *News* home to *Spain*. And this *Narration* came from *Van Trump* himself, and sent to *Joachim* the *Dutch* *Liege* here.

I must confess, we are yet to seek of the *Spaniards* Design, and can but ghes, as many differently did.

What was the
Spaniards Design.

At their first appearance upon our Coast they were esteemed like the invincible *Armado* in Eighty Eight, and simply conceived these for an *Invasion*; for in likelihood, the imbarquing of twenty five thousand *Souldiers* in that *Fleet*, too great a number for a *Recruit* in *Flanders*, as was suggested; and imagined that by the *Admiral* of *Naples*, his Refusal to shew his *Commission*, (being required by the *King*) bore but an evil consequence, wondering why the Town of *Dunkirk* should so much dispute the *Reception* of four thousand which were conveyed thither, unless the *Cardinal Infante* gave express command.

If those Forces had been purposely designed for their *Recruit*, yet those *Souldiers* were unarmed, very few *Officers*, and the whole *Fleet* so poorly accommodated for any *Invasion*, as wanting *Ponder* for their own defence, so that they being at *Anchor* at the *Downs*, *London* was their choice *Magazine*, from whence they had their daily *Supply*.

This Quarrel in both the *Enemies* fell foul upon the *Rule* of *State*, observed by all *Princes*, not to suffer a *Fight* in their own *Harbours*, as the *Downs* are to the *English*; and this the first and greatest *Affront* that ever the *Kings* of *England* suffered in the *Narrow Seas*; especially to consider it, as begun and attempted by our next Neighbour the *Hollander*, when it was a good occasion and a notable advantage of the *English* to have destroyed their whole *Fleet*; and therefore whether it were silently connived at by some of our *English* Counsellours, or whether, as is suggested, that *Marquess Hamilton* his curiosity onely to take view of their *Fleets*, or that *Sir John Pennington* our *Vice-admiral* of the *Narrow Seas* did not do his duty, certainly the effect might, and partly did encourage the rebellious *Scots* to adventure upon the *Kings* lenity, that were so bold not long after to baffle with their *Sovereign*.

And because we will clear our *home-affairs* together, we may take notice here (though at this time) that *Sir Thomas Coventry* *Keeper* of the *Great Seal* of *England*, died the tenth of *January*, after the managing of that *Office* fifteen years, excellently well qualified for that *Place*, both for *Law* and a good conscience, though some have since spoken more freely than justly, that he wisely took

Lord Keeper
Coventry dies.

Anno
1639.

Sir John Finch
succeeds.

Reading at
the Temple.

leave of this life, before it should be taken from him. Imagining that the liberty of that great trust might dispose him to unlawfull gain, few of the same *Dignity* that came off without censure, if not guilt; the two last, Viscount *Saint Albans* and the Bishop of *Lincoln* very eminent *Delinquents* in that Office, were accounted Foyls to set him forth in a large measure, as to himself.

As for Sir *John Finch*, Chief Justice of the *Common Pleas* that succeeded him, could not hold out so many Moneths as he did Years from being in hazzard to have forfeited his head, which he saved by his light pair of heels, the next year.

And that you may understand the temper of those Times, see the boldness of some particulars, Reading at the *Middle Temple*, the Lent Vacation, February 24. by Master *Bagshaw*, making his choice of the Statute 25 Edward 3. cap. 7. He had intended (he said) to meddle with Prohibitions, but not with Tacitus, to follow Truth too near the heels, for fear of his teeth; nor too far off, lest he lose it; and so neither to offend, nor to be offended.

Dividing his Matter into ten parts, for ten Days, and every Day into ten several Cases.

I shall onely insist upon such as then became the common discourse, (then but misreported.)

His first Case thus.

Whether or no it be a good Act of Parliament, without assent of the Lords Spiritual?

He for the Affirmative proved thus.

First, that they sit not as Bishops, but as Baronies annexed to their Bishopricks, 5 William 1. and all of them have so, save the Bishop of Man, and he is not called; Ergo,

Secondly, he proved, some Parliaments held without any Bishops at all, Kelway's Reports, 7 Henry 8. fol. 184. that the presence of Bishops are not necessary.

Thirdly, that divers Acts have been made when they were present, and would not consent, as the Act of Conformity, 1 Edward 6. and Supremacy, 1 Eliz.

Fourthly, that if at any time of Parliament they should dis-assent, yet the major part of Barons concluding, and the House of Commons concurring, the Act shall pass, because their Voices are over-ruled by the major of Barons.

Fifthly, that the Bishops cannot sit in case of Bloud in Judicature, but they may sit to assist to enact Laws, but not to give assent for Execution of them in case of any Murder or Bloud.

His second Case thus.

If any beneficed Clerk were capable of temporal Jurisdiction at the time of making that Law.

He

He held the Negative point, and these his Proofs :

First, the first that ever were made Justice of Peace, or had power in temporal Jurisdictions were the Bishops of Durham and York, 34 Edward 3. nine years after the same Act, so not a principio, but a tempore.

Secondly, before the Statute of Conformity, 1 Edward 6. the Clergy were never put in Commission for temporal ; and the reason why they were then admitted, was to perswade the People to Conformity, not to give sentence against them.

Thirdly, if they conceive in conscience, because they have spiritual calling, therefore, not to meddle in temporal causes, then they may refuse it, for they are never desired, nor put in Commission but at their own suit, so then they may either refuse, or be allowed, as their desires affect.

His third Case thus.

Whether a Bishop without calling a Synod have power as Diocesan to convict an Heretick ?

And so he maintained, he could not. His Reason thus.

That albeit by the bloody Statute of 2 Henry 4. some supposed grounds may be raised for maintenance of that authority, yet it is not full ; and besides (which is the main reason) the Commons did not assent to the making of that Law ; for he had searched the Records and found that Act onely past by consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and the Commons never mentioned therein.

Some other Matters he held in point of Law, and had he gone forward, he would have delivered his opinion, both of the High Commission and Prohibition, (as is conceived) but he was commanded silence, and within two Days after he repaired to the Lord Keeper, carrying with him the Heads of Argument, which the Lord Keeper said was good Law, but not seasonably delivered. And told him, that as he was prohibited by the King from his Reading, so he must be set at liberty again by his Majesty, and advised him to move the Archbishop of Canterbury for his Proceeding.

After the Reader had been twice at Lambeth without admittance ; the third time, he spake with the Arch-bishop there, who told him he had fallen upon an unfit subject, and in an unseasonable time, and that it would stick closer to him than he was aware of.

He answered, that he had not done it of any evil intentions, neither had he taken this resolution of late time, but that above two years ago, when he knew he must now perform the Exercise, he then made choice of that Statute, and untill within these twelve Moneths he never heard of any opposition against the Prelacy ; and thinking the same that was moved against them in another Kingdom, nothing concerned this ;

Anno
1639.

He is silenced
and question-
ed.

Answer.

Anno

1639.

therefore he conceived no offence would have been taken by it ; and for him to have altered the frame of his Reading, specially before this time, he should have disappointed the House, and wronged himself in his studies, Profession, and Practice, in regard he would not have been able in so short a time to have performed so great a Task as that was.

His Lordship answered, that perhaps he had been better have given it quite over at the first, than to suffer that by it, which he was like to do.

The Reader replied, that what he had delivered was good Law, and he was able to maintain it, and would stand by it, and hoped he needed not fear any mans power, in regard his cause was lawfull and warrantable ; but he humbly desired his Majesties leave to finish what he had begun.

He was answered, that his Majesty had otherwise resolved of it.

This Reader went out of Town on Friday the sixth of March, accompanied with fourty or fifty Horsmen in very good credit and applause of the House, in which he is a Member to this instant time.

Scots Commissioners return.

The Scots Commissioners lately here having done their arrand, and thereby settled a resolution in this State to have a narrower search into their national actions, returned home to *Edinburgh* that same night, the nineteenth of *November*, that a great part of the Castle wall fell to the ground with the Canons mounted, as if undermined, and to be surprized by an Enemy, which so dayly they supposed was done by design of treachery to them, who were all Traytors themselves. But recovering their fears and Jealousie, this time was calculated to be the just Anniversary of the Kings birth day, the nineteenth of *November*, 1600. just thirty nine years since, and so they turned the accident to an ominous presage of the ruines of the Kings design now in hand, against their Idol Covenant: yet the more subtiler sort made a better use, and more politique; for the King having commanded the Lord *Estrich*, Colonel *Rather* and the commander of the Castle, to order the redifying, the Covenanters withstood those appointed, not permitting any materials to be carried in for repaire: this was the highest in dignity and signified, their resolution not to be mastered.

To which the King gave suddain apprehension, concluding upon force to bring them to obedience: And therefore he drawes out a select choyce of his Council into the Cabinet for the *Scotish* affaires, and indeed, directly to cashier such the most especially as were light headed and as the Arch Bishop is said to nickname them, *Hunting Lords*, these were *Pembroke*, *Salisbury*, *Holland*, and others lately Commissioners in the Pacification, And yet amongst them all

Anno
1639.

all the most unworthy kept in, and bred in *Hamilton*; At last the number was lessened to *three*, the *Arch Bishop*, the Lord *Lieutenant* of *Ireland* and *Hamilton*. And at the close it was concluded [on the fift of *December*.]

And no wonder now to set down the truth, [as secret as this *Junto* was] I draw my intelligence from a Letter written the tenth of *December*, to the most Eminent of degree under obedience of the *King*, the whole manner and matter of that debate, which saies that on *Thursday* last the *Junto* met when the *King* gave reasons of the evil, and necessity of suddain prevention ere it should highten beyond remedie, which in his Judgement ought to be by consent and assistance of a *Parliament* in *England*, the Lord *Lieutenant* accknowledged it the best means, highly magnifying the *Kings* resolution, and with the *Arch Bishop* confirmed, professing afterwards in a fuller Assembly that although he should know himself to be one principally aymed at, for Examination in *Parliament*, yet he so far preferred the *Kings* prosperity and the affaires of State, as to hazard his own life and fortunes to his Innocencie and their Censure. And the Lord *Lieutenant* wholly had the honour in the peoples opinion for promoting this Resolution. Then was it also concluded for a *Parliament* also in *Ireland*, to precede this herein and the *Lieutenant* to be dispatched thither to return time enough to this; which was (therefore) resolved for that cause principally) not to remove till the middle of *April* following, and in the mean time to raise monies by that reputation, sufficient to put himself in a posture of *war*. And indeed the Arguments were urged pro and con, unsafe, unseasonable, insecure, because of the rancour left by the last *Parliament*; the unseasonable recalling an Assembly, after the peoples thoughts had laid them aside and the *King* had learned to stand on his own legs. *viz.* power by Land and Sea, and no doubt *Insecure* to many great ones, a whipping *Parliament* as Sir *Thomas Jermin* named it. But then the necessity of the affairs and the *Kings* resolution to satisfie all exceptions put it on. And for present mony. The Lord *Lieutenant*, subscribed the Lone of *twenty thousand pounds*: the *Duke of Richmond* as much more. *Hamilton* pretended poverty and did not sign at all, though his *Scottish* Imployment got him twice so much. It after came to the rest, some in zeal, other in good manners, few refused. All the Judges, Officers and dependants of Courts of Judicature were assessed by the discretion of the Council, according to their qualities and places of profit. But herein mistaking the profit of the *six Clerks* places in *Chancery*, for they were raised to the sum of *two thousand pounds a piece*; beyond the benefit of their gain. And indeed to draw on the Clergie, and to shew that a *Recusant* (in the rites of our Church) may yet have a conscience of fidelity answerable to the duty of other obedient subjects, the *Queen* had the ho-

Hist. p. 167.

The matter concluded at the Private *Junto*.

The *King* resolves of a *Parliament* in *England*.

and another to be in *Ireland*.

Ob. p. 167.

The *Junto* subscribe to lend mony and so afterwards do all others,

herein mistaking those.

Anno
1639.

honour of Promoting her interest with them, appointing Sir *Kenelm Digby* and Mr. *Walter Mountague* to negotiate with the *Catholiques*, for a hearty, contribution being very proportional to their affections and beyond their proper *abilities*, which was afterwards hinted as a great crime, and therefore throughout the war called the *Papist Army*. It was no matter, for the *Scots* were termed *Rebells* here and in *Ireland*, and more forward than the King, with their faces, but with a cunning carriage of counterfeite humility and Innocencie, *crave leave to prostrate their duty and obedience by access to his Majesties Throne of grace and mercy.*

To that end the Covenanters did send their Commissioners the Earl of *Dunfermling*, the Lord *Loudon*, Sir *William Dowglas* and Mr. *Barkley*. The two last, not so much as mentioned in the Commission, and the Lords onely authorized to plead Integrity, and to demonstrate their fidelity, but not impowred to propound particulars towards a Mediation, any way satisfactorie at all to the Kings expectation, and in truth they came but to juggle with this State as you have heard, for at this time the Covenanters were so forward, as to Imprison at home some of the Kings well affected *Nobility* and Gentry suspected by them, and from birds of their feather the *Hollander*, they procured many Commanders *Scots* and others, with liberty to keep their places with Arms and ammunition upon trust, though such Officers from thence as came to the King, were soon casheered, ungratefull People, both for courtesies done, to repay with injury, and after to destroy; as 'tis observed, that *Naturale est odisse quem laeseris.*

And the King could say of them both, that *They were lost by Favours, and won by Punishment.*

And thus forwarded, like desperate *Insurrectors*, they engage beyond Retrive, themselves the first, to proclaim their *Discontents*, imploring *Aid* from their old *Friends* the *French*, by the *Letter* to that King, which they did not doubt, under confidence of the Cardinal *Richelieu* and Con the Popes *Nuncio*, to obtain.

The very original *Letter* to the *French King*, whether sent, or but intended, came to the Kings hands as a close *Secret*, and was found to be the *Character* of the Lord *Loudon*, who was therefore though *Commissioner* from the Covenanters, committed to the *Tower* in close confinement, till the Marquess *Hamilton* procured his *Release*. And this very *Letter* in the Kings presence being openly read in the Lords *House* the next *Parliament*, the *Commons* being at the *Bar*, without any great resentment, which testified, that the *major* part did not much dislike the *Scots* Proceedings, as appears too true thereafter.

Nay before this their *Letter* to the *French King* they were encouraged six Moneths since from *France* by *Chambers* the *Priest*, a bold

a bold *Scot*, and *Chaplain* to *Richelieu*, sent by him to advise them to take *Arms*, and thereafter he sent his Page *Hepburn* with *Letters* to the principal of them in the *Court* here, and then to *Scotland*; and no sooner invited but they begin their *Reaks*; the *Covenanters* first seizing *Edinburgh* and *Sterlin* Castle, others in a seeming way of force, because the Earl of *Mar* was hereditable *Keeper* of them both, and secretly sided with them; as also the Castle of *Dunbarton* before their *Army* was marched to *Dunslow*.

And besides this *Letter* to the *French King*, they had implored help from the King of *Denmark*, *Sweden*, *Holland*, *Poland*, and their *Letters* were shewed to the *King*, wherein they offer their *Isles* of *Orkney* and *Shetland* to the King of *Denmark*; advising the *Swede* to fall upon that King in case he should assist his Kinsman. Nay, it is further reported, that they solicited the *Turk* to ingage against the *Emperour*, lest he should contribute to their prejudice. But it seems by their own true *Representation*, that they trusted chiefly to their *English Brethren*.

We are now come to the consideration concerning this resolved *Rebellion*, whether (besides the hopes of the *French* and other strangers assistance) the *Jesuit* in particular had combinations with the *Covenanters*, not in love to them, but in policy to ruine the right *Reformed Religion*, by setting up the *Presbytery*, and so all *Schism* to succeed; and a Plot was pretended to bring it about.

The *Narrative* of this *Design* was sooner sent abroad than [by *Master Pryn*, or the other after him, and needs not the credulity of *Sir William Boswel's Relation* as to the thing] but whether the *Indictor* devised this *Narration*, and himself onely the *Plotter*, (as usual with politick *Pretenders*) is much suspected: yet it is confessed to be framed square enough to publick fame to be believed for truth: and thus it was, for I have met with some different Copies commonly transcribed, which yet need not, for they were scattered in Manuscript from the very *Authours*.

A Noble-man of *Boheme*, *Andreas ab Habern-field* now become Physician to the Lady *Elizabeth*, the *Palsgrave* relict, made it known by a Friend to *Sir William Boswel*, and by his means sent to the Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*.

Hist. p. 170.

The grand
D. sign.

Most Illustrious and Reverend Lord,

We have willingly and cordially perceived that our Offers have been acceptable both to his Royal Majesty, and likewise to your Grace. This is the onely Index to us, that the Blessing of God goeth along with you, whereby we are the more extimulated, chearfully and

Anno

1639.

and freely to declare and discover those things, whereby the hazzard of both your lives, the subversion of the Realms both of *England* and *Scotland*, the tumbling down of his Excellent Majesty from his Throne is projected. Now lest the discourse should be enlarged with superfluous circumstances, we will onely premise some things which are meerly necessary to the matter.

First, be it known to them, that this good man, the Informer of the ensuing discoveries, was born and bred in the pontifical *Religion*, and spent many years in Ecclesiastical Functions. At length being judged a fit person for carrying on the present designe, by the advice and command of the Lord Cardinal *Barbarino*, he was made co-adjutor to Con, (the then Popes *Nuncio*) to whom he appeared so diligent, and sedulous in his office, that hope of great preferment was given to him; But he guided by a better inspiration, was not wun by those sugar baits, and conscious to himself of the vanities of that *Religion*, (whereof he had sometimes been a strenuous Defender) having also observed the malice of the *Romish* party, found his Conscience much oppressed; for ease whereof he resorted in his belief to the *Orthodox Religion*. And thought it his best way to reveal a plot, tending to the destruction of so many Innocent souls, conceiving his minde would better repose, should he vent what he knew into the bosom of some confiding Friend. This done, he was seriously admonished by that Friend, to give manifest tokens of his Conversion, and to deliver from imminent danger so many innocent souls. To this counsel he willingly consigned himself, and delivered the subsequent matters to Writing, whereby the Articles lately presented to your Grace may be clearly explicated and demonstrated.

I. That

1 That the main of the businesse may be known, it is to be considered, that all these FaCTIONS which this day make Christianity reel, have their rise from the *Jesuitical* off-spring of *Cham*, which branch it self into four Orders.

The first are *Ecclesiasticks*; these take into care the promotions of Religious affairs.

The second are *Politicians*; their office is to take care for the raising of civil combustions in, and reforming of Kingdoms.

The Third are *Seculars*; who are properly designed for to intrude into offices of near relation to the persons of Princes, to insinuate themselves into Civil affairs of the Court, as Bargains, and Sales.

The Fourth are men of a lower Orb, *Intelligencers*, and spies; then to creep into the services of eminent persons, Princes, Earls, Barons, or the like, and endeavour to pervert or cheat them.

A Society of so many Orders the Kingdom of *England* nourisheth; For scarce all *Spain*, *France*, and *Italy*, can yield so great a multitude of *Jesuites* as *London* alone, Where are found more then fifty *Scotch Jesuites*; there the said Society hath elected for it self a seat of iniquity, and hath conspired against the King and his greatest confidents, especially against the Lord Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, and likewise against both Kingdoms.

For it is most certain, that the said Society hath resolved upon an Universal Reformation in the Kingdoms of *England* and *Scotland*. And the determination of the end, necessarily inferreth a determination of the means.

For promotion therefore of the undertaken villanny, this Society is dubbed with the title of *The Congregation for the propagation of the Faith*, with acknow-

Anno
1639.

ledgeth the Pope of *Rome* for their principal, and Cardinal *Barbarino* for his Substitute and Deputy.

The chief patron of this Society is the popes Legate, who hath special care of the business; into his bosom this rabble of Traytours weekly deposite their Intelligences. The Residence of this Legation was obtained at *London* in the name of the pope, by whole mediation it might be lawful for Cardinal *Barbarino* to work so much the more easily and safely upon the King and Kingdom. For none could so easily circumvent the King as he, who should be palliated with the popes Authority.

In England
he means.

Seignior CON was at that time the Popes Legate, the Universal Minister of that conjured Society, and a vehement promoter of the plot, whose secrets, as likewise those of all other intelligencers, the present Informer of all these things, did receive and dispatch as the business required.

CON tampered with the chief men of the Kingdom, and left nothing unattempted by which he might corrupt them all, and incline them to the *Romish* party: he enticed with many various baits, the very King himself, he sought to delude with gifts of pictures, Antiquities, Idols, and such like trumperies, brought from *Rome*, which yet prevailed nothing with the King.

Thus familiarly entertained by the King, oft at *Hampton-Court*, and at *London*, he was intreated to undertake the Cause of the prince *Palatine*, that he would interpose his authority, and by Intercession perswade the Legate of *Colen*, that the *Palatine* (in the next Diet for the Treating about peace) might be inserted into the conditions; which hee promised, but performed the contrary. He intimated indeed, that hee had been solicited by the King to such an effect, but did not advise any

Anno
1639.

such consent, lest peradventure the Spaniard should say that the Pope of Rome did patronize an heretical Prince.

In the interim CON, smelling from the Arch Bishop, (the Kings most Confident) that the Kings minde was altogether pendulous, and doubtful, resolved to move every stone, and bend all his strength to gain him to his side; being confident hee had prepared the meanes. For he had a command to make offer of a Cardinals Cap to the Lord Arch-Bishop in the name of the Pope of Rome, and that he should allure him also with higher promises, that he might corrupt his sincere minde. Yet a fitting occasion was never offered whereby he might insinuate himself into the Lord Arch-Bishop, to whom free access was to be impetrated by the Earl and Countesse of Arundell, as also by Secretary Windbank, all whose intercessions he neglected, and did shunne (as it were the Plague) the company or familiarity of CON. He was also solicited by others of no mean rank, well known to him, and yet he continued immoveable.

The Earl and Countess had no such interest.

Trial also was made of another, Secretary Cook, who impeded access to the detestable design; an utter enemy he was to the Jesuites, whose access to the King he obstructed. He treated many of them as they deserved, he searcht into their factions, by which means every incitement breathing an attractive power to the Romish Catholiques was ineffectual with him; for nothing was so dear to him as his own Innocence: whence being rendred odious to the conspirators, he was in perpetual hazzard of losing his Place, which being laboured for three years, was at length obtained.

But for all this the King had left him a knotty piece, for the Lord Arch-Bishop by his constancy op-

Anno

1639.

posed himself as an immoveable Rock.

Con and his party finding the Lord *Arch Bishop* so impregnable, and that they laboured in vain, began to boyle with malice, and to plot how the Lord *Arch-Bishop* together with the King should be taken.

Sentence also is passed against the King (who was the main concernment in the plot) because nothing is hoped from him which might seem to promote the *Popish* Religion, but especially when he had once declared himselfe that he was of the minde, that any good and pious man may be saved in his own Religion.

The King
never thought
so.

What executi-
on doth he
mean?

To Act the Treason undertaken, the criminall execution at *Westminster*, caused by some puritanical writing, gave the first spark; a thing so much exasperated and exaggerated by the *Papists* and *Puritans*, that if it went unrevenge, it would be thought a blemish to their Religion, the flames of which fire the subsequent *Liturgie* encreased.

Of *Niddale*
he means.

In this heat a certain *Scottish* Earle one, *Maxwell*, if I mistake not, was dispatcht to the *Scots* by the *Popish* party with whom two other *Scottish* Earles were correspondents, he was to excite the people to commotion: He was to raise commotions, to re-inforce the sence of every injury, and to spur on the people to Rebellion, whereby the great disturber of the *Scottish* liberty might be destroyed.

There by one labour snares are laid for the King, for which purpose the affaire was so ordered, that very many *English* should adhear to the *Scots*. That the King should be inferiour to them in Armes, whereby he might be inforced to crave ayd from the *Papists*, which yet should be denied him, unlesse he would descend to conditions, by which he should permit a general toleration of the *Romish* Religion,

Religion, which was the thing the Papists did aim at. And should he be difficultly brought to such terms, there was a Remedy hoped for.

For the young Prince (who from his Cradle was educated in advantage to the *Romish* persuasion) growing on fast in his youthfull age, the Kings Death was contrived by an *Indian* Nut, stuffed with a most fierce Poyson, kept in the Society, (which *Con* then shewed me in a boasting manner) and prepared for him, as there was another for his Father.

This was a false Parenthesis, and injurious to the late King and his blessed memory, and the rest of this Paragraph an idle conceit.

During the *Scotch* Troubles, the Marquess of *Hamilton* was often imployed by the King as Commissioner to compose Disorders there, and pacifie the discontented party, but returned as often without fruit. His Chaplain repaired at that time to us, and had secret conference with *Con*, of whom I demanded in jest. "Whether also the *Jews* agreed with the *Samaritans*; To which *Con* answered. "I would to God all Ministers were like him: you may conjecture of this as you please.

Things standing thus, there came to *London* from Cardinal *Richelieu*, Master *Thomas Chamberlain* his Chaplain and Almoner, a *Scot* by Nation, who was to assist the College of Confederacy to advance the business, and to attempt all ways of exasperating the first heat: for this service a Bishoprick was promised him. Four moneths space he co-habited with the Society, nor was he permitted to depart, untill matters succeeding, as he wished, he might return with good News.

Sir *Toby Mathew* a Jesuited Priest, of the Order of Politicians, the most vigilant of the chief Heads, (who never went to Bed, but got a Nap of an Hour or two in a Chair) Day and Night plotted Mischief. A Man principally noxious, and the very Plague both of King and Kingdom, a Man most impudent, hunting all Feasts, called or not called, never quiet, always in action,

Anno
1639.

It was proved
he never was
there.

There were
these men and
places, but up-
on examinati-
on the matter
but devised.

on and perpetual motion, intruding into the company of all his Betters; pressing Discourses, whereby to fish out mens inclinations; whatsoever he sucketh from thence, either of advantage, or noxious to the Conspiracy, he imparteth to the Popes Legate, reserving the most secret intelligence for the Pope himself; or the Cardinal *Barbarino*. In short, he associates himself with any, not a word can be spoken but he lays hold of it, and accommodates it to his turn. In the *interim*, all his Observations he reduceth into a Catalogue, and every Summer carrieth it to the general Consistory of the Jesuits Politicks, which privately meet in the Province of *Wales*, where he is a welcome Guest. There are Councils closely hammered, which are fittest for the ruining of the Ecclesiastick and Politick state of both Kingdoms.

Captain *Read* a Scot, dwelling in *Long-Acre* Street, near the Angel-tavern, a Secular Jesuit, who for his detestable service performed (in perverting of a certain Minister of the Church, with secret inticements to the Popish Religion, with all his Family, taking his Daughter to Wife) obtained as a Reward, an Impost upon Butter paid by the Countrey people, procured for him from the King by some chief men of the Society, who never want a Spur whereby he may be constantly detained in his Office. In his house the whole Plot is contrived, where the Society (which hath conspired against the King, the Lord Arch-bishop and both Kingdoms) convene: but on the Day of the Posts Dispatch, they meet in greater Numbers; for then all their Informers assemble, and confer their Notes together; and that they may be the less suspected, convey all their secrets by *Toby Matthew*, or *Read* himself to the Popes Legate, who transmits the Pacquet of Intelligence to *Rome*.

With the same *Read* are intrusted the Letters brought from

from *Rome*, under forged Titles and Names, and by him delivered to whom they belong; for all their Names are known to him.

Upon the same occasion Letters are also brought over under the covert of Father *Philip* (though he be ignorant of the Plot) who distributeth them to the Conspiratours.

In that very House there is a publick Chappel, wherein an Ordinary Jesuit consecrates, and dwelleth. In this Chappel Masses are daily said by the Jesuits, and the Children of some of the Domesticks, and some the Conspiratours are baptized.

They who meet there come often in Coaches, or on Horse-back in Laymens habit, and with a great Train, wherewith they are disguised from notice, yet are Jesuits and Members of the Conspiracy.

All the Papists of *England* contribute to this Assembly, lest any thing should be wanting to promote the Enterprize, upon whose Treasury a Widow (Owner of the Houses where now Secretary *Windebank* dwelleth, and dead above three years since) conferred forty thousand pounds, and for the driving on of the business, others contribute as they are able.

Besides the foresaid Houses, there are also other close Conventicles kept, but very distrustfull of themselves, lest they should be discovered. First, every of them (one not knowing of the other) are directed to certain Inns, and thence led by Spies to the place of meeting, being otherwise ignorant of the place for fear of surprise.

The Countess of *Arundel*, a strenuous she-champion of the *Romish* Faith, bends all her powers for this Universal Reformation, nothing is done secretly or openly at Court, but she imparts it to the Legate, with whom she meets thrice a day, sometimes at *Arundel's* house, now at Court, or at *Tart-Hall*.

The

Anno

1639.

Unlikely.

Never taught
any Religion.

The Earl himself being called about three years since, this year must go to *Rome*, without doubt to consult there of matters pertinent to the Design.

At *Greenwich*, at the *Earls* cost, a feminine School is erected, which is but a Monastery of Nuns; for the young Girls therein are sent forth, hither, and thither, into foreign Monasteries beyond the Seas.

Master *Porter* of the Kings Bed-chamber, most addicted to the Popish Religion, is an utter Enemy of the Kings, revealing all his Secrets to the Legate by his Wife; for he rarely meets with him himself. In all his actions he is nothing inferiour to *Toby Matthew*, it is unexpressible how diligently he intends this business.

His Sons are secretly principled in the *Romish* Belief, but open Professours of the *Reformed*: the Eldest is now to receive his Fathers Place under the future King: A Cardinals Hat is provided for the other, if the Plot takes.

Three years since, Master *Porter* was to be sent away by the King to *Morocco*, but was prohibited by the Society, lest the business should suffer delay.

He is a Patron of the Jesuits, providing Chappels for them to exercise their Religion in, both at home and abroad.

Secretary *Windebank* a fierce Papist, is the greatest Traitour to the King of all. He not onely revealeth the Kings greatest Secrets, but also communicates Counsels, by which the Design may be best advanced. He at least thrice every Week converseth with the Legate in the Nocturnal Conventicles, and revealeth what is fit to be known; to which end he hireth an House near to the Popes Legate, to whom he often resorts through the Garden-door; for by this vicinity the Meeting is facilitated. He is bribed with Gifts to be a Partner in the Conspiracy, by whom he is sustained, that he may more sedulously attend his Charge;

His

His son is sent expressly to *Rome*, on purpose to insinuate himself into his holiness.

Digby and *Winter*, Knights, *Mr. Mountague*, who hath been at *Rome*, the Lord *Sterlin*, a Kinsman of the Earl of *Arundel*, a Knight, the Countesse of *New-port*, the Dutchesse of *Buckingham*, and many others, who hath sworn to this Conspiracy, are all most vigilant in the plot: Some are enticed with hope of Court, others of Political Offices; others attended to the sixteen Cardinals caps vacant, which are detained so, to feed with vain hopes those who expect them.

The president of the said Society was the Lord *Gage*; a Jesuited Priest, dead some three years since. He had a palace adorned with wanton pictures as pretending to profaneness, but palliating thereby a Monastery, wherein forty Nuns were maintained, concealed in so spacious a Palace. It is situated in *Queens street*. The Jesuits have bought all this street, and have reduced it to a quadrangle, where a Jesuiticall Colledge is tacitely built, with this hope, that it might be openly finisht as soon as the General Reformation was accomplished.

The Popes Legate useth a threefold Character, one common to all *Nuncio's*. Another peculiar to himself and Cardinal *Barbarino*. A third wherewith he covers some greater secrets to be imparted. Whatsoever things he receiveth from the Society, or spies, he packeth up in one bundle. with this addresse, *To Monsieur Stravio Archdeacon of Cambrai*; from whom they are sent to *Rome*.

These particulars considered, it will be evident to all.

1. That the Conspiracy against the King and Lord *Archbishop* is detected, and the means threatening ruin to them both is demonstrated.

Anno

1639.

2. The imminent Dangers to both Kingdoms is declared.

3. The Rise and Progress of the *Scottish* Fire is related.

4. Means are suggested whereby their Troubles may be appeased; for after the *Scots* shall see by whom, and to what intents their Spirits are provoked, they will speedily look to themselves, neither will they suffer the Forces of both Kingdoms to be subdued, lest a middle party interpose, which seek the ruine of both.

5. With what Sword the Kings Throat is assaulted, even when these Stirs shall be ended, *Con's* Confession and visible Demonstration sheweth.

6. The place of Assembly in Captain *Read's* House is named.

7. The eight Days Dispatch by *Read*, and the Legate is described.

8. How the names of the Conspiratours may be known.

9. Where this whole Congregation may be circumvented.

10. Some of the principal unfaithfull ones of the Kings party, are notified by name; and many, whose Names occur not yet, their Habitations being known, their Names may be easily extorted from *Read*.

If these things be warily proceeded in, the strength of the whole business will be brought to light, so the Arrow being foreseen, the Danger shall be avoided, which that it may prosperously succeed, the Almighty Creatour grant.

The matter of this *Information* is conform to their old *practices* in all former Times, and in some respects to be likely enough, but truly far from any wise mans faith to give it too much credit in the particulars, which is so notoriously mistaken, as it mars the story.

And for that Objection and Result thereon [*that the Arch-bishop of Canterbury had too much favoured the Romish Faction, not their Faith*] is his own opinion, the *Information* says quite contrary.

But

The Reign of King Charls.

299

But his *Observatour* and others have shewed how and upon what account King *James* and King *Charls* too, had Reasons, and in what manner, to connive at the *Popish Faction*, in reference to the favours afforded the *foreign Reformed Churches*. And so the great *Ministers* and *Officers* in *State* doing but their duty therein, might be thought to favour their *Faith*. See *History* complete, *Mary Queen of Scots*, and King *James*. And to ballance the *Puritan Non-conformist*, the ancient usefull *Ceremonies* of the *Primitive Church* were fuller restored in this *Arch-bishops* time, than of late before, but not so thereby, for the *Arch-bishop* to be forthwith [*cried up by the Romanists for their Profelyte*] for they know that this *Reformation* did in *Ceremonies* rather undo them. No Sir, it was the *Scots* first, and *Presbytery* after, or both together, that cried up both him and all the *Kings* well-affected, for *Papists* and *Profelytes*, who were the most *orthodox* of any other.

The *Proeme* in brief from this Year to the end of this *History*.

The state of this Monarchy by ancient Laws and Customs flourished for many Ages heretofore, happy at home, and renowned abroad, untill too much Felicity introduced Luxury, and a Colluvies of Vices, Pride, Ambition, Contempt of things divine and humane, whence proceeded mutual Emulation and Envy, and to trample under foot Religion, Laws, and Sovereignty and all.

The seeds of Commotion sowed by certain Members of the House of Commons, hence grew mutual suspicions 'twixt the King and Parliament; two of them he had dissolved, sooner than many men could have wished, nor was he forward to summon another (without good Reasons inviting) which occasioned Provocations of the Populacy against the King, nevertheless the Kingdom continued most flourishing, inabling him to wage (unhappily) Wars abroad, and to impose Taxes at home.

The pregnancy of the Bishops renewing ancient Ceremonies, aggrieved the scrupulous, which Laud Arch-bishop of Canterbury indeavours to put upon the Scots Nation, together with the English Liturgy, and this had inflamed them to mutiny, which to repress, the King summons a Parliament to begin the third of November, 1640. wherein he indulged more to them, than all his Ancestours had done: but by so much the more (as hereafter follows) he sharpens the appetite and boldness of the Innovatours, who under other Pretexs had Designs to dethrone Sovereignty, and wrest the Government to themselves; which being discovered, they stir up the Populacy by their Emissaries, and under colour of Petitioning, they outrage upon the other Members, and some of the Nobility, and then on the King himself; which to prevent, he accuses the Leaders of this Sedition, and goes to the Parliament in person to demand them; but they timely withdrew, and this being concluded a high breach of Privilege; he very often acknowledged that Error,

1640.
Proeme.

The Reign of King Charles.

which not satisfactory, the people are stirred up to convert the Kingdom into a flame. The accused Members take Sanctuary in the City of London, and so return to the Parliament guarded by Forces for that purpose, which continued in Arms, enforcing the King for security to withdraw his Court into the Countrey, sending Messages of Pacification to the Parliament, and to have it expressed in writing what the Houses should desire; which they drew up into Complaints of infringing their Liberties, and demand the power of the Militia; he stoutly denying it, they wrest it from him; and from hence followed the publick Misery, He to maintain his Right, They to snatch it from him.

The matter is skirmished a good while with Apologies, wherein the King managing his part with a better Pen, they fall to Hostility; and an opportunity fitted for the Faction, to make a War with several Pretexts, for defence of the People against evil Counsellours about the King.

And these formal Delusions drew in the Presbyterian Preachers, and such like of the people, with large Contributions, first to raise an Army, to seize the Kings Navy, to ravage the Goods of the Nobility and Gentry, who favoured the Kings party.

The King retires to the North, and raises an Army likewise. And whilest these clouds overcast the Heaven of our happiness at home, the Irish Rebellion began, which I refer to the story of its proper place by it self.

But we go on, Civil War increased between the King and Parliament, raging with Skirmishes, Battels, and Sieges, Fuel of a lasting evil by slow burning; for these different Forces (a long time with various success) the Parliament apparantly failing at the first, many of their Partizans deserting them, they set on work their Engines to win to their side the staggering people, as if the King mediated an absolute Tyranny over all; and therefore some signal Victims they sacrifice to Justice, some for Treason, others for Treachery in War, and also to the fire and martyrdom all things superstitious, or used for Ornaments onely: and these made way for their invitation of the Scots, who are called hither with an Army, upon Articles, capitulated and consented unto by a national League and Covenant, to defend the Reformed Religion in the Church of Scotland, and to reform England and Ireland also.

These Covenanters call themselves Presbyterians, raging against such as dissented, whence followed strange effects and fruits of that Covenant; Fathers, Sons, Wives, Husbands, Servants, and Masters dissenting to the death; and so Pens and Tongues were set on work to bandy these Differences, till the power of Imprisonment and Ruine proselyted many weak people to the Parliaments party.

But then the Scots rush into England; against which storm the King provides, and transfers the Parliament to Oxford, whither repaired his own party, and forthwith the House of Peers from Westminster, with two hundred (part of the Parliament) of the House of Commons.

mons. The King writes to the Scots, with admonitions not to invade this Kingdom, Pronounces the Members at Westminster guilty of High Treason, The King sends the Marquesse Hamilton to retrieve the Scots, but being deluded by him, he sends the Earl Montrosse, and not prevailing, the Scots defeat the Kings party in the North, by which also the Parliament prevails, and the King in the brink of destruction, Delivers himself into the hands of the Scots army.

And now the bickering betwixt the Scots and a new faction of Innovators stiled Independents, to whom also the former Presbyterians incline, with much alteration of the Scots, who receiving money, are thereby hired to render up the King to the Parliament, And so occasion both factions, Presbyter and Independent to disagree, with several sects and practises of mixed Aristocracy, and Monarchy; Oligarchy and Democracy, with such like strange Engines and Acts of confounding things.

Some excite the War, oppose the means of peace, by cunning practises, and so convert the war to their own profits, which increased their unwearied diligence in Parliament, by private Meetings. And having obtained the Power, they arrogate the title of Independents, as not depending upon the arbitrement of any National Church, or Civil State, but order all things within their private congregation, and so opening a large Door for all sects to enter in. Besides, accommodating themselves to the dispositions of all men, pursue the obstinate, patronize the obsequious, and under pretext of their self-Denying Ordinance, they eluded the Presbyterian, beguiling them of their questuary and military offices whereinto they thrust themselves and Partizans.

Henceforth, new Commanders, General Essex turn'd out, and General Fairfax in his place; Colonels and Captains of another minde, and the whole Army of a New Model, with great diligence such new men are promoted Members of Parliament, and by publick fame fall upon the Presbyter, publishing their disgraces, remove them from Governments of Cities, disbanding them, and dismissing the Scots Army.

But to return to the story, The King in possession of the Parliament, the Presbyterian as yet prevailing, lessen the Army, the soldiers mutiny, by under hand applaud of their Commanders, who being enabled, openly appear, Cashiering such as were too much Parliamentary an hundred Officers and more; assisted by two in every Regiment, selected Agitators for the rest, who intend a Democracy.

These seize the King, indulge him with specious promises, and frame propositions, as to provide for the King and themselves, and the Commonwealth, which mollifies them into the Kings favour. Taking boldnesse to declare envies on the Parliament, accusing divers Members of High Treason; endeavouring to dissolve them, in seeming shew to Act for the Kings Interests. The Army rises against the Parliament

Anno

1640.

Parliament, and both the Speakers fly to the Camp, the City and Parliament prepare for defence, but flagging their tail, they deliver up themselves to the discretion of the Army, and the Speakers are restored, some members, the Major and his Aldermen are imprisoned for High Treason, but are dismissed impune. A new Lieutenant set over the Tower of London, a new model of the Militia, and admiralty: Thanks and payment voted for the Army: but whether the Acts of the Camp, or Ordinances of Parliament should be most prevalent; holds a long debate, which puts some Members to flight. And most men at a gaze, whether to elect Oligarchy or Democracy; (alike) against the Presbytery Aristocracy, and also against Monarchy and the King. However Proposals are sent to the King in pretence of peace, but in earnest to insnare him, which he answers cautelously, as referring rather to the Armies advice, from whom He was forthwith aliened by impressions of fear, from the Agitators in the Army, and so cheated into a flight from Hampton Court to the Isle of Wight, designed so by his gréatest enemies, from whence He sends Concessions to the Parliament, upon which he desires to treat, but is brought to such extream overtures as that the Scots Commissioners at London absolutely oppose, and so he was straitned, struggling to satisfie discordant Interests, and discovering his Inclination, He was suddenly secured into close Imprisonment; the Agitators are soon reduced into Order; and the whole faction of Oligarchy rail against the King in Parliament, demand and obtain votes against any further commerce with him, surreptitiously obtained of the Commons House, but by menaces from the Lords, not without Declarations of calumny upon the King, published and preached to some Parishes, and cunningly extort a few gratulatory Petitions of the people, but coldly; of all which notwithstanding the King is cleared by severall Apologies, which wrought so, as that the people began universally to resent the indignities done to the King, and petition to settle again on foot the treaty with him, over reasoning the mindes of the most Parliament Members. And first Petitions from the County of Essex, then from Surry, and at last for the most of the other, without prevailing, some begin to Arm; and in their Ensignes to be read in Capital, the Liberty of King and People; The Navy revolts to the Prince, now beyond the Seas. The Scots resent the Kings durance, and make an Invasion by the Marquess Hamilton, who is taken prisoner, and their Army defeated and pursued home, where, in the midst of Domestick forces raised against them by Argyle and the English Army, also their foraign enemy, that poor Nation was fain to submit to mercy, and to the future effects of this conjoynd power. Some other Insurrections also here at home, not lasting out, their besiegers were reduced, which successes falling out thus on land, the former Ships revolt from the Prince, yet the Parliament now at liberty by the Armies Employment abroad, repeal the former votes of Non-address

addresse to the King, and resolve to treat again with him, at Newport in the Isle of Wight, and necessary servants sent to him, and some assistance of Council, but such was his admired wisdom and eloquence, He alone discussed all Arguments. And in the midst of the Treaty, the Parliament demand Ormonds Commission, the Kings Deputy in Ireland, to be recalled; carping at the Kings answers, though he grants many things unexpected, and demands somewhat for himself easie enough for honest men to condescend unto, which introduced great hopes of an happy issue, but is choaked by the wilful faction, pretending to joyne in their Desires, until they had incited the Common Souldier against the peace, and to demand the King to punishment. And thereupon rendezvous near London, and Remonstrate against the peace, and approved in a Council of war and exhibited to the Parliament, but the Commons house incline to the Kings concessions; which put the Army to a suddain seizure of the Kings person and bring him prisoner to London, and enquarter round about the Parliament, who yet debate concerning the King, and vote that the Kings Concessions are a good foundation for settling a peace, some principal Commanders herewith displeased, beleaguer the houses of Parliament, and Imprison certain Members, and others are driven away and the rest of the members now in power, wrest Authority to themselves, dependant on the Souldiery, and determine publique affairs, of punishing the King, confirming the votes of no more address to him, and anul such other, and promise more, reflecting on his life. And erect a Tribunal of Subjects, one hundred and fifty Judges for that black deed, to which the house of Lords dissent and reject the Commons vote, which notwithstanding is confirmed and prosecuted for the Kings Tryal by a President of an High Court of Justice; The Presbyterian Ministers declaim and the Scots protest against it. The States of Holland Interpose: The Lords offer themselves Pledges for the King. The people murmur but in vain, Mr. Peters in his Pulpit, animates the Judges, witnesses and Articles are publicquely cited against the King, who is convented, and accused, he demurs to the authority of the Court, which the president affirms, to be denied from the people that chuse the King of England; which the King denies. He is convented the second and third time, and reasoneth against the authority of the Court. But he is prevented, by the President with rebukes: He is convented the fourth time, and refuseth to submit to the Authority of the Court, and craves leave to speak with the Members of both houses; The President in a premeditated speech prepares to sentence of death which he commands to be read, the Judges rise up in approbation thereof, Souldiers take him away and mock at him, Inhumanely. His behaviour magnanimous and prudent, and prepares himself to undergo this bitter cup. The Judges consult of the manner and time of his suffering, whereto he is led forth. His speech upon the Scaffold, defends his Innocencie, but submits to the justice of God, pardons his

Enemies

The Reign of King Charles.

Enemies, pities the Kingdome, points out the Errors of the factious, shews them the way of peace, professes to die a Protestant, and is be-headed in monstrous manner, they seize his writings. Only his excellent Book, is preserved to the Light, The sadness of the people And ending in his Character. He dead, the Laws and Lives of others are assailed. That none presume to call his Son and heir King, nor to be mentioned in prayer. Monarchy is attacked, the power of the Parliamentary Lords is abrogate, the Major of London denuded, the Council of the City, changed, and their own creatures introduced, the Law against schismaticks repealed the Preachers, are defrauded and threatned. Countesses committed, Noblemen executed, the Nation stiled a Commonwealth, but the power contracted in a few, who erect an Oligarchy for themselves, and are envied of the Democracies and take Arms, encouraging the Oligarchies. Enjoyn submission to the Government, appoint Thanksgiving daies to God for their success; and thereby are Invited to the City feast, whom they requite with the Kings New Park, and sell his householdstuff, houses, lands and all, and yet not satisfied, they burthen the people with Taxes, and invade Ireland and conquer it, and after Scotland.

This in brief; the story follows.

Parliament
beigns the
thirteenth of
April.

And now the *Parliament* Assembled, Mr. *John Glunvile* speaker, as was resolved this day the thirteenth day of *April*. Entring their first business of the Earl of *Strafford* good services in *Ireland*, who was led in to the house of Lords, by two of their own, as presenting him the more eminent for what he had done in *Ireland* speedily & effectually. Obtaining of the *Irish* the grant of four *Subsidies*, for maintenance of *Ten thousand foot and fifteen hundred Horse*, which might be a pattern in preparation for the *English* supplies.

And an accompt was given to the *Lords* of the *Scots* letter, sent to the *French King*, for it being Examined by the Lord *Cotington*, Secretary *Windebanck* and the *Attorney General*, *London*, confessed the hand writing to be his, prepared in a readines before the late *pacification* at *Barwick*, but no use was ever made thereof but supposed. Nevertheless *London* stood committed till further evidence might condemn or clear him.

The *Parliament* not very forward to fall upon the necessary business of *supplies*; To quicken them the *King* by message represents to the house of Commons, many particular Insolencies intolerable, with which the *Scots* had heated him; And that for their assistance answerable to the present occasion, so much concerning him and the honour of this Nation, he would acquit his claim of *ship-moneys*: besides due satisfaction to all their demands. This offer, discovered to them, the *Kings* extremities, and how they pricked; which would serve their turn, in demanding the more

of

of him. And therefore they expect to be assured in these particulars which they well know would spend so much time in arguing, that the Kings necessity might undo him; and yet they would not be otherwise relenting.

For clearing the Properties of the Subject.

For establishing true Religion.

For privilege of Parliament.

These were the grounds of former differences so often discussed; whether the Kings supply or the Subjects sufferings should be first considered, and now it took up sundry debates, and several conferences of *both Houses*, ere the Lords could Master it among themselves for the King: the *Commons* were resolved, the next to yield to him from their own intents first. But coming to the *Question* how much might serve the present Expectation, *Secretary Vane*, told them by Command from the King, Twelve subsidies would serve the turn, and so it might, for he had such authority to demand so much, being double the Kings desire, which *Vane* with indirect intention was known willingly to mistake, and it took the effect; firing them into so much fury, and their compliance, so desperate as that the [*Funto advise the King*] to break up their sitting, and so the first of *May* after two and twenty daies they were dissolved.

Hist. p. 183.
Parliament
dissolved the
5. of May.

Nor need we lodge the advice upon a *Funto*, to counsell the King herein. It was the common consent of the *Privy Council* openly concluded; debate there needed none, the frequent discourse of the publique observators, fore saw so much, and the *Parliament* found the Kings necessities so enforcing; by which means they were resolved to draw advantage to themselves, though prejudice to him. For to think, as is supposed, that the [*Luxuriance of the Kings prerogative being detrected*] or any other [*Spontaneous concessions could have calmed their animosities*] is much mistaken, for it is truly observed, that the house of Commons meant that morning to vote against the war with *Scotland* and to blast that design to which they were so much indisposed; however, hazardous to the Kings honour and the necessities of his affairs, which was conceived now at the point of time to resent, and to prevent, by renewing the present intention, and so the Arch Bishop is to be cleared as the [*main adviser*] for both he and the Earl of *Strafford* in the next *Parliament* by their answers were forced to defend themselves from that occasion.

Obs. p. 174.

But though the *Parliament* break up, yet the *Convocation* of *Bishops* sat still, from their first meeting by writ, the twentieth of *February* last, (and might no doubt do so) with *Commission* April 15. after, to act, propose, deliberate and conclude such *Canons* and *Constitutions* as they conceived conduceable to the peace of the Church,

Convocation
sat still.

Anno
1640.

(During the session of that Parliament) necessarily to be now revised by a new Commission to continue the *Convocation*; for the conclusion of such matters then in treaty amongst them; though it became a doubt whether they might not sit in Convocation still; the Writ which called them, having no limitation, but during the Kings pleasure, which was not as yet otherwise signified, and the difference of the *Writ* and the *Commission* was by Commissioners considered, and thus subscribed, *That the convocation called by the Kings Writ was not to dissolve, but by the Kings Writ, notwithstanding the dissolution of the Parliament,* The tenth of May, Finch, Manchester, Littleton, Banks, Heath, Sheffield, and so was the old *Convocation* armed with a new *Commission*; but not well armed against *Lilburns* Libels, or the Riot of *Rakehels* upon *Lambeth* house, which followed, and the King was fain to set a guard about *Westminster Abby*, during their whole time of sitting, *In much distresse besides*, well observed, and in danger of the Kings displeasure if they rose, of the peoples fury if they sat; to be beaten up by Tumults while at work, and beaten down by the next Parliament for doing the work, and obnoxious to the last of evil tongues for all their good intents, and to their pens too, upon the main score, not so much of the Bishops doing not well, as of being Bishops, to do any thing; such was the fate of the Prelates, now, to be under censure of the *Presbyters*, with such prejudice to either, as the contest of endeavouring to satisfy the world, made the wound upon either side more wide, especially if you take in for good Arguments the common fame of every *Libeller*. As for the main, It must not be supposed that the question began but now to be maintained, for the Divine Right on which Bishops were founded; Many writ for their defence in Queen *Elizabeths* time. Dr. *Bancroft* then Bishop of *London* confirmed it in the Conference at *Hampton Court* in presence of the Adversary Dr. *Raynolds* their chief dependant, who neither contradicted nor confuted him; So did Bishop *Land* in the *High-Commission*, which might give occasion of matter to some sufficient opposers, but found none, unlesse we reckon loose *Pamphlets*. Indeed the *Smeectymnuans* revived the controversie, and was soon maintained by Dr. *Hall* then Bishop of *Exeter*; by *Churchman* in his History of *Episcopacy*; by Dr. *Taylor* his *Episcopacy of Divine Right*; by Dr. *Hammond* in *English* and *Latine*. But lest these Divines should be thought partial, see the whole subject discussed by the Laity; Sir *Thomas Aston* Knight and Baronet, the Area-Matrix of *John Theyre* Gentleman, the Lord *Falkland*, in his Tract against *Henderson* sayes somewhat comparatively, as for the Lords Day, or for Infant Baptism, Mr. *Selden*, against the Argument of Mr. *Grimstone* in Parliament, whose Argument was, 1. That Bishops are *Fure Divino* is of question. 2. That Arch Bishops are not

Fure

Fure Divino is out of question. 3. That Ministers are *Fure Divino* there is no question. Now if Bishops which are questioned whether *Fure Divino*, and Arch Bishops which out of question are not *Fure Divino*, shall suspend Ministers that are *Fure Divino*, I leave it to you Mr. Speaker.

Which Mr. Selden thus retorted on him: That the Convocation is *Fure Divino*, is a question. 2. That Parliaments are not *Fure Divino*, is out of question. 3. That Religion is *Fure Divino* there is no question: Now Mr. Speaker, That the Convocation which is questioned whether *Fure Divino*, and Parliaments which out of question are not *Fure Divino*, shall meddle with Religion which questionlesse is *Fure Divino*, I leave to you Mr. Speaker?

Indeed the General Assembly of Scotland had levelled the Principles into some request, as to make the Minister [*Co-parcenary*] equal sharers in the Authority, and (very likely) as good men as themselves [*of equivalent import*] and the Assembly having formed a Covenant, for destruction of *Episcopacy*, and urged subscription to it, so did this Convocation (or Synod if you please) for their own support frame an Oath equivalent to their purpose.

Hist. p. 184.

I A. B. do swear, That I do approve the Doctrine and Discipline of Government established in the Church of England, as containing all things necessary to salvation. And that I will not endeavour by my self, or any other directly or indirectly, to bring in any Popish Doctrine, contrary to that so established. Nor will I ever give my consent to alter the Government of this Church by Arch Bishops, Bishops, Deans, and Arch Deacons, &c. as it stands now established, and as by right it ought to stand, nor yet ever to subject it to the usurpations and superstitions of the Sea of Rome; And all these things do I plainly and sincerely acknowledge and swear according to the plain and common sence and understanding of the same words, without any equivocation, or mental evasion, or secret reservation whatsoever; And this I do heartily, willingly and truly, upon the faith of a Christian, So help me God in Jesus Christ.

Bishops impose an Oath.

Some exceptions in print were prosecuted against this Oath by several persons, and by some petitions to the Privy Council, and suggestions of others, the Bishops Enemies. But one Author reduces the main quarel into three particulars [*against the (&c.)*] as leaving the Oath so loose, that neither the makers; nor the takers of the same understood the meaning.]

Hist. p. 185.

To which he is answered, that the (&c.) is impertinent signifying nothing, in regard of the restriction following; and the sence compleat without it. And that in many Canons, there was a particular enumeration of all persons vested with any Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction; viz. Arch Bishops, Bishops, Deans, Arch Deacons, Deans

Obf. p. 189.

Anno
1640.

and *Chapters*, and other persons, having peculiar or exempt Jurisdiction, which for avoiding of *Tautologie* was cut off with this, &c. nevertheſſe with intention to expunge this (&c.) before it ſhould come to be ingroſſed, but in haſt it was forgotten, and ſo Printed.

Secondly, *For exacting an Oath of diſſent from Civil Eſtabliſhment in things of Indifferency, was an affront to the very Fundamentals of government.*]

But he is told, that the affront to Government, is rather not to ſubmit to Civil *Eſtabliſhments*, but it is no affront, not to give conſent while they are in Treaty, The Oath not binding any man not to yeeld obedience, but not to give conſent to ſuch alteration. But he obſerves, that in the Solemn Covenant, in which it was not thought enough to binde men to ſubmit to ſuch alterations as were then contriving, but actually to endeavour, the extirpation of the whole *Prelacy*; not onely was this Covenant required of the Clergy, which had before taken Oath of Canonick obedience to Biſhops, but even of the Biſhops themſelves, *Deans*, *Arch Deans*, &c. who having taken former Oath to preſerve their laws, and priveledges of their ſeverall Churches, muſt by that Covenant be bound to endeavour their utter extirpation, and ſo muſt be a *felo de ſe*, &c.

Laſtly, *That the Furor therein declares, he ſwears willingly, to which he was conſtrained under the higheſt penalties.*

To this he is to be ſatisfied by Preſident of the Parliament, the 3. *Jacob*. Who drew up the Oath of *Allegiance*, In which the *Furor*, makes that recognition heartily and truly and willingly.

And again, as the Scots condemned the Arminian Tenets without defining what they were, ſo did theſe, the Socinians, not declaring where they were culpable.

Answer. The *Arminian Tenets* being but five, might eaſily have been defined by the *Scots*; but *Socinianism* is a Complication of many hereſies, the bare recital of them might have taken up much time, and ſo it was thought fit to condemn it under that general Notion, to interdict their Books, and in fine to lay a brand upon it, by the Church of *England*. And yet all they did, could not preſerve the Convocation from ſcandal and ſuſpicion of Mr. *Cheynels* pamphlet three years after.

And ere theſe Rules were ratified by the King, they granted him a moſt ample benevolence of the Clergy, of four ſhillings in the pound, for ſix years, toward his intended Expedition againſt the *Scots*, and ſo brake up the 29. of *May*, Which guiſt is conſtrued to be an Act of very high preſumption, and uſurpation upon the prebeminence of Parliament, No Convocation having power to grant any ſubſidies or aid without confirmation of the Lay-Senate.]

This

The Reign of King Charls.

309

Anno
1640.

Obs. p. 166.

This certainly is much mistaken. May not the *English* Clergy as well as all other Clergies give their own without leave of any: and the *Convocation* as amply impowred therein, as the *Parliament* in their Grants for the Lay-people: and every Clerk elected bindeshim by Instrument, *Se ratum, gratum & acceptum habere quicquid dicti procuratores sui dixerint, fecerint vel constituerint.* And this *Authority* (as amply as the *Commons*) is preceded from the *Convocation*, 1585. which having given one *Subsidy* confirmed by *Parliament*, did after add two shillings per pound without leave of the *Parliament*.

The entrance and original of all our Troubles.

We began to be great Practitioners in the School of *Revolting*, in *Tumults* and *Insurrections*, following the *Rules* of our *Neighbour Brethren* in their pretences of *Liberty*, and as it is truly brought into parallel with the *Scots* former proceedings in their *Discipline* of *Reformation*, even from their first *Murder* upon their *Arch-bishop* of *Saint Andrews*, Anno

And so by that and other *Examples*, we are set on work to begin violation upon our *Arch-bishop* of *Canterbury*. A *Paper* being posted up at the *Old Exchange* the ninth of *May*, exhorting *Prentices* to rise, and sack the *Arch-bishops house* at *Lambeth* the *Munday* following; when in the dead time of *Night*, the number of five hundred beset his *Palace*, and endeavour to force their *Entrance*, but were repulsed by such power as he had prepared to oppose them, who parted without more hurt than the *Glass Windows*: for which attempt many of them the next day being narrowly observed, were seized and sent to *Prison* to the *White-Lion*, but three days after some of their former *Companions* in the open day-time beset the *Prison*, force the *Doors*, and delivered them to liberty; for which, and for Example onely, one of them a *Captain*, *Cobler*, was apprehended, tried in *Southwark*, and condemned, and hanged, drawn, and quartered, and his *Limbs* set up on *London-bridg*.

Lambeth house beset by *Puritans*.

The *King* in very great earnest for his *Expedition* to the *North*, calls a *Jovento* of select *Counsellors*, where *Secretary Vane* was conceived so trusty as not to be left out, who yet took such *Heads* of the *Debate* as he and his *Son* made use of afterwards, towards the destruction of the *Earl of Strafford*. The *Heads* were thus in brief as they are recorded.

A *Jovento* of *Council*.

No danger in undertaking this War.

Whether the *Scots* are to be reduced or no?

To reduce them by force as the state of this Kingdom stands.

If his Majesty had not declared himself so soon, he would have declared himself; so no War with Scotland, they would have given him plentifully.

The City to be called immediately, and questioned to lend an hundred thousand pounds.

L.L. See L.L. of Ireland.

The

Anno

1640.

The Ship-money to be put rigorously upon Collection, and by these two ways, will furnish his Majesty plentifully to go on with Armies and War against Scotland.

The manner of the War.

Shipping of the Trade of Scotland to be detained, prejudice, so they had the Trade free with England, for their Castle.

A defensive War to sally against offensive War, into the Kingdom, his opinion is, that few Moneths will make an end of the War, do you invade the Scots strongly.

L. Admiral.

If no more Money than what proposed, how then to make an offensive War? a difficulty.

Whether to do nothing, or to let them alone?

Or to go on with a rigorous War?

L.L. See L.L.
of Ireland.

Go on rigorously, or let them alone? No defensive War, love of Honour and reputation, the quiet of England will not hold out long, your might will languish as betwixt Saul and David.

Go on with an offensive War, as you first designed, loose and absolute from all Rulers and Governments, being returned to extreme necessity, every thing will be done as power will admit, and that you are to do.

Lord Arch-bi-
shop.

They refused, you are acquitted towards God and Man; you have an Army in Ireland, you may imploy it to reduce the Kingdom.

I am confident as any thing under Heaven, Scotland shall not hold out five Moneths.

One Summer well imployed will do it.

I venture all I have, I would carry it, or lose all.

Whether a defensive War, as impossible as an offensive; or whether to let them alone?

Lord Arch-
bishop of Can-
terbury.

Tried always. Refused always.

By the Laws of God you should have subsistence, and ought to have it, and lawfull to take it.

L. Cottington.

Leagues they make abroad, and we will do so for the defence of this Kingdom.

The Lower House are weary both of King and Church.

L.L. See L.L.
of Ireland.

Commission of Array to be put in execution: they are to bring them to the Borders.

In reason of State, you have power when they are to use them at the Kings pay.

If any of the Lords can shew them a better way, let them do it.

The Town full of the Nobility, who will talk of it, he will make them smart first.

The Reign of King Charles.

311

Anno

1640.

These were the Notes taken thus by *Vane*, and to the *Design* and general opinion for War, the *Londoners* are summoned to lend Money, but the *Citizens* were *sullen* indeed, [*no Trading made them poor*] they who had enjoyed such a length of time in *peace* and *commerce* just forty years, as never any *City* could boast of more happiness, nor truly of more wealth, their bliss, *Luxury*, and *Pride*, and *Plenty*, with all Vices answerable, unfaithfull to their *Sovereign*, *unstable in Religion*, ungratefull to their own Members and Friends.

We cannot finde other than this, the onely cause that this *City* might justly regret upon unkindness from the *King*, was the account of their Plantation of *London Derry* in *Ireland*: a slender occasion, their *usurpation* of more liberty than their *Patent* would impower, was here questioned in *Star-chamber*, and sentenced to be forfeited to the *King*, and *Fines* imposed upon the *Undertakers*, which though very justly deserving correction, yet they proposed reasonable overtures of satisfaction, and more honourable for the *King* to have accepted, which was, to have contributed a very ample Sum of Money by way of Composition towards the erecting of a *Royal Palace* for his *Majesties* Court in *Saint James's Park*, according to a *Model* drawn by *Inigo Jones* his excellent *Architectour*, and to have taken down *White-hall* towards the *Thames*, carrying the common way in the room thereof, directly from *Charing-cross* straight through *Cannons-row* to *Westminster-hall*, leaving the *River-side* an open *Wharf* quite along.

London Derry
in *Ireland*.

And although their offer in Money came short of the Sum to finish such a *Fabrick*, yet so noble a *Design* might have found many well-affected to have offered to the supply; besides sundry other occasions of raising Money sufficient to have perfected that Work; whereas this *Fine* producing a considerable Sum, was begged and squandred away to the *Kings* small advantage.

But neither the *City* nor *Nation* could pretend to want, the *Kingdom* became the envy of *Europe*:

Mollia securis peragebant otia Gentes.

The *Court* never so glorious, the *Gentry* no where more gallant, the *Citizens* so abounding with *Treasure*, *Bullion*, and *Buildings*, that no Age can parallel, *Commerce* inward and outward, never at that height before, the *Customs* increasing to admiration, the *Narrow Seas* never better guarded with braver *Ships*, nor the *Navy Royal* for number of *Vessels* and *Magazine*; the *University* replenished with *learned men*; and for the *Church*, among all the *Reformed*, she was esteemed (as in truth she was justly styled) the *Church Triumphant*.

And *Ireland* was arrived almost to the like degree of prosperity.

All

Anno
1640.

English Army
ready.

Henry Duke
of Gloucester
born.

Proclamation
against the
Rebells.

All the Arrerages of the *Crown* were paid there, without a Penny sent from hence for some years past, to maintain that standing Army, *Traffique* there to that height, as the *Crown-customes* increased five times greater; in fine, not onely to subsist of our self, but to contribute to the *English Exchequer*, and to make some retribution of those vast expenses from hence for four hundred years past.

The main assistance to this War came from the Gentry of *England*, all Knights and Gentlemen holding Lands *in capite* of the King, were to send Horse and Men answerable to their abilities, so that the Aids completed the royal Army, whereof the Earl of *Northumberland* was appointed General, and the Earl of *Strafford* his Lieutenant General; but in truth *Northumberland* fell extreme sick; and therefore not to disorder the form of the other Officers, the King took the Command upon himself, *Generalissimo*; for I never read of a Royal Army, and the King present, but himself was chief; the Earl of *Northumberland* his General, and the Earl of *Strafford* Lieutenant General; and having seen the Queens safe delivery of a Son born the twentieth of *July*, and christened *Henry*, after created Duke of *Glocester*, He hastens his *Rendezvouz*, and the twentieth of *August* takes leave of *London*. Two days after he declares the *Scots* to be Rebells by *Proclamation*.

That by all ways of mildness and clemency he hath endeavoured to appease the rebellious courses of his Subjects of Scotland, who upon pretences of Religion, have sought to shake off his Regal Government, and now do take up Arms, and invade his Kingdom of England: and therefore his Majesty doth now declare that all those who have already entered, or shall presume to enter in warlike manner in any part of England, and their Adherents and Assistants, shall be adjudged, and are hereby denounced Rebels and Traitors against his Majesty: nevertheless if they will yet acknowledg their former crimes, and crave pardon, and yield obedience for the time to come, he tenders them his gracious pardon, they retiring home, and demeaning themselves as loyal Subjects for the future. August 22. 1640.

And a Prayer is published for the Kings Majesty, in his Expedition against the Rebells of *Scotland*, to be said in all Churches, &c. viz.

O Eternal God and mercifull Father, by whom alone Kings reign, thou Lord of Hosts, and Giver of all Victory, we humbly beseech thee both now and ever, to guide and preserve our most gracious Sovereign Lord King Charls, to bless him in his Person with health and safety, in his Counsels with wisdom and prudence, and in all his Actions with honour and good success, especially against those his traitorous Subjects, who having cast off all obedience to their Anointed Sovereign, do
at

at this time in rebellious manner seek to invade this Realm. Grant, blessed Lord, that Victory may attend his Majesties Designs, that his Liege people may rejoice in thee, but that shame may cover the faces of thine and his treacherous Enemies. Inable him (blessed Father) so to vanquish and subdue them all, that his loyal Subjects being settled in peace, and the true fear of thy holy Name, he may return with joy and honour, and continue to govern his Kingdoms in peace and plenty, and in the happiness of true Religion and piety all his Days. These blessings, and what soever else shall be necessary for him, or for our selves, we humbly beg of thee, O mercifull Father, for Jesus Christ his sake, our onely Mediatour and Redeemer. Amen.

Anno
1640.

His Army was marched before, hastening to meet the Scots, who were entered England already; for being come to North-alerton in the way to New-castle, he was met by the Lord Conway, with the ill News of a Defeat at Newburn upon Tine, the Day before, which was thus.

The King¹
goes into Scot-
land.

The Lord Conway Commander there in chief, advising to secure the most considerable Passes, had upon August 27. drawn out 1200. Horse, and 3000. Foot, placing the Infantry under shadow of a Breast-work, to gall the Scots in their Pass over the River Tine, near Newburn; but their General Lesly over night had planted nine Pieces of Ordnance on his side of the River, and blinded them with Bushes, from sight of the English: and in the morning craves leave of the Lord Conway, to pass with his Petition to his Majesty: he was admitted to pass with a considerable number, but not with his Army: but Lesly must not divide his Forces, and so fords over 300. Horse, which were by those behinde the Breast-work enforced to retire, and Lesly to acquit them, plaid his Cannon from the Blinde so furiously as drove them from their Poast, and like raw Souldiers, cast down their Arms and fled. Then their Cavalry re-advanced upon Mr. Wilmot Commissary General of the Horse, accompanied with prime Gentlemen, and stood to the Charge of Horse and Cannon also, which so galled them, and over-powred by number, as they retired in disorder, 300. slain and imprisoned, and Conway fain to retreat with this ill News to the King; and because New-castle was not tenable against the Scots Army, Sir Jacob Ashley the Governour was forced to desert it, and two days after they possessed Durham.

At Newburn
defeat.

New-castle
deserted.

And now comes the Earl of Strafford, who brought up the Rear of the Army retreating to York, whom the King staid, and where there was time afforded to examine and conclude this Miscarriage upon Conway, notwithstanding his best art of flourish and stout animosity to vindicate his either Cowardice or Treachery or both; for so he was accused. During this time, the English Garison at Barwick issued out, and recovered some Pieces of Cannon, which had been left by Lesly at Dunse, as over-usefull for his Train, which gave

Anno
1640.

Hist. p. 189.

Allarm to the Earl of *Hadington* commanding in *Louthian* and the *Merse*, with two thousand *Horse* and *Foot*, to pursue and rescue the *Cannon*, and carried them to *Dunglass*, but the next day *Hadington* and twenty more *Knights* and *Gentlemen* in an instant were all slain by an accident of *Fire*, which blew up the *Magazine* of *Powder*, that lay in a *Vault* on the other side of the *Court* twelve score from his *Lodging*, [not slain therein, very frolick and merry] but were come out into the midst of the *Court*, and there killed by the *Stones* that flew from the *Vault*, which made it the more miraculous; but whether by *Accident* or *Design* was never known.

But during these *military actions*, the *Scots* gaining ground upon the *English*, and now seated where they would be, in warm *Quarters*, with *New-castle Coal*, good *Fires*, *Meat*, *Drink*, and *Lodging* of the best, and all these in great plenty. They now take time to petition the *King*, intituling it,

Scots Petition.

The humble Petition of the Lords of the last Parliament and others his Majesties loyal Subjects of Scotland.

Complaining in general of their sufferings, for relief whereof they are constrained to come without prejudice to the peace of England, or any the Subjects therein, untill they are pressed with strength of Arms to oppose their Passage at Newburn: and now present themselves to his Majesties goodness for satisfaction of their full demands, and repair of their wrongs and losses, with the advice of the Parliament of England to be convened.

To all the *King* answers by his *Secretary* of *Scotland*, the Earl of *Limrick*, that the *King* expects their particular *Demands*, having already summoned the *Peers* of *England* to meet at *York*, *September 24.* and commands them to advance no farther.

York, *September 5.*

LIMRICK.

Three days after comes their *Demands*, directed to the Earl of *Limrick* in terms humble enough, but very peremptory as to the *Points*.

Right Honourable,

Scots Demands.

As nothing on earth is more desired of us than his Majesties favour, so we shall desire nothing herein but what may suit to his Majesties honour and peace of his Dominions.

The Particulars we should have expressed in our Petition, but that they are contained in our late printed Declarations, which were sent to your Lordship, which summarily we here repeat.

That the late Acts of Parliament may be published in his Majesties Name, with the States of Parliament.

That Edinburgh Castle and other Strengths of Scotland may, as to their first foundation, be fortified and used for our defence and security.

Tha

The Reign of King Charles.

315

That our Countrey men in England and Ireland may not be pressed with Oaths and Subscription warranted by your Law, and contrary to their National Oath and Covenant.

That the common Incendiaries, the Authours of Combustions in his Majesties Dominions may receive their Censure.

That our Ships and Goods with all the Dammage thereof may be restored.

That the wrongs, losses, and charges, which all the time we have sustained may be repaired.

That the Declarations made against us as Traitours may be recalled.

That by the advice and consent of the States of England to be convened in Parliament, the Garrisons may be removed from the Borders, and any Impediment that may stop free Trade, and settle Peace for our Religion and Liberties, against all Fears of Molestation and the undoing of us from year to year, or as our Adversaries shall take the advantage.

And that the meeting of the Peers the four and twentieth of this instant will be too long ere the Parliament will be convened, the onely means of settling Peace, the sooner they come the more shall we be enabled to obey his Majesties Prohibition of our advancing with our Army. Nothing but invincible necessity hath brought us out of our Countrey to this place, and no other thing shall draw us beyond the Limits appointed by his Majesty: wherein we hope your Lordship will labour for our Kings honour and the good of our Countrey.

Leaguer at New-castle,
Septemb. 8. 1640.

Your Lordships loving and humble
Servants and Friends, &c.

Those English Lords that meant not to fight, either for necessity or honour, fearing that their next Meeting might prevent a Parliament, had this while devised their Petition to the King in effect for a Parliament, the great aim on all sides, answerable to the Scots desire, before they set out from home, which they published at the head of their Army, in a Pamphlet called, *The Intentions of their Army*, viz. *Not to lay down Arms till the Reformed Religion were settled in both Nations upon sure grounds, the Causers and Abettors of their present Troubles be brought to publick justice, and that in Parliament.* And these Abettors were the Papists, Prelates, and their Adherents in general, but more particular the Arch-bishop of Canterbury and the Lieutenant of Ireland. And therefore to answer them, comes out a correspondent Petition from a Compound of six Earls, one Viscount, and four Barons, being a Descant on the Scots Plain-song. And to back these, Petitions are posted from London and other places presently after.

The Lords Petition was thus:

Anno
1640.

Most gracious Sovereign,

The zeal of that duty, and service, which we ow to your Sacred Majesty, and our earnest affection to the good and welfare of this your Realm of *England*, have moved us, in all humility, to beseeke your Royal Majesty, to give us leave to offer to your Princely wisdom, the apprehension, which we and others your faithfull Subjects have conceived, of the great Distempers and Dangers now threatning the Church and State, and your Royal Person, and of the fittest means by which they may be removed and prevented.

The Evils and Dangers whereof your Majesty may be pleased to take notice, are these.

1. That your Majesties Sacred Person is exposed to Hazzard and Danger, in the present Expedition against the *Scotish* Army; and by occasion of this War your Majesties Revenue is much wasted, your Subjects burthened with Coat and Conduct-money, billeting of Souldiers, and other Military charges, and divers Rapines and Disorders committed in several parts of this your Realm, by the Souldiers raised for that Service, and your whole Kingdom become full of Fears and Discontents.

2. The sundry Innovations in matters of Religion, the Oath and Canons lately imposed upon the Clergy, and other your Majesties Subjects.

3. The great increase of Popery, and the imploying of Popish Recusants, and others ill-affected to the Religion, by Laws established, in Places of power and trust, especially in commanding of Men, and Arms, both in the Field, and sundry Counties of this your Realm, whereas by Law they are not permitted to have any Arms in their own Houses.

4. The great Mischiefs which may fall upon this Kingdom, if the intentions which have been credibly reported, of bringing in *Irish* and foreign Forces, should take effect.

5. The

5. The urging of Ship money, and prosecution of some Sheriffs in the Star-chamber for not levying of it.

6. The heavy charge upon Merchandise, to the discouragement of Trade, the multitude of Monopolies, and other Patents, whereby the Commodities and Manufactures of the Kingdom are much burthened, to the great and universal grievance of your people.

7. The great grief of your Subjects, by long intermission of Parliaments, and the late and former dissolving of such, as have been called, without the happy effects which otherwise they might have produced.

For remedy whereof, and prevention of the dangers that may arise to your Royal Person, and to the whole State; they do in all humility and faithfulness beseech your most Excellent Majesty, that you would be pleased to summon a Parliament within some convenient time, whereby the causes of these, and other great grievances which your people lie under, may be taken away, and the Authors and Counsellors of them may be there brought to such legal trial, and condign punishment, as the nature of their several offences shall require. And that the present War may be composed by your Majesties wisdom without blood, in such manner as may conduce to the Honour and safety of your Majesties Person, the comfort of your people, and the uniting of both your Realms against the common Enemy of the Reformed Religion. And your Majesties petitioners shall ever pray, &c.

Concluded the 28. of

August, 1640.

Francis Bedford

Robert Essex

Mulgrave

Say & Seal

Edward Howard

The Earl of Bristow

William Hartford

Warwick

Bullingbrook

Mandevil

Brook

Paget.

The

Anno
1640.

The Kings Answer was,

BEfore the receipt of your Petition, his Majesty well foresaw the danger that threatens himself and Crown, and therefore resolved to summon all the Peers to his presence upon the 24 of this September, and with them to consult, what in this case is fittest to be done for his honour, and safety of the Kingdom, where they with the rest may offer any thing that may conduce to these ends.

And so accordingly the Lord Keeper had command and did issue out Writs of summons for their appearance at York, the 24. of September. And to meet them there comes

To the Kings most Excellent Majesty.

The Humble Petition of your Majesties Loyal Subjects the Citizens of London.

Most Gracious Sovereign,

Petition of
the city of
London.

BEing moved by the Duty and Obedience which by Religion and Laws your Petitioners owe unto your Sacred Majesty, they humbly present unto your Princely and pious consideration the severall and pressing grievances, viz.

1. The great and unusual Impositions upon Merchandize exported and imported.
2. The urging and levying of Ship money, notwithstanding which, both Merchants, their goods and Ships, have been destroyed by Turks and Pyrates.
3. The multitude of Monopolies, Patents and Warrants, whereby trade is decayed.
4. The Innovations in matters of Religion, the Oath and Canons newly imposed by the late Convocation, whereby your petitioners are in danger to be deprived of their Ministry.
5. The concourse of Papists and their habitation in London and the suburbs, whereby they have more means and opportunities of plotting and executing their designs against the Religion established.
6. The sudden calling and sudden dissolution of Parliaments with-

out

out addressing of the Subjects grievances.

7. The imprisonment of divers Citizens, for not paying Ship-mo-
ny and other impositions, and the prosecution of others in the Star-
Chamber for non conformity to commands, in Patents and Monopo-
lies, whereby trade is restrained,

8. The great dangers your Sacred Person is exposed unto in the pre-
sent war, and the various fears that have seized your petitioners and
their families by reason thereof, which grievances and fears have oc-
casioned so great a stop and destruction of Trade, as neither to receive
and pay as formerly, and tends to the utter ruine of the Inhabitants of
this City, the decay of Navigation and clothing, and other Manufacto-
ries of this Kingdom, your petitioners humbly conceiving the said
grievances to be contrary to the Laws of this Realm, and finding by
experience that they are not redressed by the ordinary Courts of Justice,
do therefore beseech your Majesty to cause a Parliament to be summon-
ed with all convenient speed, whereby they may be relieved in the
premisses.

The Scots proceeding hand in hand with some of the English,
petition also for the same, in effect to call a Parliament for settling a
peace between the two Nations, and they had the like Answer,
which behoved the English to hasten, for the Scots took liberty
to ravage New-Castle, seizing, four great English Ships laden with
Corn ere the masters knew who they were; rifling houses and
ranting every where, laying a Tax of three hundred and fifty
pounds per diem, upon the Bishop of Durham, and three hundred
pounds upon Northumberland upon pain of plundering.

The day come, the 24. the King salutes them thus:

My Lords,

UPon suddain Invasions, where the Dangers are near and in-
stant, it hath been the custome of my Predecessors to Assemble
the great Council of the Peers &c. by their advice and assistants to give
a timely remedie to such rules as could not admit a delay so long as
must of necessity be allowed for the assembling of the Parliament.

This being our condition at this time, and an Army of Rebels
lodged within the Kingdome, I thought it most fit to conform my self
to the practise of my predecessors in like cases, that with your advice
and assistants, we might joyntly proceed to the chastizement of their
Insolencies, and securing of our good Subjects. In the first place I must let
you know, that I desire nothing more then to be rightly understood of
my People and to that end, I have of my self resolved to call a
Parliament, having already given order to my Lord Keeper to issue
the writs instantly, so that the Parliament may be assembled by the
third

The Kings
speech to the
Peers.

Anno
1640.

third of November next, whither if my Subjects brings the like good affections that I do, it shall not faile on my part to make it a happy meeting, In the mean time there are two points to be considered, wherein I shall desire your advice, which indeed is the chief cause of your meeting, first what answer to give to the petition of the Rebels, and in what manner to treat with them, of which that you may give a sure Judg^{mt}, I have ordered that your Lordships shall be clearly and truly informed of the State of the whole business, and upon what reasons and advices, that my Privy-council unanimously gave me, were grounded. Secondly, how my Army shall be kept on foot and maintained untill your Supplies of a Parliament may be had, for so long as the Scots Army remains in England, I think no man will Councel me to disband mine; for that would be an unspeakable loss to all this part of the Kingdome, by subverting them to the greedy appetite of the Rebels, besides the unspeakable dishonour that would thereby fall upon this Nation.

A meeting resolved.

-And after several meetings and debates, a Messenger (Mr. Bellows) was sent from the King and Lords to the Scots Army, to give them notice, on Tuesday next that sixteen of the English Lords shall meet with as many Scots Lords at York, to treat of the differences. The English Lords were these.

Earls.

Bedford, Essex.
Barkshire, Holland.
Herford, Bristow.
Salisbury, Warwick.

Barons.

Mandevil, Savile.
Howard, Brook.
Paget, Dunsmore.
Paulet, Wharton.

Treaty at Rippon.

But the Scots refuse the place York, as not secure for their Commissioners, so long as the Lieutenant of Ireland commanded there in chief, who had proclaimed them Traytors in Ireland, before the King had done so in England, threatening to destroy their memory, against whom they had matter of high complaint. And so the place was named at Rippon. The Scots Commissioners take exception at the Earl of Traquairs presence, being no Commissioner on either side, but was admitted as a person indifferent to satisfie the English, concerning the former affaires in Scotland, if questions should be debated.

The English proposed a Cessation of Arms, but the Scots as they would obey his Majesties Commands not to advance, so they could not return, till they had the effects of their Arrand, and therefore desired the way and means of subsistence in their Quarters, and so the second of October, they present their demands.

The Reign of King Charles.

321

First How their Army should be maintained, untill the Treaty be ended and the Peace secured.

Secondly, if more Commissioners be required, then for their safe convey.

Thirdly, Safe convey for all Letters, from them and the Parliament, and to them.

Fourthly, That there may be free commerce of both Kingdoms, and that the Common trade of New-Castle be not hindred, especially, for victuals.

Their first Article is otherwise than their Pamphlet before expressed, for there you shall have them profess, [to take up nothing of the people without ready money; And that failing, to give Bills and Bands of debt for true payment] but finding good correspondence and weak resistance, they did not only spoile and plunder, but enforced this first Article, Indeed they were cryed up as the sons of Enoch, and the English as Grasshoppers, though the Earl of Strafford then General desired the King that he might give them battel and as his Letters speak to the Arch Bishop of Canterbury, he durst undertake upon the Perill of his head, to beat them home again, although now he held it not counselable as the case then stood. And certainly it was generally supposed they were but bugbears if you consult hereafter, how they were beaten at Hereford, put to flight at Marston Moor, totally rowted by the gallantry and conduct of one Man, in three several battales in Lancaster, Dunbar and Worcester; And lastly when they were put to it, they have lately lost their Country, and liberty, and become conquered Vassals to the English, whom at this time, they so much despised.

But now, the English Commanders condescended the sixteenth of October.

thus concluded.

To a Cessation of Arms by Sea and Land from this present.

All acts of Hostility to cease.

Both parties shall peaceably return (during the Treaty) whatsoever they possess at the time of the Cessation.

All such persons in any of his Majesties forts beyond the River of Tees shall not exempt their Lands, which lie within the Countries of Northumberland and the Bishoprick from such contribution as shall be laid upon them for the payment of eight hundred and fifty pounds per diem.

That none of the Kings forces, upon the other side of Tees shall give any Impediment to such Contributions as are already allowed for the Competencie of the Scots Army, and shall fetch no victuals nor forrage out of their bounds, except that which the Inhabitants and owners thereof shall bring voluntarily to them, and that any restraint or retention of victuals cattel or forrage, which shall be made by the Scots within those bounds for their Maintenance, shall be no breach.

T t

That

Anno

1640.

That no Recruit shall be brought into either Armies from the time of Cessation and during the Treaty.

That the Contribution of eight hundred and fifty pounds per diem shall be onely raised out of the Counties of Northumberland, Bishoprick, Town of New-castle, and Westmerland; and that the non-payment thereof shall be no breach of the Treaty, but the Countreys and Towns shall be left to the Scots power to raise the same, but not to exceed the Sum agreed upon, unless it be for Charges of Driving, to be set by a Prisior of the Forage.

That the River of Tees shall be the Bound of both Armies (excepting the Town and Castle of Stockton, and the Village of Egistiffe) and the Countreys of Northumberland and Bishoprick to be the Limits within which the Scots Army is to reside, having liberty for them to send such Convoys as shall be necessary for gathering up onely of the Contribution which shall be unpaid by the Counties of Northumberland and Cumberland.

That if any person commit any private insolence, it shall be no breach of our Treaty, if upon complaint made by either parties, reparation and punishment be granted.

If Victuals be desired upon a price which shall be agreed upon, and ready Money offered for the same, and refused, it shall be no breach of the Cessation, to take such Victual, paying such prizes.

No new Fortifications to be made during the Treaty against either parties.

That the Subjects of both Kingdoms may in their Trade pass to and from, without any stay at all; but it is particularly provided, that no Member of either Army pass without a formal Pass under the hands of the General, or of him that commands in chief.

But these were not all which the Scots meant to have; and therefore time wasting here, their chief Demands were transfered to a general Treaty to be proceeded in at London.

And here at this Treaty having the occasion of Freedom for either parties; the Earl of Montross discovers his secret Faith and Loyalty to the King from the Confederacy with the Covenanters who had seized him at the first, upon a mistaken ground and occasion, which was thus:

At his Return formerly from his Travels in France, where he had command of the Scots Guard, and being recommended for the Kings favour and preferment to the Marquess of Hamilton, who knowing his merit, and unwilling to commend any Competitours with himself, cunningly dissuaded him, laying some Scandals on the Kings intentions towards the Scots, viz. of reducing that Nation to a Province, and that the regret of his own private sufferings made him resent it only till time and opportunity. And so having reasoned the youthfull Lord, advises with the King

how

Earl of Montross forlakes the Covenanters in private.

Anno
1640.

how to receive him, who he says is newly returned out of *France*, with a purpose to serve his Majesty; but being so powerfull and popular, by his ancient Descent of the royal Family in *Scotland*, it were more necessary to keep him under with neglect. And accordingly, as to please *Hamilton*, *Montrose* was brought to kiss the Kings hand, who turned side-way from him, with no more kindness.

And this confirming *Hamilton's* Design, *Montrose* in malice poasts into *Scotland*, where he found them fitted for his rancour, with whom he becomes a Principal, untill his conscience was convinced, yet dissembled his Intentions untill the first onset upon *English* ground. And now at *York* he found means by Letters to convey his Faith and Loyalty to the King, which Letters were by *Hamilton's* means stolen at night out of the Kings Pockets, copied out, and communicated to the Covenanters at *New-castle*, who concealed their Information, labouring under hand to render the Earl odious to the People, and thereby unserviceable to the King.

This was not the first nor last Exercise of the *Bed-chamber* men, the most *Scots*, not onely for the Covenanters, but in prejudice of his secret Councils, as hath been heretofore hinted to the King in the Case and Caution of the Arch-bishop concerning *Andreas*, *Not to trust your own Pockets with them.*

The time for a *Parliament* approaching, and the while, not convened, was conceived a kinde of retarding, and so a grievance to the Subjects, longing for a *Parliament*, miserable without, and happy with any; and therefore being resolved on *Tuesday* the third of *November*, an ominous Day in the time of *Henry* the eighths *Parliament*; and thereof an *Item* was given to the Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*, that the twentieth of *Henry* the eighth, and third of *November*, a *Parliament* was holden, which began in the Fall of *Cardinal Wolfey*, continued in the diminution of the powers of the *Clergy*, and ended in the dissolution of *Abbies* and other *Religious Houses*; and therefore advised the *Arch-bishop* for luck-sake (as the *Vulgar* use to say) to move the *King* to respite their sitting but to a day or two, which he neglected; and thereupon (if not therefore) this *Parliament* commenced with the *Arch-bishop's* ruine, continuing in the dissipation of the remaining Rites of the *English* *Clergy*; and ended in the subversion of *Episcopal* Government, dissolution of all *Capitular* Bodies, leaving the *Cathedral* of the Land without means for the time to come. And hence is observed, that when Pope *Martin* the third had besieged *Furby*, that *Guido Bonatus* (an *Astrologer*) perswaded the People not to assault their Enemy before he gave the Signal, and so they did, and slew the besiegers with a great Victory.

But although the *English* Lords and *Scotish* were earnest for a *Parliament*, to drive on their Design, which afterwards appeared, yet

A Parliament
resolved upon
an ominous
day, Nov. 3.

Obs. p. 208.

Anne

1640.

The King in
prudence calls
this Parlia-
ment.

His excellent
Book *Eikon*
Basilike.

yet the *King* was much inclining also to call one, which his candid and ingenious consideration of necessity grounded upon such Reasons, as himself expresseth in his most admired Treatise, his excellent Book *EIKON BASILIKH*, (which we hereafter shall have several occasions in some Particulars to mention) it being the *Portraiture of his Sacred Majesty in his Solitudes and Sufferings*, with his spiritual *Meditations* upon each *Chapter* and *Occasion*, written no doubt from the truth of a troubled Soul, and indisputable to be of his own compiling. And although an industrious malignant Pen hath laboured to wrest that honour from his Sacred memory, he cannot fix it in likelihood upon any other person in the World, the majesty and manner of the style onely his, and unimitable by any other. None but the same sad sorrowfull Soul could be able to compose so much upon several occasions so evenly concurring, but he himself the true *Sufferer*.

Besides if you please to observe, it is not unlike the gravity of Master *Hooker's* style in his *Ecclesiastical Policy*, which the *King* often perused, and was a sufficient Master of Defence thereby, and which Book in his last words to his *Children*, he recommends to them to reade. Nay more, observe his publick *Declarations* and *Answers* following, when other helps (very often) failed him, compare their styles and see how they agree in the dialect.

This Book whilest in loose Papers, (ere it was complete) and secured into his Cabinet, and that being lost, was seized by the Enemy at *Naseby* Fight, but these *Papers* happily rescued, and so came to his *Majesties* hands again, who in the end commended them to his faithfull Servant, that *Minister of Gods Word* Master *Symonds*, with command to see them imprinted. And his Study being searched, they were by good Providence secured about him, in his Bosom; and though the industry of the Adversary had been to prevent it, the Book came forth some time after the *Kings* death, with so incredible an esteem, as that it hath been since translated into all modern Tongues but *Spanish*, (the *Jesuits* malice and envy suppressing it there) and into all manner of *Folio's* for bigness. And a learned Traveller (*Macedonian* by birth) being here, read it over, and translated it into *Greek*, and carried it over beyond Seas, where it was so imprinted from his Copy.

The first beginning of this Book enters upon his *Majesties* calling this *Parliament*.

Eikon Basilike
Chap. I. of
calling the
Parliament.

THis last Parliament I called (says the King) not more by others advice, and necessity of my affairs, than by mine own choice and inclination; who have always thought the right way of Parliaments most safe for my Crown, as best pleasing to my People: and although I was not forgetfull of those sparks, which some mens Distempers formerly studied

studied to kindle in Parliaments, (which, by forbearing to convene for some years, I hoped to have extinguished) yet, resolving with my self to give all just satisfaction to modest and sober Desires, and to redress all publick Grievances in Church and State, I hoped (by my Freedom and their Moderation) to prevent all misunderstandings and miscarriages in this: In which I feared affairs would meet with some passion and prejudice in other men; so I resolved they should finde least of them in my self; not doubting, but by the weight of Reason I should counterpoize the over-ballancings of any Factions.

I was, indeed, sorry to hear with what partiality and popular heat Elections were carried in many places; yet, hoping that the gravity and discretion of other Gentlemen would allay and fix the Commons to a due temperament (guiding some mens well-meaning Zeal by such Rules of Moderation, as are best both to preserve and restore the health of all States and Kingdoms) No man was better pleased with the convening of this Parliament, than my self; who knowing best the largeness of mine own heart toward my Peoples good, and just contentment, pleased my self most in that good and firm understanding which would hence grow between me and my People.

All jealousies being laid aside, mine own and my Childrens Interests gave me many obligations to seek and preserve the love and welfare of my Subjects; the onely temporal blessing that is left to the ambition of just Monarchs, as their greatest honour and safety, next Gods protection. I cared not to lessen my self in some things of my wonted Prerogative, since I knew I could be no Loser, if I might gain but a Recompense in my Subjects affections.

I intended not onely to oblige my Friends, but mine Enemies also; exceeding even the Desires of those that were factionly discontented, if they did but pretend to any modest and sober sense.

The odium and offences which some mens rigour or remissness in Church and State had contracted upon my Government, I resolved to have expiated by such Laws and Regulations for the future, as might not onely rectifie what was amiss in practice; but supply what was defective in the constitution: No man having a greater Zeal to see Religion settled, and preserved in Truth, Unity, and Order than my self; whom it most concerns both in Piety and Policy, as knowing, that No flames of civil Dissentions are more dangerous than those which make religious Pretensions the Grounds of Factions.

I resolved to reform what I should by free and full advice in Parliament be convinced to be amiss; and to grant whatever my Reason and Conscience told me was fit to be desired; I wish I had kept my self within those Bounds, and not suffered mine own Judgment to have been overborn in some things, more by others Importunities, than their Arguments; my confidence had less betrayed my self and my Kingdoms to those Advantages, which some men sought for, who wanted nothing but Power and Occasion to do mischief.

But

Anno

1640.

But our sins being ripe, there was no preventing of Gods Justice from reaping that glory in our Calamities, which we robb'd him of in our Prosperity.

Obs. p. 209.

And this *Parliament* must be summoned to appear at *Westminster*, which Assembly being there, it is observed as a greater prejudice to the *Kings* affairs, than when he was at *York*, not to have held it there, which was nearer to the danger and occasion of this *Scottish* Parliament for the *Scots* War, take to boot his former knowledg of this City, *Londons* disaffection to his service; and the President of *Edward* the first, before in the Conquest of *Wales*, kept his Assemblies and Parliament (near the Scene of Action) at *Acton Barnell*, the Marches of that County. And when he turned his Forces to the Conquest of *Scotland*, he called his Parliament to *Carlisle* on the Borders of *Scotland*. Indeed King *Charls* considered thus much, and it was thought would have changed his place for another accordingly, but then it was too late. So then he followed the Fate, which by admitting the Treaty also at *London*, the *Scots* Commissioners had that opportunity, and they were not nice to make the good use to themselves here, to inflame this City into a capacity of the worst Impression, which those of the *Scottish* Nation were cunning to imprint; for never were men so idolized as these Commissioners, feasted and presented by all sorts of People, their Lodgings visited, as a Novelty, to frequent their Praying and Preaching, more than ever were the Houses and Chappels of Popish Ambassadors, and with more danger; for here were fabricked the Petitions and Tumults which followed, as you shall see hereafter.

See Hist. Qu.
of Scots and
K. James in
Folio.

And it is to be remembred, that in the time of *Queen Elizabeth*, when some *Scots* Commissioners came to her, to settle the Differences of both Nations, and had nestled themselves about *Petty-France* in *Tuttle-fields*, far enough from dangerous connivance of the City Puritan in those days, and there exercised their Prayers and Preaching, and so increasing boldness, they petition for to be allowed in publick, which so startled her and her Council in fear of Innovation, as that they were absolutely forbidden to pray or preach at any Meeting.

Parliament sit.

Tuesday the third of *November*, the time prefixt, the Parliament assemble, and Master *William Lenthall*, one of the Benchers and Readers of *Lincolns Inn*, was elected Speaker, who during their continuance, near years. He was a Person of known integrity and ample sufficiency for the dignity of that place, through all that time of wonderfull distraction, carried himself with extraordinary wisdom and judgment, without blame.

And being set, the *King* salutes them thus.

The

My Lords,

‘ The knowledg that I have of the *Scotish*
‘ Subjects, was the cause of my calling of the
‘ last Assembly of PARLIAMENT,
‘ wherein if I had been believed, I do most
‘ sincerely think that things had not fallen as
‘ we now see; but it is no wonder that men
‘ are so slow to believe that so great a Sedition
‘ should be raised upon so little Ground. But
‘ now (my *Lords* and *Gentlemen*) the honour
‘ and safety of this Kingdom lying so heavi-
‘ ly at stake, I am resolved to put my self free-
‘ ly upon the love and affections of my *Eng-*
‘ *lish* Subjects, as those of my *Lords* that
‘ waited on me at *York* very well remember I
‘ there declared.

‘ Therefore (my *Lords*) I shall not men-
‘ tion mine own interest, or that support I
‘ might justly expect from you till the com-
‘ mon safety be secured; though I must tell
‘ you, I am not ashamed to say, those charges
‘ I have been at, have been meerly for the se-
‘ curing and good of this Kingdom; though
‘ the success hath not been answerable to my
‘ desires. Therefore I shall onely desire you
‘ to consider the best way both for the safety
‘ and security of this Kingdom, wherein
‘ there are two things chiefly considerable.

‘ First, the chasing out of the *Rebells*.

And

Anno
1640.

‘ And secondly, that other, in satisfying
 ‘ your just Grievances, wherein I shall pro-
 ‘ mise you to concur so heartily and clearly
 ‘ with you, that all the World may see my
 ‘ intentions have ever been, and shall be to
 ‘ make this a glorious and flourishing King-
 ‘ dom. There are onely two things more
 ‘ that I shall mention to you. The one is to
 ‘ tell you, that the Loan of Money which I
 ‘ lately had from the City of *London*, where-
 ‘ in the *Lords* who waited on me at *York* as-
 ‘ sisted me, will onely maintain my Army for
 ‘ two Moneths from the beginning of that
 ‘ time it was granted. Now (my *Lords* and
 ‘ *Gentlemen*.) I leave it to your consideration,
 ‘ what dishonour and mischief it might be,
 ‘ in case for want of Money my Army be
 ‘ disbanded, before the *Rebells* be put out of
 ‘ this Kingdom. Secondly, the securing of
 ‘ the calamities the Northern People endure
 ‘ at this time, and so long as the Treaty is on
 ‘ foot. And in this I may say not onely they,
 ‘ but all this Kingdom will suffer the harm,
 ‘ therefore I leave this also to your considera-
 ‘ tion. For the ordering of the great affairs
 ‘ whereof you are to treat at this time; I am
 ‘ so confident of your love to me, and that
 ‘ your care is such for the honour and safetie
 ‘ of the Kingdom, that I shall freely leave to
 ‘ you where to begin; onely this, that you
 may

‘ may the better know the state of all affairs,
‘ I have commanded my Lord *Keeper* to give
‘ you a short and free account of those things
‘ that have happened in this *interim*, with
‘ this Protestation, that if his account be not
‘ satisfactory, as it ought to be, I shall when-
‘ soever you desire it, give you a full and per-
‘ fect account of every particular. One thing
‘ more I desire of you, as one of the greatest
‘ means to make this an happie PARLIAMENT,
‘ that you on your parts, as I on mine, lay
‘ aside Suspicion one of another, as I pro-
‘ mised my *Lords* at *York*; it shall not be my
‘ Fault if this be not an happie and good
‘ PARLIAMENT.

The Lord *Keeper* in pursuance of the *Kings* Commands summarily related all things referring to the *Scottish* Invasion, which I shall not be nice to call *Rebellion*; for so the *King* gave their Character; and because ill resented by some persons of note, and so intimated to the *King*, he confirmed it to the *Lords* two days after.

My Lords,

I shall explain my self concerning one thing I spake the last Day; I told you, the Rebels were to be put out of this Kingdom; It is true, I must needs call them so, so long as they have an Army that do invade us. And although I am now under a Treaty with them, and under my Great Seal do call them my Subjects, and so they are too; but the estate of my Affairs is briefly this; It is true, I did expect when I called my Lords and great ones at *York*, to have given a gracious Answer to all your Grievances; for I was in good hope by their wisdom and assistance, to have made an end with that Business; but I must tell you, that my Subjects of Scotland did so delay them, that it was not possible for me to end there; therefore I can in no wise blame my Lords that were at *Rippon*, that the Treaty was not ended, but must thank them for their pains and industry. And certainly had they as much power as affecti-
Uu
riod,

The Kings
Speech to the
Lords.

Anno

1640.

Petitions against Grievances.

riod, so that now the Treaty is transported from Rippon to London, where I shall conclude nothing without your knowledg; and I doubt not, but with your approbation; for I do not desire to have this great work done in a corner; but I shall lay open all the steps of this misunderstanding, and causes of this great Difference between me and them; and I doubt not but by your assistance I shall make them know their duty, and enforce them to return, whether they will or no.

This whole Week was in a manner spent by the Parliament, in the settling of the Commissions for general Grievances, wherein they had work enough made so to their hands; and partly also in several set Speeches, (the bane of business) rhetorically declaiming against them, and dissecting their particulars, which were made up on Munday after the ninth of November, by a world of Petitions, some framed I know not where, but brought in by Bands of men, and Troops of Horse-men from several Countreys, craving redress of general Exorbitancies both in Church and State: and at the heels of them, others of particular persons, such who had (justly though) deserved the lash of the Star-chamber, Council-table, High-commission Court. And the next day these were charily delivered to Grand Committees, and divers of them enlarged out of their several Prisons, to make their Complaints; and the principal were those of Pryn, Bastwick, and Burton, as before remembred.

To the Grievances Master John Pym's Speech was complete and full, that of the Lord Digbys, rather witty; but such as they were, (not to trouble you with many more to the same purpose) I shall here insert, November the eighth; they would increase this Book to a Bulk.

Mr. Pym's Speech.

Pym's Speech.

TO redress grievances, will not hinder but further the Kings service. To take away the weights, as much advantages motions, as to add wings.

His method was, first, Several heads of grievances. Secondly, hurtfull to the King, as to the People. Thirdly, and the remedie equally good, to both of them.

That the King can do no wrong; the Law casts it upon the Ministers: The influence of Heaven conveyeth vigour into the sublunary Creatures, but the malignity of all Epidemical diseases proceed from the ill affected qualities of the Earth or aire.

1. Grievance of Religion in Popery.

His order was to mention three grievances, First, Against priviledg of Parliament. Secondly, prejudice of Religion. Thirdly, Liberty of the Subjects.

For the first. The members are free from suits, to have liberty of

Anno
1640.

of speech, a legislative Judiciary and Consiliary power: being to the body publique, as the faculties of the soule, to a Man.

The Priviledges have been broken. First, In restraining the members from speaking. Secondly, In forbidding the speaker to put a question, both of these practized in the last Parliament. Thirdly, by Imprisoning divers Members for matters done in Parliament. Fourthly, By proceedings against them therefore, in the inferiour Courts. Fifthly, Enjoyning their good behaviour and continuance in Prison, even to the death. In abrupt dissolution of Parliament, the great grievance, like the execution of a man, without being heard; It receives a being by the summons, and a civil death by dissolution; not only thereby to die, but to be made Inestabiles not to make their wills, their acts &c.

The Second; Incouragement to Popery. First, by suspension of all Laws against them; that there can be no security from Papists but in their disability, Their principles incompatible with any other Religion, Laws will not restrain them, Oaths will not, the Pope dispenseth with both, and his Command acts them against the Realm in spirituals and temporals, ad spiritualia Henry the third and Henry the fourth of France were no Protestants, yet were murdered because they tolerated reformation. Secondly, Their places of trust and honour in the Common-wealth. 3 Their free resort to London and to the Court to communicate their Councils and designs, diving into the secrets of State. Fourthly, That as they have a Congregation of Cardinals at Rome for adorning the Popes authority in England, so have they a Nuncio here to the execution thereof.

Grievance 2
of Religion
in Popery.

Innovations of Religion introduced. First, Maintenance of Popish Tenets in books, Sermons, and disputations. Secondly, practice of Popish Ceremonies, and countenanced and enjoined as Altars, Images, Crucifixes, bowings; He comparing these to the day bones in Ezekiel which first came together, then sinews and flesh came upon them, afterwards the skin covered them, and then breath and life was put into them, so first the form then the spirit and life of Popery. Thirdly, Preferment of persons Popishly affected. Fourthly, of discouragement of Protestants, by over riced prosecutions of the scrupulous for things indifferent, no vice made so great as Inconformity; by punishing without Law, for not reading the book, Sunday recreations; for not removing the Communion Table otherwise; not coming to the Railes to receive the Communion; for preaching on the Lords day, after noon; for catechising otherwise than as in the short Catechisme in the Commonprayer-book. Fifthly, And last, was the Incroachment of Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction particularly. First, In fining and Imprisoning without Law. Secondly, Challenging their Jurisdiction to be appropriate to their Order, jure divino. Thirdly, contriving and publishing new Articles of visitation, in force as of Canons, the boldness of Bishops and all their subordinate Officers and officiats.

Innovations.

Anno
1640.

3. Liberty of
Persons and
Estates.

Grievance 4.
Compositions
for Knight-
hood.

Soap.

Ship-money.

Inlargments
of forrests.

Selling of
Nusances.

Commissions
for buildings.

The third part of Grievances; In which discoverie, He observed, rather the order of time, when they were acted, than of the consequence; but when he comes after to the cure, then he will perswade to begin with the most Important, and first Tunnage and Poundage, and the late new book of Rates taken by prerogative without grant of Parliament; from whence these Inconveniences follow. First, Mens goods are seized, their suits in Law stopped. Secondly, Misemployments of the sums of money, imposed; intended for the guard of the Sea, are dispersed to other uses and a new tax raised for the same purpose. Thirdly, The burthens excessive, trade hindered, home Commodities abased, and foreign inhaunsed, by which means, the stock of the Kingdome diminished, especially insupportable to the poor Planters in America; by the Tax upon Tobacco.

The Fourth general grievance; Composition for Knighthood; which though it refers to a former custome, yet upon the same grounds the King may renew it by new fine, immoderate Multiplication of distress and Issues, and enforced to compound with the Commissioners Inundation of Monopolie by the Soap Patent, undertaken by Papists full of mischief. First, By Impairing the goodness and Inhaunsing the price of of Salt, Soap, Beer, Coles. Secondly, under colour of which, Trade was restrained to a few hands. Thirdly, and many illegally Imprisoned.

The great and unparallel grievance of ship-mony, being aggravated not suspected by the Judgment, which is not grounded upon Law, Custome, President or Authority. It being improper for a case of necessity, in abounding vanity of mischiefs, as, First, The general extent to all persons; all times, and the subject left remediless. Secondly the arbitrary proportion without limits. Thirdly, Imposed by writ and disposed by instructions. Improper for the office of a Sheriffe in the Inland Countries, and inconvenient for the Inhabitants without rule or sutable means for the levying or manning of it.

The Inlargment of forrest beyond the bounds of the Statutes, the seven and twentieth and eight and twentieth Edward 1. which perambulations then were the cause after of that famous Charter, Charta de foresta, and now reviving these old questions, new distempers may follow, the particular obliquities he numbred thus. First, Surreptitious proceedings, as in Essex, yet that verdict was enforced in other Counties, and a Judgment upon the matter after three or four hundred years quiet possession of the subject; enforced to compound for great fines.

The selling of nusances. The King as a father of the Commonwealth, is to take care of the publique Commodities and advantages of the Subjects, as Rivers, High-ways, Common-sewers, by ordinary writs ad quod damnum, but now by a course extrajudicial, by enforcing compositions, so then, if a Nuisance compounded for, 'tis a hurt to the People; if no Nuisance, then it is used to the parties prejudice.

The

The Reign of King Charles.

333

Anno
1640.

Depopulations.

Military charges.

Muster-master his Wages.

Extrajudicials

Monopolies countenanced by the Council-table.

Star-chamber.

The Kings Edicts and Proclamations.

Abuse of Preachers.

The Commission for Buildings about London, was presented as a Grievance in the time of King James, now much more increased, and more prejudicial.

The Commission for Depopulations, began some few years since: by both these Commissions the Subject is restrained from disposing of his own, demolishing their houses, punishing and fining their persons, so that they are still liable by Law; for the King cannot licence a Nuisance; and although these are not Nusances, yet it is an ill consequence to be compounded for, and to make a President for Kings to licence such things as are Nusances indeed.

Military charges ought not to be laid upon the people by Warrant of the Kings hand, nor by Letters of the Council-table, nor by Order of the Lords Lieutenants of Counties, nor their Deputies.

It began to be practised as a Loan for supply of Cote and Conduct-money in Queen Elizabeths time, with promise to be repaid it, as appears by a constant Warrant in the Exchequer, and certain payments; but now adeys never repaid.

The first particular brought into a Tax was the Muster-masters Wages, which being but for small Sums was generally digested: yet in the last Parliament it was designed to be remedied: but now there follows Pressing of Men against their wills, or to finde others. Secondly, Provisions for publick Magazines for Pouder, Spades, and Pickaxes. Thirdly, Salary of Officers, Cart-horse and Carts, and such like.

The Extrajudicial Declarations of Judges without hearing of Council or Argument, a seeming Grievance of many others.

Monopolies countenanced by the Council-table, and the clause in their Patents of Monopoly, commanding the Justices of Peace to assist them, whereby the great ability of the Council receive a stain by such matters of so mean a report in the estimation of Law, so ill in the apprehension of the people.

The High Court of Star-chamber, called in the Parliament Rolls Magnum Concilium, to which the Parliaments were wont to refer such matters as they had not time to determine. A Court erected against Oppression. A Court of Counsel, and a Court of Justice; now an Instrument of erecting and defending Monopolies, to set a face of publick good upon things pernicious, Soap, Ship-money, &c.

This great and most eminent power of the King, Edicts, Proclamations, called Leges temporis, used heretofore to encounter with sudden and unexpected danger, till the great Council of the Kingdom could be called, hath of late been exercised for enjoying and maintaining Monopolies.

But the last and greatest Grievance lead him to a step higher, even as high as Heaven, as high as the Throne of God, his Word and Truth. The ambitious and corrupt Clergy, preaching down the Laws of God and Liberties of the Kingdom, pretending Divine Authority and absolute power in the King, to do what he will with us, and this preaching is the high

Anno
1640.

Intermission
of Parlia-
ments.

high way to preferment, as one Manwaring sentenced the last Parliament, then a Doctor, now a Bishop, preferred for his Doctrines.

The Intermission of Parliaments, contrary to the Statute to be called once a year, the main cause therefore of all mischiefs, to which Parliaments give remedy.

That these Grievances are hurtfull to the King as to the Subjects.

By interrupting their communion, they have need of his general pardon, and to be secured from Projectors and Informers, to be freed from absolute Laws, and from the subtil Devices of such who seek to restrain the Prerogative to their own private advantage, and to the publick hurt. And the King hath need of them for counsel and support. Queen Elizabeths victorious Attempts, were for the greatest part made upon the Subjects purses, and not upon hers, though the honour and profit was hers. That these Discontents diminish the Kings reputation abroad, and disadvantage his Treaties, and weaken his party beyond Seas, by encouraging Popery; by forcing the Subjects to leave the Kingdom to the prejudice of the Kings Customs and Subsidies, of divers Clothiers forced away, who set up their Manufacture abroad to the hurt of the Kingdome. The King hath received upon the Monopoly of Wines thirty thousand pounds Rent per annum, the Vintner pays forty shillings a Tun, which comes to ninety thousand pounds; the price upon the Subject by Retail is increased two pence a Quart, which comes to eight pounds a Tun, and for forty five thousand Tun brought in yearly, amounts to three hundred and sixty thousand pounds, which is three hundred and thirty thousand pounds loss to the Kingdom above the Kings Rent.

Now the Remedies and removing these Grievances consists of two main Branches, in declaring the Law where it is doubtfull, and in provision for the execution of the Law where it was clear; but these he referred to a further time; but for the present he advised speedily to desire a Conference with the Lords, and always to humble themselves to Gods assistance, &c.

The Lord Digby excusing his County, Dorset, for whom he served, not that they needed Complaints, because without Petition, or want of a Servant to present them boldly, and therefore have intrusted those to him which he ranged into six Ranks.

1. Ship-money.
2. Levying of Souldiers.
3. Monopolies.
4. The new Canon-oath.
5. Imposed upon all Ministers illegally.
6. Requiring a Benevolence under penalty of Suspension, Excommunication, and Deprivation.

Thus

Lord Digby's
Speech.

Thus much from them that sent him: but begins from himself that sits there, to have privilege and freedom of speech, or to what end to speak at all? (*where he said no more than had been told them often before*) somewhat too smart upon the Bishops, concerning the Acts of their New Synode made of an old Convocation, to presume to grant a Benevolence to the King, a Malevolence in those against the Parliament, and a Malevolence in the Refusers against the Bishops, with a penalty of no less loss than Heaven and Earth; Heaven by Excommunication, Earth by Deprivation, and these without Redemption or Appeal. And calls the Oath a Covenant against the King for Bishops, as the Scots Covenant is against the King and Bishops, and in that of the other so much worse than this. He could tell them of his own Counties griefs, but single Laments are hardly distinguishable in universal Groans. It hath been excused, *That what Money Kings raise from Subjects, were but as Vapours drawn up by the Sun, to be distilled in fructifying Showres.* But the Metaphor holds out unhappily to them of late years. What hath been violently exhausted from the Subject by violent Attractions hath been formed into Clouds, but how? To darken the Sun's lustre, and to light upon the Land onely in Hail-stones, and Mildews, to batter our Liberties, and blast our affections, had not the latter been kept alive by our Sovereigns perpetual virtues, which will ever preserve him in spite of evil Counsellours, a sacred Object of Admiration and Love, their practices provoking Aspersions upon the most gracious and best of Kings; that he levels at none in particular, let the faults lead to the men, not to be exposed to irregular prejudices, nor with-held from orderly justice. Bodies natural to be effectually purged of Humours, must be made moveable and fluid; so of the Politick to be cleared of their Maladies by loosening and unsettling the evil Ministers, and to be drawn into a Remonstrance, and presented to a gracious Masters clear and excellent judgment. And so he sat down.

This was held too courtly, and which was suddenly laid hold on. A forward young man well made up with Learning, and by his Fathers fate kept aloof from the Beam of Sovereignty, a little Sunshine would enliven him: some Marks of Majesty fell from the Queen, which taken up, tainted him presently after, and in him his Father also, now made Friends, whom the King took also into favour.

The King to keep the City from Tumult, and to prevent the Insolencies of busie and loose People, had established a Constable of the Tower of London, Supreme to the Lieutenant, under command of the Lord Cottington, enabling it with a Garrison also of four hundred Souldiers, and with some shew of Fortification thereof, at this very time when some publick notice was given to the Parliament

Laws executed upon Recusants.

Anno
1640.

ment of an extraordinary confluence of *Popish Recusants* in and about the City of *London* and *Westminster*: and therefore to take away all Jealousies of conniving with them, or other Fears of over-mastering the City: he was pleased to send a Message to the *Parliament*, that by *Proclamation* the *Papists* shall be instantly removed to their places of abode, with prosecution also against their persons, disarming their power according to Law. And as for the *Tower*, he erected the Government by a *Constable* and Garrison in favour to the peace of the City, but is now resolved to leave the *Tower* to the command of a *Lieutenant* onely, as hath been heretofore.

And in the afternoon came out an *Order* of the *Commons House*, that all *Projectours* and unlawfull *Monopolists*, that have or had lately any benefit from *Monopolies*, or countenanced, or issued out any *Warrants* in favour of them, against *Non-conformists* to *Proclamations* or *Commands*, concerning their Interests, shall be disabled to sit in the *House*, and *Master Speaker* is to issue out new *Warrants* for electing other *Members* in their places.

Whereupon it was notoriously observed, how vacant their Rooms were upon the self-accusation of their own guilt, who but lately framed speeches against others abroad, who lodged under the *Parliament* lash for such Crimes.

The next day complaint was made to the *Lords*, that their *Privileges* were infringed by the search of the *Earl of Warwick*, and the *Lord Brooks*, their *Pockets*, *Cabinets*, and *Studies*, upon the *Dissolution* of the last *Parliament*. And *Sir William Beecher* one of the *Clerks* of the *Council* being the Instrument, alleged for his Excuse, the command of the two *Secretaries of State*, which could not protect him from *Commitment* to the *Fleet Prison*.

The *Commons House* intent upon publick justice, sent *Master Pym* to the *Lords* with a Message, the Impeachment of *Thomas Earl of Strafford* *Lord Lieutenant* of *Ireland*, as guilty of *High Treason*. Whereupon he was sequestred from the *House*, and committed to the *Usher* of the *Black Rod*; and *Sir George Ratcliff* his Confederate and supposed Criminary with him, was two days after sent for out of *Ireland* by a *Serjeant at Arms*.

And here we cannot pass by many wise mens opinions, whether the *Earl* assumed his wonted judgment and courage when he came from the *Army* to this *Parliament*: His wisdom could not chuse but know, that the *Scots* and *Scotizing English* had infallibly resolved his destruction, his innocency to be no Armour of Proof against Malice and Power, why did he not rather keep under safeguard of the *English Army* at his command, from which he had got much affection? or have passed over into *Ireland*, the *Army* there also at his devotion? or in plain terms, have taken Sanctuary into some foreign parts, till fair weather might have invited him home.

Monopolles
voted out of
the House.

Lords Pockets
searched.

The Lieuten-
ant of Ire-
land impeach-
ed of High-
Treason.

Obs.p.211.

His condition
examined.

home? whether it had been a betraying of his Innocency, to decline the Trial, where Partiality held the Beam of the Scales, and self-ends backed with power, and made blinde with prejudice, were like to over-balance Justice, that if Sentence should have passed against him for *Non-appearance*, yet had he kept his *Freedom*, till better times, and have done his *Master* better service abroad than in *Council* at *White-hall*?

But on the other side, it was said, that all these Considerations had been pondered before he came from the Army, even by the way, where met him a *Fanto* of his confident Friends; and then it was averred, that he had gained in the North certain evidence that the *Scots* Army came in by Invitation, a Confederacy between the Heads of the Covenanters and some of the *English* Parliament-members of both Houses, his most deadly Enemies, to subvert the Government of the Church, and to innovate in that of the Civil State, that therefore he himself had digested his Intelligence into the Form of an Impeachment, which he intended to have offered to the House of Peers, so soon as he had taken his place there.

These were his Reasons which he might have from Example of the Earl of *Bristow*, who yet came too late to begin upon his grand Enemy the Duke of *Buckingham*, in the like charge: but then, *Bristow* was ready at the instant to recriminate upon the Duke, by an Impeachment of High Treason against him, which took off the Dukes edg ever after.

But here *Strafford* was not so nimble as Master *Pym*, who got the start, and it seems the Earl failed of his former purpose, which had he seconded by an after timely stroke and impeached them, and prosecuted it, in a reasonable pace and method, as was afforded him, it might have happened not so fatal to his utter ruine.

And the Commons speeding thus far, it encouraged them no doubt to fall upon others, in the same track with the *Arch-bishop*, few Moneths after.

In this time the two Armies were heavy charge to the Counties where they quartered; therefore the twelfth of *November* the Parliament borrow of the City of *London* an hundred thousand pounds upon interest, and ingagement of the credit of some of the Members, untill the Moneys might be levied upon Subsidies, and so to repay them.

Munday the sixteenth of *November*, upon the humble suit of the House of Lords to his Majesty, the Lord Bishop of *Lincoln* was released out of the *Tower*, and the next Day being assigned for Humiliation, he was brought into the *Abbey* Church by four Bishops, and did his Office as Dean of *Westminster* before the Lords.

Never wise-man so gulled into the false shew of true affection from Lords and Commons, and so continued, till their turns were

Parliament
borrow money
of the City.

Bishop of *Lin-*
coln enlarged.

Anno
1640.

Hist. p. 217.

Justice How-
ard killed by a
Papist.

Prin and Bur-
ton return from
durance.

Sir Francis
Windebank
gets away.

Votes against
Ship-money.

served upon the Earl of *Strafford*, and the Arch Bishop of *Canterbury* he became the spectacle of scorn, and the most hated man of all the *Hierarchy* where his turn came to be last devoured, after he had eaten up some of his brethren.

The Earl of *Strafford* though in durance yet found friends abroad very active to serve him, and accordingly it was the nineteenth day moved. First. That he might be bailed by divers Lords who offered caution, But it was answered by the Lord *Paget* that it was against the Laws of the Land, and the priviledge of the *House*, and so passed the Major votes not to be admitted. But was assigned Council and a solicitor in regard of his restraint.

The one and twentieth, one *John James* son of Sir *Henry James* of *Feversham* in *Kent*, a Romish Catholique stabbed Mr. *Howard* (a Justice of peace of *Westminster*) in *Westminster-hall*, not unto death! which was attempted because Mr. *Howard* had drawn a Catalogue of such *Recusants* as were within the Liberties of *Westminster*, which he was to deliver up to the Committee of Religion, for which fact *James* was secretly punished.

The eight and twentieth, Mr. *Pryn* and Mr. *Burton* were conducted into *London* from their several Prisons in great pomp, by many thousands of horse and foot, with *Rosemary* and *Bayes* in their caps, in despite and defiance of the course of Justice, which had sentenced them, and the third of *December* they presented their Petitions to the House of *Commons* for dammage against their Prosecutors.

This *Parliament* of Inquisition began to appear terrible to all that lodged but under suspicion of guilt, but insufferable to the conscience condemning, which Sir *Francis Windebank* Secretary of State not able to bear, having been questioned and mainly convinced for reprieving *Jesuites* and *Priests*, and of worse matters suspected guilty, got over into *France* where he remained to his death a professed *Roman Catholique*.

The seventh day unanimously in the Commons House was voted.

1. That the Charge imposed upon the Subject for the providing and furnishing of Ships, and the Assessments for raising moneys for that purpose, commonly called Ship-mony, are against the Laws of the Realm, the Subjects right and property, contrary to former resolutions in Parliament and the Petition of Right.

2. That the extrajudicial opinion of the Judges published in the Star-chamber, and enrolled in the Courts of Westminster; are in the whole and every part of them against the Laws of the Realm &c. ut prius.

3. That the writs commonly called Ship writs, are against the Laws of the Realm, &c. ut prius.

4. That

Anno
1640.

4. That the Judgment in the Exchequer in Mr. Hamdens case, is, as to the matter and substance thereof, against the Laws of the Realm, &c. ut prius. And so was it voted in the House of Lords. And the next day a Committee was appointed to draw up a charge of High Treason against such as had been abettors therein, the Lord Keeper Finch, and the rest of the Judges.

But though the Parliament was thus severe against the legality of *Ship-money*, yet it is observed that amongst the best Lawyers the matter was justifiable, ascribing much to the Judgment of that learned Lawer Mr. Noy, who first preferred it.

Ob. p. 218.

Secondly, All the Judges subscribing to it in time of danger, of which danger the King was declared to be Judge.

Thirdly, And being argued in the Courts of Justice, and by all the Judges in the Exchequers Chamber, it was definitively sentenced for the King.

4. Nor was it voted down by Parliament, but in a meer arbitrary way, without review or Council heard, as the Judges reason of their opinion, so much as required.

5. And yet the arguments of the two Justices *Crock* and *Hutton*, for the Illegallity, was by vote of the house of *Commons* put in print, but the opinion of the other eight Judges which were for the legality of it, continue suppressed, which gave most men occasion to conceive, the greater reason in those arguments, which were kept in the dark.

6. And in all this design to vote it down, the Parliament was fain to have recourse to the King, and to crave an act of Parliament to secure them from it for the future, and to countenance their cause, the Judges were impeached in order to the pretext, (not merit) of punishment.

And now the eleventh of *December*, Alderman *Lack-land*, (or *Pennington*) with some hundred at his heels, a rable of petty Shop-keepers and Prentices, presented their Citizens Petition subscribed by fifteen thousand pittifully perplexed at the Ecclesiastical Discipline and sundry Ceremonies of the Church of *England*, which was wholly debarred, but was transmitted till a cooler time.

London Petitioneth.

And because it was thought fit to strike while the Iron was hot, this Petition ushering in much worke of Reformation. It was thought convenient to condemn the illegallity of the proceedings in the late Convocation and their Canons, which being canvassed on both sides the houses, and all of one party, few Arguments need to be urged where the prevailing sence of the House opposed, and so resolved, the fifteenth of *December*.

the late Canons denounced.

That the Clergy in a synod or Convocation hath no power to make Canons, Constitutions or Laws, to bind either Layity, or Clergie without a Parliament. And first next day that the Canons are against the fundamen-

mental.

Anno
1640.

mental Laws of this Realm, against the Kings Prerogative, Propriety of the Subject, the Right of Parliaments, and do tend to Faction and Sedition.

Obf.p.220.

This *Parliamentary Doctrine* was but now newly known; *Convocations* never before depending on *Parliaments*, but either in calling or dissolving, confirming or authorising the *Acts* thereof, but only on the *King* himself, not in *Parliament* neither, but in his *Palace*; and this seems to be proved by the *Statute 26 Henry 8.* and the constant practice ever since.

And for the *Canons*, before they were subscribed they were imparted to the *King*, and by him communicated to the *Lords* of the *Privy Council*, the *Judges*; the *learned Council* then attending, and were read and approved, without any thing therein tending to *Faction and Sedition*, or to the prejudice of the *Subjects* propriety, or the *Kings Prerogative*, or the *Laws of the Land*; yet the *Parliament* frame a *Bill* for fining all the *Clergie* of that *Convocation*, keeping them in such awe as none did appear in maintenance of their *Authority*, or in opposing those *Incroachments* and *Innovations* which daily were introduced upon them.

Arch-bishop
of Canterbury
impeached.

And as to the *Civil Judges*, for case of *Ship-money*, so the *Parliament* proceed with the *Ecclesiastick Arch-bishop of Canterbury*, against whom they form a *Committee*, to draw up a *Charge* against him, as the *Framer* of these *Canons*, and for other supposed *Delinquencies*, aggravated by the *Scots*, adjoining him with the *Earl of Strafford*, in their grand *Accusation*, as an *Incendiary* in this *National Difference*, promising to bring in their *Complaint*; but in the mean time *Master Hollis* on *Friday* is sent up with the *Impeachment*, and is seconded the same day with the *Charge* of the *Scots Commissioners*; upon the reading whereof he was committed to the custody of the *Black Rod*, *Maxwell*, till ten Weeks after, when being upon the *Charge*, voted guilty of *High Treason*, (and not before) he was sent to the *Tower*, and four years after beheaded.

See Obf.p.216.
and committed
to custody.

Scots Covenanters
charge against the
Arch-bishop
of *Canterbury*.

The *Scots Covenanters* charge against the *Arch-bishop of Canterbury* concerning *Innovations in Religion*, the main causes of *Com-motions in Kingdoms and States*, the true causes of our present *Troubles*, many and great; besides the *Books of Ordinances* and *Homilies*.

First, some particular *Alterations in Religion* without *Order or Law*, a new *Book of Canons* and *Constitutions Ecclesiastical*.

Secondly, a *Liturgie* or *Book of Common Prayer*, full of dangerous *Errours*; and we challenge the *Prelate Canterbury* the prime cause on earth.

That

That he was *Authour* of our *changes in Religion* by fourteen *Letters* of his to our *pretended Bishops* to promote the *English Service-Book*, and for which neglect he lost the *Bishoprick of Edinburgh*; but may deserve a better; advising him to return a *List* of the *Names* of such persons of *Honour and Office* that refuse.

More appears by *Papers*, memorative *Instructions* to the *Bishop of Saint Andrews and Ross*, for ordering the *Affairs* of the *Kingdom*, to obtain *Warrants*, to order the *Exchequer*, *Privy Council*, *Commissions* of *Surrenders*, the matter of *Balmerino's Process*, as might please *Prelates*, *Warrants* to sit in the *High Commission* once a *Week*, and to gain from the *Noble-men* the *Abbies* of *Kelfo*, *Saint Andrews*, and *Conday*, for the *Prelates*, ordering by his command even the meanest *Offices* in the *Kirk*.

Secondly, the *Book of Canons* obtruded, being devised for establishing a tyrannical power in the persons of the *Prelates* over the *Consciences*, *Liberties*, and *Goods* of the *People*, and for abolishing the whole *Discipline* of our *Kirk*, settled by so many *general* and *provincial Assemblies*, *Presbyteries*, and *Kirk-Sessions*, by *Law* and continual practice since the *Reformation*.

The *Book of Common Prayer* which by our *National Assembly* is found to be *Popish*, *Superstitious* and *Idolatrous*, and repugnant to all our *Doctrine* and *Discipline* reformed.

And that *Canterbury* was the main *Actor* they prove by several *Letters* to several *pretended Bishops* for promoting and ordering the use thereof; and the *Book* it self in writ, is interlined, margined, and patched up by his hand, the changes and supplements taken from the *Mass-books*, different from the *Service-book* in *England*, and without the *Kings* knowledge, as in the *Sacraments* of *Baptism*, and the *Supper of the Lord*.

That our *Supplications* were many against these *Books*, but *Canterbury* procured them to be answered with terrible *Proclamations*, whereby we were constrained to use the *Remedy* of *Protestations*; we were called *Rebells* and *Traitours*, and procured *War* against us; and after the *Pacification* at *Barwick* he advised to have it broken, and to bring upon us this new *War*; that our *Covenant* he called damnable, treasonable, railing against us in the presence of the *King* and *Committee*.

That his hand was to the *Warrant* for *Restraint* and *Imprisonment* of some of our *Commissioners*, when we had manifested the truth of our *Intentions*, *Declarations*, *Remonstrances*, and *Representations*, true, just, and lawfull.

That he advised the breaking up of the last *Parliament*, but sat still in his *Convocation*, to make *Laws* against them, tending to our utter ruine.

That he caused a *Prayer* to be used in all *Churches* in *England*, whereby we are styled as *traiterous Subjects*, &c.

That

Anno

1640.

December 17.
the Scots
Charge a-
gainst the L.
Lieutenant of
Ireland.

That if the *Pope* had been in his place, he could not have been more zealous against the *Reformed Churches*, to reduce them to the *Heresies, Doctrines, Superstitions, Idolatries of Rome, &c.*

All which they will prove, and desire justice upon him.

Their *Charge* also against the Earl of *Strafford*, which was thus in effect:

That they had conjoyned with *Canterbury* (by no other name) the Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*, whose malice was to do mischief to their Kirk and Countrey, no cause moving, but his own pride and superstitious disdain of their Kirk, so much honoured; first, by sundry other reformed Kirks, by many worthy Divines in *England*, by their oppositions against Innovations in all his Majesties Dominions, which he promotes by advancing his Chaplain Doctor *Bromholm* to the Bishoprick of *Derry*, and Vicar general of *Ireland*, one prompted to exalt *Canterbury's* Popery and *Armenianism*; and Doctor *Chapel* to the University of *Dublin*, on purpose to imprisoning and corrupting the Fountain of the Kirk: and when the Primate of all *Ireland* pressed a Ratification of the Articles of the Confession of that Kirk in Parliament, for barring of Innovation, he boldly threatned him, with burning of it by the Hangman, although confirmed in *England*.

He disgraced our new Reformation begun in *Scotland*, by a Pamphlet, *Examen conjurationis Scoticæ, The ungirding of the Scottish Armour; Lyfsmachus Nicanor*, and he, the Patron of the Works and them.

That notwithstanding their *National Oath and Covenant*, warranted by *general Assemblies*, approved by *Parliament* there, and to be taken by all the People, and their Loyalty to the *King*, and lawfull proceeding, the Innocency of their *Covenant* and Cause, yet did he tend all his malice and force against them.

First, by summoning some of the *Scots* Nobility and Gentry there in *Ireland* to *Dublin*, and there conspired with the Prelate of *Roths*, and framed a *Petition*, which the *Scots* there must exhibit, to renounce the *Scots Covenant*, and so thereby enforced all the *Scots* above sixteen years of age, to the same, upon pain of close Imprisonment, whereby thousand others were forced to fly into *Scotland*, leaving all they had behinde them, to the weakning of the *Scots* Plantation, and disservice to the *King* and *Kingdom*.

That by his means a *Parliament* is there called, and although by six *Subsidies* unduly gotten and levied, the *Parliament* before the Land was impoverished; He now again extorted four *Subsidies* more, otherwise Forces should have been levied against us as *Rebells*. This being intended as a President to the *Parliaments* in *England*, for levying a joint Army over the Subjects of both Nations.

And

And accordingly an Army was raised, and brought to the Coast, threatening to invade *Scotland*, and to make us a conquered Province, to the extirpation of *Religion*, *Laws*, and *Liberties*, which enforced us of necessity to maintain our Forces on Foot, to prevent his coming: our Ships and Goods taken as Prize on the *Irish* Coasts, inciting *England* to a War also against them.

Thus fitted, he hastning over into *England*, and at the delivery up of the *Sword* there he uttered these words, *If ever I return to this honourable Sword, I shall not leave of the Scots neither Root nor Branch.*

Being come to *Court*, he acts all offices to our Commissioners who were to clear all our Proceedings at the *Funto*, using perswasions to stir up both *King* and *Parliament* to a War against us.

That course failing, he plotted to break the *Parliament*, and to have the Conduct of the Army in the Expedition against *Scotland*, which he exercised according to the largeness of his *Patent* of his own devising; and when the *Scots* Army came but in peace, far from Intentions to invade, but with supplication and petition of peace; he gave order to his Officers to fight us, and so to be engaged in blood, the better for his wicked Designs against both Kingdoms.

And although his Majesty with consent of his Peers were inclined to a Peace (as before) he onely in that honourable Assembly raged against us as *Traitours* and *Enemies* to *Monarchical Government*, to be sent home; nay, he himself would undertake to whip us home in our own blood.

That after the Cessation of Arms, he, during the Treaty, drew up his Army near the *Tees*, and gave his Warrants to the several Governours of *Barnwick* and *Carlile* for their Acts of Hostility; and he the Man that continueth several parts of *England* in terms of difference, sundry *Scots* imprisoned still, no free Trade, nor other face of affairs there, as before the Cessation.

And therefore desire their Lordships, that this great *Incendiary* not onely against private persons, but even against Kingdoms and Nations, may come to his Trial, and endure condign justice and punishment.

And for this their good service, the *Scots* had favour from the House of Commons to have an hundred thousand pounds voted for the Expence of their Army, who besides plundered the Counties round about their Quarters.

Money voted
for the Scots.

And not to separate him from his confident Sir *George Ratcliff*, who was brought out of *Ireland*, and this Impeachment charged against him.

Anno
1640.

The Impeachment of Sir George Ratcliff.

First, that he had conspired and joined with the Earl of Strafford, to bring into Ireland an Arbitrary Government, and to subvert Fundamental Laws.

Secondly, to bring in an Army from Ireland to subdue the Subjects of England.

Thirdly, that he joyned with the Earl to use Regal power, and to deprive Subjects of their liberties and properties.

Fourthly, to take out forty thousand pounds out of the Exchequer in Ireland, and bought Tobacco therewith, and converted the same profit to their own uses.

Fifthly, that he hath traiterously confederated with the Earl to countenance Papists; and built Monasteries to alienate the affections of the Irish Subjects from the subjection of England.

Sixthly, to draw the Subjects of Scotland from the King.

Seventhly, that to preserve himself and the said Earl, he had laboured to subvert the Liberties and Privilege of Parliaments in Ireland.

The Parliament taking things in turn, having turned out of the House of Lords and safely lodged two *Delinquents*, the most active and powerfull, the one from the *State*, the other from the *Church*, the next in course must concern the *Law*: the most eminent *Malignant* as they conceived, was the Lord Keeper *Finch*, who took it for his wiser way to prevent the effects of what was in preparing against him, the *Commons* charge of *High Treason*.

In reference to it he carested them with an Oration, such as it is, in vindication of himself in such particulars as he knew most in force, and because it contained more than bare words, we may examine the merit thereof, which was all, that he had time to say for himself.

Mr: Speaker,

I give you thanks for granting me admittance to your presence.

I come not to preserve my self and Fortunes, but to preserve your good opinion of me; for I profess, I had rather beg my Bread from door to door, with Date obolum Bellisario, with your favour, than be never so high and honoured with your displeasure.

I came not hither to justifie my words, actions, or opinions, but to open my self freely and then to leave my self to the House.

What disadvantage it is for a man to speak in his own cause, you well know; I had rather another would doe it, but since this house is not taken with words, but with truth, which I am best able to deliver, I presume to do it my self:

I come

Lord Keeper
Finch his
Speech to the
Commons
House.

I come not with a set speech but with my heart, to open my self freely, and then to leave it to the house; but do desire, if any word fall from me that shall be misconstrued; I may have leave to explain my self.

For my Religion, I hope no man doubts it, I being religiously educated under Catterton in Emmanuel Colledge, thirty years; I have been in Grays Inn, thirteen years a Bencher, and a diligent hearer of Dr. Sibs, who if he were living, would testifie, that I had my chiefest encouragement from him; And though I met with many oppositions from many in that house, ill affected in Religion, yet I was alwaies supported by him.

Five years I have been of the Kings Council, but no Actor Avisor, or Inventor, of any project; Two places I have been preferred unto, Chief Justice, and Lord Keeper, not by any sute or merit of my own, but by his Majesties free gift: In the discharge of these places, my hands have never touched, my eyes have never been blinded, with any reward.

I never biassed for friend-ship, nor diverted for hatred; for all that know me, know, that I was not of a vindicative nature.

I do not know, for what particulars or by what means you are drawn into an ill oppinion of me, since I had the honour to sit in that place you sit in Mr. Speaker; In which I served you, with fidelity and Candor; Many witnesses are of the good Offices I did you, and resumed expressions of thankfulness, from this house for it, for the last day I had share in it, no man expressed more Symbols of sorrow then I.

After three daies Adjournment, the King desired me, it might be adjourned for some few daies more; whether was it then in his Majestie, much less in me to dissolve the House? But the King sent for me to White hall and gave me a Message to the House, and commanded me when I had delivered the Message, that I should forthwith come to him, and if a question was offered to be put, he charged me upon my Allegiance I should put none, I do not speak this as a thing I do now merit, but it is known to divers men, and to some Gentlemen in this House. All that I say is but to beseech you all consider what you would have done in this strait, betwixt the King my Master, and this honourable House.

The Shipping business lieth heavy upon me; I am far from justifying that my opinion, if it be contrary to the Judgment of this House I submit; I never knew of it at the first, or ever advised any other.

I was made Chief Justice four daies before the Writ went out, for the Port, I was sworn sixteen daies after Chief Justice, and those writs issued forth without my privity.

The King Commanded the then Chief Justice, the now Chief Baron, and my self to look on the Presidents, and to certifie him our opinions, what we thought of it; That if the whole Kingdome

Anno
1640.

were in danger, it was reasonable and fit to lay upon the whole Kingdome and not upon the Port only; and commanded the then Chief Justice and my self, and the now Chief Baron to return him our opinions. Our opinions were, and we thought it agreeable to Law, and reason, that if the whole were in danger, the whole should contribute; this was about June.

In Michaelmas following, the King (but by no advice of mine,) commanded me to goe to all the Judges for their opinions upon the case, and to charge them upon their Allegiance to deliver their opinions; But this, not as a binding Opinion to themselves, but that upon better consideration, or reason, they might alter, but only for his Majesties satisfaction, and that he must keep it, for his own private use, (as I conceive the Judges are bound by their Oaths to do,) I protest I never used any promise or threats to any, but did only leave it to the Law, and so did his Majestie desire, That no speech that way, might move us contrary to this that I delivered.

There was no Judge which subscribed, that needed solicitation unto, there were that refused, Hutton and Crook; Crook made no doubt of this thing, but of the introduction; I am of opinion that when the whole Kingdome is in danger, whereof the King is Judge, and the danger is to be born by the whole Kingdome; When the King would have sent to Hutton for his Opinion, the then Lord Keeper desired to let him alone, and to leave him to himself; that was all the ill Office, he did in that business.

February the six and twentieth, upon Command from his Majesty, by a (then) Secretary of State, the Judges did Assemble in Serjeants Inn, where then, that Opinion was delivered, and afterwards was inrolled in the Star-chamber our other Court, at which time I used the best arguments as I could; where at that time Crook and Hutton differed in opinion; not of the thing, but whether the King was sole Judge:

Fifteen Moneths from the first, they all subscribed, and it was Registred in the Star-chamber, and other Courts, the reason why Crook and Hutton did subscribe, was, because they were over-ruled by the greater number; this was all I did, till I came to my Argument in the Exchequer; where I argued the Case; I need not to tell you what my Arguments were, they are publique about the Town; only I tell you three or four things in the matter, whether the Kingdome were in danger and in case of apparent danger; it was not upon the matter but upon demur.

I delivered my self then as free, and as clear, as any, that the King ought to govern by the positive Laws of the Kingdome, and not alter, but by consent in Parliament, and that if he made use of it as a Revenue or otherwise, that this Judgment could not hold him, but never declared that mony should be raised.

I heard you had some hard opinion of me, about this secret business;

It was far from my business, and occasions but in Mr. absence; I went to the Justice-seat, when I came there I did (both King and Common-wealth) good service, which I did, with extream danger to my self and fortunes, lest it a thing as advantagious to the Common-wealth, as any thing else.

I never went about to overthrow the Charter at the Forrest but held it a Sacred thing, and ought to be maintained, both for the King and People. Two Judges then were, that held that the King, by the Common-law might make a Forrest, where he would: when I came to be judge, I declared my Opinion to the contrary, that the King was restrained, and had no power to make a Forrest, but in his own Demeln Lands.

I know, that there is something laid upon me, touching the Declaration that came out the last Parliament, It is the Kings affaires, and I am bound without his Licence not to disclose it, but I hope I shall obtain leave from his Majesty, and then I shall make it appear, that in this thing I have not deserved your disfavours, and will give good satisfaction, in any thing.

I know that you are wise, and will not strain things to the uttermost sence to hurt me; God did not call David, a man after his own heart, because he had no feelings, but because his heart was right with God, I conclude all with this, That if I must not live to serve you, I desire I may die in your good opinion and favour.

But all could not serve to keep him from their Censure, who voted him that very day a Traytor.

First, For refusing to read the Remonstrance against the Lord Treasurer Weston, 4. Car. when the Parliament desired it. Secondly, For soliciting, perswading and threatning the Judges to deliver their Opinion for levying Ship-money. Thirdly, for several illegal actions in Forrest-matters. Fourthly, For ill Offices don in making the King to dissolve the last Parliament, and causing his Majesties Declaration thereupon to be put forth.

The next day he was accused before the Lords, but he was early up, and thereby the more neer, to give them the slip, and the wiser he, when no other defence, could serve the Scrutiny he withdrew into Holland and there remained whilst his accusers became the more guilty, and then he came home again.

The Parliament increasng in repute and power, and minding to new-mold and over-turn or turn over to a new leaf, were modeling a Bill for a Triennial-Parliament, and to bring it about, busineses were devised and invited, and the Counties set a work to send in their Petitions, one of them subscribed with above eight hundred Presbyters, and that was directly against the Hierarchy of Bishops, which the King observed and mistrusting the willing reception, He tells both houses, (the three and twentieth

Anno
1640.

The Kings
Speech for Bi-
shops.

of January) of their slow Proceedings and Inconveniencies thereby, in maintaining two Armies in the Kingdom at excessive charges. And of the weak condition of his Navy and Forts, to the Incouragement of his Enemies, and disheartning of his Friends. But his earnest business now begins.

I Cannot (said he) but take notice of some very strange Petitions, given in the name of several Counties, against the present established Government of the Church, and of the great Threats, that Bishops shall be no better than Cyphers, if not clear done away. Now I must tell you, that I make a difference between Reformation and Alteration of Government: though I am for the first, I cannot give way to the latter. I will not say, but that the Bishops may have over-stretched their power, and encroached upon the Temporal, which if you will correct, and reform the Abuse, according to the wisdom of former Times, so far I am with you. Nay farther, if upon serious debate you shall shew me, that Bishops have some temporal Authority inconvenient to the State, and not so necessary to the Church for support of the Episcopacy, I shall not be unwilling to perswade them to lay it down. Yet by this you must not understand, that I can consent to the taking away their Voice in Parliament, which they have so anciently enjoyed under so many my Ancestours, even before the Conquest, and ever since, and which I conceive I am bound to maintain, as one of the Fundamental Institutions of this Kingdom.

There is another Rock I desire you to eschew, and that not in substance but in form, yet that form is so essential, that except it be reformed it will mar the substance. There is a Bill given in for frequent Parliaments; the thing I like well, that is to say, to have often Parliaments; but to give power to Sheriffs, and Constables, and I know not whom, to do my Office, that I cannot yield unto; but to shew you that I am desirous to please you in forms which destroy not the substance, I am content you shall have an Act for this purpose, but so reformed that it shall never trench upon mine honour, nor on that inseparable Right of my Crown concerning Parliaments. To which purpose I have commanded my learned Council to wait on you, my Lords, with such Propositions as I hope will give you content. For I ingenuously confess, that frequent Parliaments are the best means to perform a right understanding between me and my Subjects.

To conclude, I have now shewed you the state of my clear Intentions, and the Rocks I wish you to eschew, in all which you may perceive the desire I have to give you content, as you shall finde also by those Ministers I have and do intend to imploy in my Affairs, for the pursuance of my good Intentions, which I doubt not will bring peace and happiness to my Subjects, to the contentment of us all.

Anno

1640.

Goodman a
Priest reprieved.

The King had reprieved one Goodman a Priest, formerly condemned at the Sessions at Old Baily, which made work for the Commons, and by Master Glyn their Messenger to the Lords, request them to adjoyn their Petition to his Majesty, to be informed, who should dare to be Instrumental in retarding of Justice in the Face of a Parliament: to which the King by the Lord Privy Seal the eight and twentieth of January, tells them the cause, he being found guilty as being a Priest onely, upon which account neither King James nor Queen Elizabeth ever exercised the penal Law.

This onely begat another Conference two days after with the Lords, from which came this Remonstrance to the King.

Remonstrance
against Goodman the Priest.

That, considering the state and condition of this present time, they conceive the Law to be more necessary to be put in strict execution, than at any time before.

First, because by divers Petitions from several parts of this Kingdom, Complaints are made of the great increase of Popery and Superstition, and the People call earnestly to have the Laws against Recusants put in execution.

Secondly, Priests and Jesuits swarm in great number in the Kingdom, and appear here with such boldness and confidence, as if there were no Laws against them.

Thirdly, it appeareth to the House, that of late years, about the City of London, Priests and Jesuits have been discharged out of Prison, many of them being condemned of High Treason.

Fourthly, the Parliament is credibly informed, that at this present the Pope hath a Nuncio or Agent resident in the City, and they have just cause to believe it to be true.

Fifthly, the Papists as publickly, and with as much confidence and importunity, resort to Mass at Denmark house, Saint James's, and the Ambassadors Chappel, as others do to their Parochial Churches.

Sixthly, there is found already so bad consequence of this Priest John Goodman his reprieve, that the City of London being solicited by the Parliament for their assistance in the advancement of Money for the supply of his Majesties Army, have absolutely denied the same, for that very reason, which may become an ill President in the levying of the Subsidies.

Lastly, it is found that this Goodman hath been twice before committed, and discharged, and was sometime a Minister in the Church of England.

Therefore they humbly desire the said John Goodman may be left to the justice of the Law.

Anno
1640.

The Kings
Answer.

To which the King makes answer.

That it was against his minde, that Popery or Superstition should any way increase within this Kingdom, that he will restrain the same, by causing the Laws to be put in execution.

That he is resolved to provide against Jesuits and Papists, by setting forth a Proclamation speedily, commanding them to depart the Kingdom within one Moneth, of which if they fail, or shall return, then they shall be proceeded against according to Law.

Concerning the Popes Nuncio (Rosetti) he hath no Commission, but onely to retain correspondency between the Queen and the Pope, in things requisite for the exercise of her Religion, which is warranted to her by the Articles of Marriage, which gave her a full liberty of conscience; yet he hath perswaded her, that since the mis-understanding of that persons condition gives offence, she will within a time convenient remove him.

Moreover, he will take special care to restrain his Subjects from resorting to Masses at Denmark house, Saint James's, and the Chappels of Ambassadors.

Lastly, concerning Goodman, because he will avoid the inconvenience of giving so great discontent to his People, as his Mercy may produce, therefore he doth remit his particular case to both Houses. But he desired them to take into their considerations, the Inconveniences that may upon this Occasion fall upon his Subjects, and other Protestants abroad, especially since it may seem to other States to be a Severity.

The Scots
affairs.

But this while, though of consequence to the main Affairs, we have been enforced to leave the Scots in their five Moneths warm Quarters in this Kingdom.

The Treaty at Rippon produced a Cessation of Hostility, referring further to a Treaty at London, which was impowred by Commission the three and twentieth of November, to the former Lords, the Earls of Bedford, Hartford, Essex, Salisbury, Warwick, Bristow, Holland, and Berkshire; the Lords Wharton, Paget, Kimbolton, Brook, Paulet, Howard of Estrick, Savile, and Dunsmore, or to any ten or more of them, to treat with the Scottish Commissioners, or any seven of them, being the Earls of Rothes, and Dumferling, the Lord London, Sir Patrick Hepburn, Sir William Douglas, William Drummond, John Smith Bailiff of Edinburg, Alexander Wedderburn, Hugh Kennedy, Alexander Henderson, and Archibald Johnson, to take into consideration their Demands, and to compose all Differences thereupon: in pursuance of which Commission, these Demands were assented unto.

The

The Reign of King Charles.

351

The Scottish Commissioners demanded.

Anno
1640.

First, that his Majesty would be graciously pleased to command, that the Acts of the late Parliament may be published in His Highness Name, as our Sovereign Lord, with the consent of the Estates of Parliament convened by his Majesties Authority.

1. Demand.

To this it is answered, and agreed 30 Decembris 1640. That forasmuch as the Kings Majesty at the humble desire of his Subjects, did call and convene a Parliament to be holden at *Edinburgh*, the 2. of *June*, 1640. wherein certain Acts were made, and agreed upon, which Acts his Majesty is pleased to publish in his own Name with the consent of the Estates, and therefore commands that the said Acts bearing date the 2. day of *June*, 1640. be published with the Acts to be made in the next Session of the same Parliament, and that all the said Acts, as well of the precedent, as of the next Session to be holden, have in all time coming the strength of Laws, and to be obeyed by all the Subjects of the Kingdom of *Scotland*.

Answer.

Secondly, that the Castle of Edinburgh, and other Strengths of the Kingdom, should with the advice of the Estates of Parliament, according to their first foundation, be furnished and used for defence and security of the Kingdom.

2. Demand.

It is agreed unto.

Answer.

Thirdly, that Scottish men within his Majesties Dominions of England and Ireland may be freed from censure for subscribing the Covenant, and be no more pressed with Oaths and Subscriptions unwarranted by their Laws, and contrary to their National Oath and Covenant, approved by his Majesty.

3. Demand.

It is agreed Decemb. 8. 1640. that all those who in his Majesties Dominions of *England* and *Ireland*, have been imprisoned or censured any way for subscribing of the Covenant, or for refusing to take any other Oath contrary to the same, shall be freed of these Censures, and shall be fully restored to their Liberties, Estates, and Possession; and for time coming, that the Subjects of *Scotland*, as Subjects of *Scotland*, shall not be constrained to any Oath contrary to the Laws of that Kingdom, and the Religion there established; but such of the Kingdom of *Scotland* as shall transport themselves into the Kingdom of *England* or *Ireland*, and there be settled Inhabitants, either by way of having Inheritance or Freehold, or by way of settled Trades, shall be subject to the Laws of *England* or *Ireland*, and to the Oaths established by the Laws and Acts of Parlia-

Answer.

Anno
1640.

4. Demand.

Parliament in the said Kingdoms respectively, wherein they live. And the *English* and *Irish* shall have the like privilege in *Scotland*.

Fourthly, that his Majesty would be pleased to declare, that whosoever shall be found upon Trial and Examination by the Estates of either of the two Parliaments, (they judging against the persons subject to their own Authority) to have been the Authours and Causers of the late and present Troubles, and Combustions, whether by labouring to make and foment Division betwixt the King and his People, or betwixt the two Nations, or any other way, shall be liable to censure of the said Parliaments respectively.

Answer.

It is answered, *December 11. 1640.* That his Majesty believeth he hath none such about him; therefore, concerning that point, he can make no other Declaration than that he is just, and that all his Courts of Justice are to be free and open to all men. Our Parliament in this Kingdom is now sitting, and the current Parliament of *Scotland*, near approaching the time of their meeting; In either of which *respective*, he doth not prohibit the Estates to proceed in trying and judging of whatsoever his Subjects.

And whereas it was further demanded, that none after the Sentence of the Parliament should have access to his Majesty, or be maintained or enjoy Places, or Offices, and have credit or authority to inform or advise his Majesty.

It is declared in his Majesties Name, *Decemb. 30. 1640.* That he will not imploy any person or persons in Office or Place, that shall be judged incapable by Sentence of Parliament: nor will he make use of their service without the consent of Parliament, or grant them access to his Person.

5. Demand.

Fifthly, that their Ships, and Goods, and all Damgages thereof may be restored.

Answer.

It is agreed, *Jan. 7. 1640.* That all Ships taken and staid should be reciprocally restored on both sides. And that the *Scotish* Commissioners having informed that about eighty Ships of *Scotland* are yet staid in the Ports, and are like to suffer much loss if they shall not be delivered into some hands who may have care of them. It is agreed that Warrants shall be presently granted for delivery of all their Ships. And that four thousand pounds be presently advanced, for Caulking, Sails, Cordage, and other necessities, for helping the present setting forth of the said Ships.

6. Demand.

Sixthly, they desire from the justice and the kindness of the Kingdom of England, Reparation concerning the Losses which the Kingdom of Scotland hath sustained, and the vast Charges they have been put unto by occasion of the late Troubles.

That

That this House thinks fit that a friendly assistance; and relief shall be given towards supply of the Losses of the *Scots*, and that the Parliament did declare that they did conceive that the Sum of three hundred thousand pounds is a fit proportion for the friendly assistance and relief, formerly thought fit to be given towards supply of the Losses and Necessities of their Brethren of *Scotland*, and that the House would in due time take into consideration the manner how, and the time when, the same shall be raised.

Anno
1640.
Answer.

Seventhly, that as his Majesty hath approved the Acts of the late Parliament, wherein all such Declarations, Proclamations, Books, Libells, and Pamphlets, that have been made, written, and published against his loyal and dutifull Subjects of Scotland, are recalled, and ordered to be suppressed: So his Majesty may be pleased to give order that the same may be suppressed, recalled and forbidden in England and Ireland; and that the loyalty, integrity, and faithfulness of his Majesties Subjects of Scotland, towards his Majesties royal Person and Government may at the closing of this Treaty of Peace, and at the time of publick Thanks-giving for the same, be made known in all places and all Parish-churches of his Majesties Dominions.

7. Demand.

It is agreed upon the 10. of *February*, 1640. That all Declarations, Proclamations, Acts, Books, Libells, and Pamphlets that have been made and published against the loyalty and dutifulness of his Majesties Subjects of *Scotland*, shall be recalled, suppressed and forbidden in *England* and *Ireland*. And that this be reciprocal in *Scotland*, if any such have been made or published there in prejudice of his Majesties honour. And this upon diligent enquiry to be done by the Authority of Parliament next sitting in *Scotland*, of which the Commissioners of *Scotland* do promise to have an especial care. And we do also agree, that when it shall please Almighty God to grant an happy close of this Treaty of Peace, the Loyalty of his Majesties Subjects of *Scotland* shall be made known at the time of publick Thanks-giving, in all places, and particularly in the Parish Churches of his Majesties Dominions.

Answer.

That all Monuments, Tokens and shews of Hostility upon the Borders of the two Kingdoms may be taken away. That not onely the Garrisons of Barwick and Carlile may be removed, but that the Works may be slighted, and the places dismantled.

8. Demand.

To the eighth Demand it is said, [*that being offered the twelfth of this Moneth there was no Answer.*] But there was this Answer *Die Luna 8. Martii 1640.*

Hist. p. 212.

Anne

1640.

Answer.

This house of *Commons* concur with their Lordships, that when a peace shall be established, all things reciprocally be reduced into the *Termes* they were before the Treaty.

And do agree with their Lordships that the *Scottish* Commissioners shall set down all their particular heads and demands at once together, that so their eight Articles which they propound for establishing a peace may with all speed be concluded, that being done this house shall willingly concur with their Lordships to settle all things for their just satisfaction.

Then comes the *Scots* remayning heads to the Eight Demands.

1. Our desires concerning Unity in Religion and Conformity of Church Government, as a special means for preserving of peace between these Kingdomes.

2. That some *Scottish*-men of respect, and intrusted by their Nation may be in place about the King, Queen, and the Prince.

3. That none be in place about his Majesty, and the Prince, but such as profess the Reformed Religion.

4. Concerning the manner of chusing the Councel and Sessions in Scotland.

5. Naturalization; declaring the capacity, and mutuality of the Subjects of both Kingdomes.

6. Concerning Customes in the Kings dominions, and Foreign Nations.

7. Concerning freedome of trade and intercourses.

8. Concerning Manufactory and assessments by Sea and Land.

9. Concerning Equality and course of coyn in his Majesties dominions.

10. Concerning Fishing.

11. An Act of Oblivion of all by-gone deeds betwixt the Kingdomes of Scotland, England and Ireland, since the beginning of the late troubles.

12. An act of Parliament for the ratifying this Treaty, and Articles, and establishing the means of a firm and perfect peace.

13. That none of his Majesties dominions shall take Arms or invade others, without consent of the Parliament of that Kingdom; and after declared Peace, no stopping of Trade, or taking of ships, or any Acts of hostility; the contemnners to be punished as Enemies to the State.

14. That neither Scotland nor England ingage in a foreign war without mutual consent, and to assist each other against all foreign Invasions.

15. Concerning the remanding of offenders or debtors in both Kingdomes.

16. Concerning

16. Concerning exacting decrees and sentences.

ANNO

1640.

17. In either Nation authentike extracts, without production of the principal warrant about the late borders, and middle Marshes; and that this peace may be inviolably observed, Trials may be taken in the triennial Parliament of both Kingdomes, of all wrongs, to be done by either nation to other, that the differences may be removed; and some commissioners to be appointed of both Kingdomes for the conserving of peace in the Intervall of Parliaments.

And being required to bring in a full Accompt of their charges in writing according to their *sixt Article*, they enlarge it unto five hundred and fourteen thousand one hundred twenty and eight pounds nine shillings &c. abating only the odde pence.

A monstrous sum. Besides what losses their Nation, Nobility and Gentry have sustained, which they amount unto *Two hundred and twenty one thousand pounds*, and the neglect of their fortunes at *Two hundred and twenty thousand pounds*.

Besides the *Eight hundred and fifty pounds a Moneth*, Contributions of the Northern Counties, and besides the exhaustable Insolencies also upon them by the Scots Army.

All which, because it may seem an impudent Account impossible to be made out upon any pretences. See it in their own particulars, which was set out in print, if it had been possible, to have made them odious to the suffering *English Subjects*.

The Scots Great Account.

BESIDES the particular charges, and losses, of all sorts of persons, and besides other extraordinary charges hereafter mentioned, we do according to our knowledge, present to your Lordships, the publicke charges and burdens, under which the whole Countries do lie, as followeth in the schedule annexed to the account, (viz.)

The account of the severall Regiments, that were first employed, amounts to the sum of 72293. pound 15. shillings English money. For Artillery, and Amunition at the same time, the sum of 13388. pound 6. shillings 8. pence. The fortifying of the Castle at Edinburgh, and Floring; some fortifications made in Bruntill, and Inchgrave, Kintire and Arrane, the works, and fortification made at Leith, so much of the Accounts as came in at Whitsontide, extends to the sum of 5399. l. 3. s. 4. d.

We do pay for three tearms Annual thereof, betwixt Whitsunday and Martinmas at 8. l. per cent. extends the sum of 10809. l. 14. s.

Item, The souldiers of Fortune, being compleatly from the first of September in the Regiment, their accounts above written to the last of December, being four moneths, the sum of 8333. l. 6. s. 8. d.

Anno
1640.

Item, The number of them being augmented by their coming home from that time to the fourth of May, the sum of 10833.1. 6. s. 8. d.

Item, For the battery at the Castle of Edinburgh, running trenches Earth, Deale, and Dung, fortification of Leith, for reparation of the work, and satisfaction for grounds, gardens, and houses demolished for making the fortification, and trenches about the Castle, the sum of 7166.1. 13. s. 4. d.

Item, For General Major Monro his Regiment from the first of March, to the last of November, the sum of 15000.1.

Summa lateris 143223.1. 15. s. 8. d.

Item, For two small Regiments kept in Edinburgh, consisting of 1200. men, being listed in the end of March, and were kept to the beginning of October, the sum of 10500.1.

Item, For the pay of 400. foot that lay at Mintosse, from the beginning to the last August, of and for teavy money of 4. s. 6. d. apeece, the sum of 1920.1. 13. s. 4. d.

Item, For 60. horse that lay there in troopes four moneths, the sum of 816.1. 6. s. 8. d.

Item, Lieutenant Colonel Homes Regiment from the first of Aprill to the last of November, 70500.1.

Item, The Earl of Argiles expedition in this year, 3333.1. 6. s. 8. d.

Item, The Factors counts of Amunition and Arms this year, the sum of 25000.1.

Item, The foot Army consisting between 22000. and 24000. men, with 2500. horse, was three moneths and an halfe at 40000.1. a moneth, do extend to the sum of 140000.1. Item, The Army being a moneth and an halfe, the sum of 60000.1.

Item, Levy monies advanced to the footemen to bring them to the Randevous, to some 2. s. to some 3. s. to some 5. s. as they lay in distance from their Randevous, which was at the least to every foot-man over head 3. s. 4. d. the sum of 3646.1. 13. s. 4. d.

Item, Leavy to 2500. horsemen at 6. s. 8. d. apeece the sum of 833.1. 6. s. 8. d.

Item, For entertaining of souldiers at the Castle of Dumberton, and upon Clyde, making fortification at both places, the sum of 30343.1. 6. s. 8. d.

Item, The Earl of Marshall his Regiment the sum of 30333.1. 6. s. 8. d.

Item, My Lord Sincklars Regiment the sum of 10666.1. 13. s. 4. d.

Summa lateris 266904.1. 13. s. 4. d.

Item, 65. ships given up in the list, besides many others not yet come

The Reign of King Charls.

357

Anno

1640.

come to our knowledge, which with the loading and loss they had by want of trade, by nine moneths rest, the sum of 52700.

The delivery of the ships will abate so much of this as the ships are presently worth.

Item, About five hundred Scotch-ships were stopped from trading, by the English ships, six or seven moneths: the native commodities, ordinarily to be exported, were sold the third penny down of their value, the prejudice thereof exceeded that which we desire, but do onely here set the sum 50000.l.

Item, For fortification made at Tantalum, and a watch kept there, and at the Basse and Linton Bridge, the sum of 7000.l.

Item, For two ships sunk at Clyde, to stop the passing of the English, some having come in before, and were valued at 600.l.

Summa lateris 104000.

The Kingdome of Scotland hath sustained divers other great burthens of this nature: As first, the particular charges sustained by the Nobility, Gentry, Burroughs of our Kingdome, by reason of the great troubles and Armies, which shall be made appear to be above 100000.l.

Item, the neglect and over-sight of their particular fortunes, can be no less then the 100000.l. aforesaid, besides expeditions in the North, that cost above 1000.l.

The stop of Trade was of prejudice to Scotland above 50000.l.

18000.l. a moneth will not defray the charge of our Armies at New-Castle, and in Scotland; besides, the 850.l. per diem, which we receive from the Nothern parts and Counties.

There was furnished by the Several Shires of the Kingdome, 2000. Baggets, horses, for carrying victuals to the Souldiers they sent out.

And about a thousand were bought for carrying the Commanders baggage, of which above 1000. have been lost in England, and have perished in the journey, and of 500. horse and 100. oxen for the Common, the half is also lost; which loss will amount to above 6500.l.

Many of the 2500. troop horse cost at the several prices by the Shires, and will lose of them, partly by death, and partly by decay above 5500.l.

Sum of the last, 271500.l.

So then their charges amount unto 514128.l. 9. s.

their losses unto 271500.l.

Besides their charity to us in other abatements.

Whereupon the English Commissioners in much amazement, demanded of the Scottish, Whether this be a positive Account,

or

Question.

514128
271500
785628

Anno
1640.

or whether rather an intimation of the Charges there, to induce the Kingdom of England to take your distressed estate into consideration, and to afford you some friendly assistance, the eighth of January, 1640.

They answer.

Answer.

We could be no less willing to undergo the Loss, if we had been ready to undergo the hazard; but because the burthen of the whole charge doth far exceed our strength; we have (as is more fully contained in our Papers presented to your Lordships) our Charges and Losses.

Not intending to demand a total Reparation, but in some measure bear the Remnant, which we conceive, your Lordships, having considered our Reasons to be a matter not of our covetousness, but of the justice and kindness of the Kingdom of England, the ninth of January, 1640.

per Adam Blayr.

And some of the Commons House (their Favourites) conceived their Demands not unreasonable. But Sir Benjamin Ruddier gave his opinion to this effect, January 22.

Mr: Speaker.

Sir Benjamin
Ruddier's
Speech.

The prudent Endeavours of our Commissioners, with the Scots, probably have drawn near to a blessed Peace. The King being graciously pleased to assent to their Acts of Parliament, including the Articles of their Assembly; their Religion, Laws, and Liberties ratified; their grievances relieved, for which we use to give the King Money. The Scots Remonstrance professing, that they would take nothing of the English but for Money or Security. But we have defrayed them hitherto, and are still provided to do longer.

That heretofore we established their Reformation, and bore our own Charges: and concerning mutual restitution of Ships and Goods, which now our Commissioners have fairly accommodated already. As for inferential and consequential Damgages, such a Representment would not administer unacceptable matter of contestation.

We could truly allege that Northumberland, New-castle, and the Bishoprick will not recover their former Estate these twenty years; that the Coal-mines of New-castle will not be set right for an hundred thousand pounds, besides the price of Coals doth cost this City and other parts of this Kingdom above that value in loss. And much more of this nature and damage might be justly urged.

They say, they do not make any former Demands, but yet they make their Sum appear above four hundred and fourteen thousand pounds, more than ever we gave the King; A portentous apparition, which shews it self in a very dry time, the Kings Revenue totally exhausted,

the

The Reign of King Charles.

359

Anno
1640.

the Kingdom generally impoverished, and yet all this supply is to be drawn out of us onely without the least help from any his Majesties other Dominions, an utter draining of this Nation, unless England be Puteus inexhaustus: yet I shall afford what is reasonable and honourable to a convenient considerable Sum of Money, that they may go off with a handsome friendly Loss, if they shall reject it, we shall improve our Cause.

It was never thought any great wisdom evermuch to trust to a successful Sword. A man that walks upon rising ground, the further he goes the more spacious his prospect; success enlarges mens desires, extends their ambition, breeds thoughts never dreamt on before. But the Scots being truly touched with Religion, according to their professions, that onely is able to keep their words; for Religion is stronger and wiser than Reason it self. But we hope of a good conclusion, of the effects of all these (hitherto Inconveniences) to the advance of Religion, King, and Kingdoms.

But for the present to satisfie the clamour of the Scots, Master Speaker was ordered to write to the City of London to advance sixty thousand pounds upon security and Assignment out of the next Subsidies to be levied, and to pay in the Money to the Chamber of London, which was so humbly obeyed. This being but one Loan; for I finde several Acquittances for the like Sum of sixty thousand pounds, mentioning therein *For Supply of the Kings Army, and providing for the Northern Counties.* And so belike were issued for Supply of both Armies.

The Dutch Ambassadour Lieger having made Overtures of a Marriage between William young Prince of Orange and the Kings eldest Daughter the Princess Mary, which he very willingly inclined to accept, yet though fit as his condition stood with the Parliament to acquaint them therewith. And tells the House of Lords.

Overtures of
a March be-
twixt the La-
dy Mary and
Prince of
Orange.

My Lords,

That freedom and confidence which I expressed at the beginning of this Parliament, to have of your love and fidelity towards my Person and Estate, hath made me at this time come hither to acquaint you with that Alliance and Confederacy which I intend to make with the Prince of Orange, and the States, which before this time I did not think expedient to do, because that part which I do desire your advice and assistance upon, was not ready to be treated on. I will not trouble you with a long digression, by shewing the steps of this Treaty, but leave you to be satisfied in that by those who under me do manage that Affair. Onely I shall shew you the Reasons which have induced me to it, and in which I expect your assistance and counsel. The Considerations that have induced me to it are these.

The Kings
Speech to the
Lords about
it.

First,

Anno

1640.

First, the matter of Religion, here needs no Dispensation, no fear that my Daughters conscience may be any way perverted.

Secondly, I do esteem that a strict Alliance and Confederacy with the States will be as usefull to this Kingdom, as that with any of my Neighbours, especially considering their Affinity, Neighbourhood, and way of their strength.

And lastly, (which I must never forget in these occasions) the use I may make of this Alliance towards the establishing of my Sister and Nephews.

Now to shew you in what I desire your assistance, you must know that the Articles of Marriage are in a manner concluded, but not to be totally ratified untill that of Alliance be ended, and agreed, which before I demanded your assistance, I did not think fit to enter upon. And that I may not leave you too much at large, how to begin that Council, I present you here the Propositions which are offered by me to the States Ambassadors for that intent. And so my Lords I shall onely desire you to make as much expedition in your Councils, as so great a Business shall require, and shall leave your Lordships to your own free debate.

This Proposition of Alliance both with the Prince and with the United Provinces, was extremely and unanimously affected by all the People, and was universally embraced without Fears or Jealousies, upon our Liberties or Religion, and soon concluded; but what resulted, think you, from another party? Papists Plots perpetually alarming; for,

The very next Day, four Members of the Commons House bore up the Message to the Lords, of a monstrous Design of the Papists; an Army of fifteen thousand in Lancashire, and eight thousand in Ireland, and I know not how many thousands in many places, well armed, and in pay, raised by the Earl of Strafford, the Earl of Worcester, and others.

After-ages will think these Hyperboles; for though there was no such Armies possibly by them, nor no such Fears by others, yet this Message was sent, and carried from the Lower to the Higher House, and gave the occasion to the multitude of People to frame Petitions, sutable to Plots, and Fears, and Jealousies, for the Parliaments purpose.

The thirteenth of February, one of the Ship-money Judges (so nick-named) Sir Robert Berkley, was by a motion of the Commons accused of High-treason, and by Maxwell the Black Rod taken the next day from his Seat in the Kings Bench, and kept Prisoner.

The Bill for the Triennial Parliament, having passed both Houses was confirmed with the Kings royal assent, February 16. and to let them see how sensible himself was, of this his great grace, he thought fit to put them in minde of their gratitude so fear of their failing.

My

Pretended
Plots of Pa-
pists. 1640.
1640.
1640.
1640.
1640.

29 Jul 1641
1641.
1641.
1641.

The King
passes the Bill
for the Trien-
nial Parlia-
ment.

My Lords,

And you the Knights, Citizens, and Burgeses of the House of Commons; you may remember when both Houses were with me at the Banqueting-house at White-hall, I did declare unto you two Rocks I wished you to shun, this is one of them, and of that consequence that I think never Bill passed here in this House of more favour to the Subject than this is: and if the other Rock be as happily past over, as this shall be at this time; I do not know what you can ask, for ought I can see at this time, that I can make any question to yield unto. Therefore I mention this to shew unto you the sense I have of this Bill, and the Obligation, as I may say, that you have to me for it; for hitherto (to speak freely) I had no great encouragement to do it.

If I should look to the outward face of your actions, or proceedings, and not to the inward intentions of your hearts, I might make question of doing it.

Hitherto you have gone on in that which concerns your selves to amend, and not in those things that meerly concern the strength of this Kingdom, neither for the State nor mine own particular.

This I mention, not to reproach you, but to shew you the state of things as they are, you have taken the Government all in pieces, and I may say, it is almost off the Hinges. A skilfull Watch-maker to cleanse his Watch will take it asunder, and when it is put together it will go better, so that he leaves not out one Pin of it.

Now as I have done all this on my part, you know what to do on yours; and I hope you shall see clearly, that I have performed really what I expressed to you at the beginning of this Parliament, of the great trust I have of your affections to me; and this is the great expression of trust, that before you do anything for me, I do put such a confidence in you.

And then also the King signed the Bill of Subsidies, both which Acts so pleasing to the Parliament, that at a Conference, it was agreed to wait upon his Majesty at White-hall, and by the Lord Keeper Sir Edward Littleton return their humble thanks. And Bonfires and Bell-ringing throughout all the City were signs of joy, which were so done by Order of Parliament.

The eight and twentieth of February Master Pym was sent from the Commons House to prefer the Charge of High Treason in fourteen Articles against the Arch-bishop of Canterbury, who was thereupon ordered to the Tower, but upon humble suit and some Reasons besides, his Commitment thither was respited till the first of March, and to that time he was Prisoner to the Black Rod.

Nor would this Mans remorse serve their turn, but the down fall of Episcopacy, a total Reformation in the Hierarchy it self. Nay, they

Anno

1640.

His Speech
concerning it.

Arch-bishop-
accused of
High-treason.

Anno
1640.

they must not mannage any secular power, nor Votes in Parliament. And at length they would quite extirpate them Root and Branch. And the ground of their guilt was framed into an *Induction* of *Particulars* annexed to their *Petitions*, as may in part appear, which it seems were not sufficient, but that they meant to make it up with more, and yet the other were eight and twenty very large Articles, and from them an Addition of as many evil Consequences as might serve for a Treatise.

And after the Reading in the House, were put under the consideration of a Committee.

We may imagine it impossible to express the various Debates pro & con upon that subject, the wit of man could not invent more, either for Tongues in the House, or Pens abroad, at home, and beyond Seas.

Amongst many Tongues this Speech of the Lord Digby against the Petition, and for Episcopacy deserves the mentioning, in effect thus.

Lord Digby's
Speech for
Episcopacy.

That he looked not upon that Petition, as a Petition from the City of London, but from he knew not what fifteen thousand Londoners, all that could be got to subscribe.

That therein he discovered a mixture of things Contemptible, Irrational, and Presumptuous.

Contemptible. Did ever any man think that the Fables of Ovid, or Tom Coriat's News, should by fifteen thousand have been presented to a Parliament as a motive for the extirpation of Bishops; For the scandal of the Rocket, the Lawn-sleeves, the four-corner'd Cap, the Cope, the Surplice, the Hood, the Canonical Coat, &c. may pass as Arguments of the same weight. He did not know whether it were more preposterous to infer the Extirpation of Bishops from such weak Arguments, or to attribute, as they do, to Church-government all the civil grievances. Not a Patent, not a Monopoly, not the price of a Commodity raised, but these men make Bishops the cause of it.

Irrational. A Petition ought to be like a kinde of Syllogism, the Conclusion, the Prayer, ought to hold proportion with the Premisses, that is, with the Complaints, and to be deduced from them: but in this Petition there was a multitude of Allegations, of Instances, of Abuses, and Depravations in Church-government; and what is thence inferred? Let the Use be utterly abolished for the Abuses sake. For the moveables sake to take away the solid good of a thing, is just as reasonable, as to root up a good Tree, because there is a Canker in the Branches.

Presumptuous. What greater boldness can there be than for Petitioners to prescribe to a Parliament what and how it should do? For multitude to teach a Parliament what is, and what is not, the Government according to Gods Word? Again, it is high presumption to petition point-blank against a Government in force by Law: the honour of for-

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mer Acts must be upheld, because all the reverence we expect from future times to our own Acts, depends upon our supporting the dignity of former Parliaments.

ANNO
1640.

He said, We all agree that a Reformation of Church-government is most necessary: but to strike at the Root, he can never give his Vote before three things were cleared to him.

First, that no Rule, no Boundaries can be set to Bishops able to restrain them from such Exorbitances.

Secondly, such a Frame of Government must be laid before us, as no time, no corruption, can make liable to inconveniences proportionable with those we abolish.

Thirdly, whether the new Model is practicable in the State, and consistent with Monarchy.

For the first, he was confident a Triennial Parliament would be a curb sufficient to order them.

For the second, he was also confident, that if we did listen to those who would extirpate Episcopacy, we should in state of every Bishop we put down in a Diocese, set up a Pope in every Parish.

For the last, he was of opinion that it would be unsafe for Monarchy, for if the Presbyterian Assemblies should succeed, they would assume a power to excommunicate Kings, as well as other men. And if Kings came once to be excommunicated, men are not like to care much what becomes of them.

But notwithstanding all their Debates and banding, Episcopacy was alive, though drooping; for the Commons the tenth of March voted, That no Bishop shall have any Vote in Parliament, nor any judicial power in the Star-chamber, nor bear any sway in temporal Affairs, and that no Clergy-man shall be in Commission of Peace. And yet in some doubt what to do as to the Hierarchy, they in February had required the Arch-bishop of Armagh lately come into England, to give them his Directions concerning the Liturgy and Episcopal Government, whose Answer was thus:

The Bishop of Armagh's Direction to the Parliament concerning the Liturgy and Episcopal Government, being thereunto required by them, Febr. 1640.

To satisfie you Demands both concerning the Liturgie and Episcopal Government.

First, for the Book of Common Prayer, it may be alleged:

First, that God himself appointed in the Law a set Form of Benediction, Numb. 6. 23, 24, 25, 26.

Secondly, that David appointed set Psalms to be sung upon especial occasions, as the Title to each of them sheweth.

Thirdly, that the Prophet Joel appointed a third Form of Prayers to

Anno

1640.

be used by the Priests at a solemn feast Joel. chap. 2. verse 15. 17.

Fourthly, That Christ, not only commands us to pray after such a manner, Mat. 6. 9. but to use a set form of words Luke 11, 2. when you pray say, Our father, &c.

Fifthly, the spirit of God is no more restrained by using a set form of Prayer, then by singing set hymns or Psalms in Meeter, which get the adversaries of our Common-prayer, Practise in their Assemblies.

Sixtly, of All Prayers premeditated are the best, Eccle. 5. 30. of Premeditated Prayers, those which are allowed by publique Authority are to be preferred, above those, which are uttered by any private Spirit.

Seventhly, All the Churches in the Christian world, in the first and best times, had their set formes of Liturgie, whereof most are extant, in the writings of the Fathers, to this day.

Eighthly, Let our Service-book be compared to the French, Dutch, or any other Liturgies, prescribed in any of the former Churches, and it will appear to any indifferent reader, that it is more exact, and compleat, then any of them.

Ninethly, Our Service-book was penned, and allowed of, not onely by many Learned Doctors, but glorious Martyrs, who sealed the truth of the Reformed Religion with their Blood.

Yet it cannot be denied, that there are quædam in pulchro Corpore mendæ; And it were to be wished, (so it be done without much noyse:)

First, That the Calendar, in part, might be reformed, and the Lessons taken out of the Apocrypha might be struck out, and other Lessons taken out of the Canonical-Scriptures, appointed to be read in the place of them; for, besides, that there is no necessity of reading any of the Apocrypha, there are in some of the Chapters set in the Index, passages repugnant to the doctrine of holy-scriptures, as namely in some Chapters of Tobit.

Secondly, that in the Psalms, Epistle, and Gospels, and all sentences alledged out of holy-scripture, the last translating of King James Bible, may be followed; for in the former, there be many passages, not agreeable to the Original, as may be proved by many instances.

Thirdly, That in the Rubrick, where of late, the word Priest hath been put instead of the word Minister, it may be expunged and the word Minister restored; which is less offensive, and more agreeable to the language of all Reformed Churches; And likewise, that some clauses; which seem to have surreptitiously crept into it, to be expunged; as namely, after the Communion, every Minister shall Communicate, and shall so receive the Sacraments, and other rites, according to the order in this Book appointed; which words, can carry no good sence in a Protestants eare, nor those, after Private baptism, that it is certain by Gods word that Children being

being baptized, have all things necessary for their salvation, and be undoubtedly saved.

Fourthly, *that in the Hymns, instead of, the song of the three-Children, some other word might be placed out of the Canonical scriptures; and that a fitter Psalm were chosen, at the Churching of a woman; for those verses, he will not suffer thy foot to be moved, and, the Sun shall not burn thee by day, nor the moon by night, seem not very pertinent.*

Fifthly, *that in the Prayers and Collects, some expressions were better; as where it is said, Almighty God which only worketh great wonders, send down upon our Bishops, &c. And let thy great mercy loose them, for the honour of Jesus Christ his sake; And, from fornication, and all other deadly sins; and the like.*

Sixtly, *That in the singing Psalms, either, the lame rhythms, or the superfluous words, as I say's and for why's; And homely phrases; as thou shalt feed them with brown bread; and take thy hand out of thy lap, and give thy foes a rap and mend this geer, and the like, may be corrected, or at least, a better translation of the Psalms in meeter, appointed, in place of this old.*

Secondly, *for Episcopal-government, it may be alleged.*

First, *That in the old-law the Priests were above the Levites.*

Secondly, *that in the Gospel, the Apostles were above the Seventy Disciples.*

Thirdly, *That in the subscriptions of St. Pauls Epistles, (which are part of the Canonical Scripture) it is said, that Timotheus was ordained the first Bishop of the Church of the Ephesians.*

Fourthly, *That Episcopal ordination and Jurisdiction, hath express warrant in holy Scripture, as namely Titus 1. 5. for this cause left I thee in Crete that thou shouldest set in order the things that are wanting and ordain Elders (that is Ministers,) in every City and, of Tim. 5. 22. Lay hands suddenly on no man; and 5. 19. Against an Elder (or Minister) receive not an accusation but before two or three witnesses.*

Fifthly, *The Angels of whom the Epistles were indorsed, the unanimous consent of all the best Interpreters, both ancient, and latter, expound it to be, the Bishops of those Cities.*

Sixtly, *Eusebius, and other Ecclesiastical writers affirm, (none contradicting them) that the Apostles themselves, chose James Bishop of Jerusalem, and, that in all their Apostolical Seats, succeeded Bishops, which continued in all the Christian world, and no other Government heard of in the Church for fifteen hundred years and more, then by Bishops and the Canons of Councils both General and Provincial which consisted of Bishops.*

Seventhly, *That so many acts of Parliament and Laws of the Kingdome, and Statutes of Colleges of both Universities, have relation to Bishops, that the removing of them, (especially there have-*
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Anno
1640.

ing been never any other Government settled in this Kingdome) will breed an Infinite confusion, and no Reformation but rather a deformation in the Church: yet, it were to be wished that in something, our Government might be reduced into the constitutions, and practice of the Primitive Church, especially, in these particulars.

First, that Bishops did ordinarily Preach, either in the Metropolitan-Church, or in the Parochial-Churches, in their visitations.

Secondly, That they might not Ordain any Minister without the consent of three or four at the least, grave Pastors.

Thirdly, That they might not suspend ab officio et beneficio, at their pleasures by their sole authority, and only, with a necessary consent of some assistance, and that for such causes and crimes only, as the antient Canons or the Laws of this Kingdome appoint.

Fourthly, that none might be Excommunicated but by the Bishop himself, with the consent of the Pastor, in whose Parish the Delinquent liveth; and that for Heinous Scandalous Crimes, joyned with obstinacie, and wilful contempt of the Churches authority; and that, for non appearance upon ordinary citations, some other punishment might be inflicted, and, that appointed by Law.

Fifthly, That Bishops might not demand benevolence for the Clergie, nor exact allowance for their diet in their visitations, nor suffer their servants to exact undue fees, in Ordinations and institutions

Lastly, That Bishops, Chancellors, and officials may be subject to the Censures of the principal Synods and Convocations.

But of the Original of Episcopacie, take a cleer view of Doctor Reynalds, his judgement, and the Arch Bishop of Armagh confirmation thereof, and here abbreviated, referring the Reader to the Book it self, and his Annotations for his Authority, printed this year 1641.

Original of
Dr. Reynalds,
of Episcopacie.

When Elders were ordained (so the doctor) by the Apostles in every Church, through every City, to feed the flock of Christ, whereof the Holy Ghost had then overseers, they, the better to perform that duty, did Assemble and chose one amongst them President, and Moderator. As at Ephesus, though sundry Elders and Pastors, yet but one chief, whom our Saviour calls the *Angel of the Church*, and whom the primitive fathers of the Church call *Bishops*, for as *Minister* the common name to all who serve in the *stewardship of the Ministers of God*, is now by custome restrained to the name Elders who are under a Bishop; so the name Bishop common to all Elders and Pastors, was by the language of the Fathers appropriated to him who was President over Elders.

Thus are certain Elders reproved by Cyprian, for receiving

to the communion them who had fallen (in time of persecution) before the Bishop had advised of it with them and others. And *Cornelius* writeth that the Catholique Church committed to his charge, had forty six Elders, and ought to have but one Bishop. And both of them being Bishops, the one of Rome, the other of Carthage, do witness of themselves, that they dealt in matters of the Churches Government by the consent and counsel of the company of Elders, or Eldership.

Which the
Arch Bishop
of Armagh
confirms.

This was that Doctors opinion, which the Arch Bishop of Armagh confirms with these notes of Antiquity.

That the Angel of the Church of Ephesus was by the fathers called Bishop, is cleerly confirmed both by the succession of the first Bishop of that Church, and by the Testimony of *Ignatius* who (within twelve years after) distinguisheth the singular and constant President thereof from the rest of the number of the Presbyters, by appropriating the name of Bishops unto him.

The former is declared in the general council of *Calcedon*, by *Lecutius* Bishop of *Magnesia*; That from *Timothy*, there had been a continued succession of twenty seven Bishops, all ordained in Ephesus, of which number the Angel of Ephesus must needs be one, whether it were *Timothy* or one of his next successors.

That *Timothy* had been Antistes (as *Iustin Martyr* calls him,) and the father, term, a Bishop, or President, is confessed by *Beza*. And that he was the first Bishop of Ephesus as in the second Epistle to *Timothy* and in *Eusebius*, but also in two ancient Treatises concerning *Timothies* Martyrdome, the one of them nameless; the other, named *Policrates*, who was himself Bishop of this Church of Ephesus, and born within thirty seven years after *St. John* had written the said Epistle to the Angel of that Church, and in his Epistle to *Victor* Bishop of Rome he maketh mention of seven kinsmen of his who had been Bishops; he himself being the Eight.

That *Ignatius* was ordained Bishop of *Antioch* by *St. Peter*, and did sit in that sea, at the same time, when that Epistle unto the Angel of the Church of Ephesus was commanded to be written. And in the last journey which *Ignatius* made for the consummation of his glorious Martyrdome at Rome, he wrote another Epistle unto the self same Church of Ephesus in which he maketh mention of their then Bishop *Onesimus*, in this Epistle to the Ephesians, *Ignatius* having acknowledged that their numerous multitude was received by him in the presence of their Bishop *Onesimus*, puts them in mind of their duty in concurring with him as their worthy Presbyters did, and exhorteth them to obey both the Bishop and the the Presbytery with a undivided mind.

In that journey *Ignatius* wrote another Epistle unto the Church of *Smyna* (one other of the seven in *St. Johns* Revelation) saluting

Anno
1640.

luring their Bishops and Presbyters, exhorting them to follow their Bishop, as Christ Jesus did his Father, and the Presbyters, by the Apostles, and tells them that none ought to administer the Sacraments, or meddle with the Church without consent of the Bishop.

That Polycarpus was then the Bishop, when Saint John wrote unto the Angel of the Church of Smyrna, as Irenæus informs, who was present when Polycarpus himself did discourse of his conversation with Saint John, and of those things which he heard from those who had seen our Lord Jesus. Polycarpus (says Irenæus) was not only taught by the Apostles, and conversed with many that had seen Christ, but also was by the Apostle constituted in Asia Bishop of the Church which is in Smyrna, whom we our selves also did see in our younger age; for he continued long, and being very aged, he most gloriously and nobly suffered Martyrdom.

And he of whom the Brethren gave this respect, He was (say they) the most honourable man in our times, an Apostolical and Prophetical Doctour, and Bishop of the Catholick Church which is in Smyrna.

Polycrates Bishop of Ephesus, and his Neighbour affirms, that Polycarpus was both Bishop and Martyr in Smyrna.

About the time of Polycrates it was, that Tertullian published his Book of Prescriptions against Hereticks, where he avoucheth against them, that as the Church of Smyrna had Polycarpus placed there by Saint John, and the Church of Rome had Clement ordained by Saint Peter, so the rest of the Churches did shew what Bishops they had received by the appointment of the Apostles to traduce the Apostolical seed unto them.

And before him did Irenæus urge against them the Succession of Bishops, unto whom the Apostles committed the charge of the Church in every place: and we are able to number those, who were ordained Bishops for the Churches and their Successours unto our days.

For proof whereof Irenæus brings in the Succession of the Bishops of Rome from Linus (unto whom the Apostles committed that Episcopacy) and Anacletus, and Clement unto Eleutherius.

In the time of Eleutherius, Bishop of Rome, Lucius King of Brittain sent to him an Epistle, desiring to be made a Christian, who obtained it, and that the Brittain kept the Faith then received, sound and undefiled, in quiet peace, untill the times of Dioclesian the Emperour; and that yet within ten years after (and eleven before the Council of Nice) three of our British Bishops subscribed unto the Council of Arles, they were Eborius of York, Restitutus of London, and Adelphius of Colchester, called in that Council Colonia Londinensium.

And so the Arch-bishop concludes, that the Angels of the seven Churches

Churches in the *Revelation*, were seven singular Bishops, and that *Saint John* being removed from his Exile by the Sentence of *Nerva*, he betook himself to the *Metropolis* of *Ephesus*, and being assisted with the presence of the seven Bishops, he took upon him the Government of the *Metropolis* of the *Ephesians*, and continued preaching the Word of Piety untill the Empire of *Trajan*.

That during that time he published the Gospel, as saith *Irenaeus*, *Eusebius*, and *Hierom*, at the intreaty of the Bishops of *Asia*, and there did ordain divers Bishops in several Churches. All which may suffice for the deduction.

To which was added by another the *Thesis*.

T H E S I S.

1. That our English Episcopacy hath been justified by the confession of the most learned Protestants of remote Churches, in special by the Church of Geneva.

2. That there was never any visibly constituted Church in all Christendom, since the Apostles time for fifteen hundred years and more, which held Episcopacy in it self to be unlawfull.

3. That Episcopal Prelacy is acknowledged by Protestant Divines of remote Churches to be according to the Word of God, and their consent therein unto primitive Antiquity.

4. That Episcopal Government in the Church is in respect of the necessary use thereof, the best, by the consent of Protestant Divines of other reformed Churches.

5. That the most Protestant Churches do profess and practise a Prelacy over Presbyters.

6. That the former Reasons of Confessions of Protestant Divines, concerning the necessity of Episcopal Prelacy, for preservation of concord, and preventing of Schism, is correspondent to the judgment of Antiquity.

7. That Bishops primitively were not onely the chiefest Champions for the Christian Faith, but also the greatest Adversaries to Romish Popedom, as have also our English.

8. That to be of Apostolical institution, argueth in it a divine Right by the confession of excellent Divines of the Reformed Churches.

9. That no ancient Father absolutely denied the Apostolical Original of Episcopacy, no not the objected *Hierom*, who will shew himself a manifest Patron thereof.

10. That *Clement* an Apostolical Disciple, to whose arbitrement both our Opposites and we offer to yield our selves, doth patronize Episcopacy, as being Apostolical.

11. That other primitive Fathers before *Hierom* did unanimously testifie an Apostolical Right of Episcopacy.

12. That the Apostolical Antiquity of Episcopacy is confessedly proved out of *Ignatius*.

Anno
1640.

13. That Antiquity hath given us Rules of Resolution by the knowledge of any Apostolical practice, which may serve in the case of Episcopacy.

14. That Protestant Divines of other reformed Churches have held it most equal to be directed by the judgments of Ancients for a proof of a practise Apostolical.

15. That Beza himself is challengeable to yield unto an Apostolical Right of Episcopacy from his own former confession.

16. That the testimony of Nazianzen and Augustine are unworthily objected to the contrary.

17. That Timothy and Titus both had a Prelacy over Presbyters, notwithstanding the Objection of the community of Names of Bishops and Presbyters, is sufficiently confessed by Protestant Divines of remote Churches.

18. That Timothy and Titus have had a Prelacy as Bishops over Presbyters in the Apostles times, notwithstanding the Objection, that they were called Evangelists according to consent of Protestants of Reformed Churches.

19. That Antiquity taught an Episcopacy both in Timothy and Titus.

20. That our Opposites first Exposition, which interpreteth the Angel to mean the whole Church and Congregation, is notably extravagant.

21. That our Opposites second Exposition of the word [Angel] to signifie onely the Order and College of Presbyters is erroneous, notwithstanding the Arguments of our Opposites to the contrary.

22. That our Opposites third Exposition of the word [Angel] to signifie one onely Pastour in the Church of Ephesus is extremely new and naught.

23. That by the word [Angel of Ephesus] to signifie a singular and individual Pastour, having a Prelacy over Presbyters, proved by a large consent of Protestant Divines, without exception, is judicious and ingenious.

24. That Antiquity held not the word [Angel] (whereof we treat) to be taken collectively for a multitude of Pastours.

25. That the word [Angel] in other places of the Revelation is commonly, if not always, individually taken.

26. That by [Angel] is meant individually one Bishop, is demonstrated by historical learning without contradiction.

27. That Christ himself shewed his approbation of Prelacy, which the foresaid Angels had in their several Churches.

Spanish Territories revolt.

We have been so busie at home, that no time nor place can be spared to mention foreign affairs, yet such were the afflictions of the Spaniard, by former Losses, Plots, and Treasons, as we need not wish an Enemy to suffer more, much less one in amity with us. Indeed Spain was at the very brink of destruction, likely to lose the

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He craved aid of the Council, which in cases of Treason is not allowed, in plea *de facto* it may not, but in matters *de lege* it may, and so he had Council. And the place of his Trial, could not be in the Lords House being of little Room to hold the House of Commons, who desired to be present and to manage the accusation by their own members, and in a full body of their house compleat, which the Lords would not indure and they come as a Committe, and so *Westminster-hall* was the place assigned and that not to big for this unparrallel Trial, the *King, Queen, Prince* and Courtiers being present and all the Parliament.

Anno
1640.
His Tryal in
Westminster
Hall.

The scene was at the upper end, reared of some heighth, and above that a Chaire, and cloth of State, on either side a close private Gallery for the *King, Queen* and *Prince*. Before them, seats for the Peers, and on either sides Scaffolds mounted for all the house of Commons (who sate bare headed) and hundreds of others, Auditors, who could get leave to enter. The command of the place and stage was ordered by the Earl of *Lindsey*, not as he was made high constable for the day, but as he was Lord great Chamberlain of *England*, in right of his mother *Mary* (the daughter of *John de vere* the sixteenth Earl of *Oxford*) who married *Peregrine Berty*, Lord *Willoughby* of *Earesby*, by whom she had issue this *Robert* now Earl of *Lindsey*, and thereby the disposing of all the Scaffolding as his fee when the Tryal was ended.

The Bishops being by ancient Canons disabled to be present at the sentence of blood and death, but not from being assistants in examining and deposing of witnesses or giving Council, till now abridged by this Parliament, to sit as Peers. And it is observed, that they were defended to have right of place & presence by a *Manuscript* in many hands *de jure Paritatis episcoporum*, and their Priviledges thereby asserted in this particular, which yet they (as the times were) did not interpose, but were contented to be absent giving advantage thereby to the Parliament to deprive them of their votes, and after to destroy their calling.

Ob. p. 224.

On *Munday* the two and twentieth of *March*, the day fixed for his appearing at *Westminster-hall*, almost five moneths time, since his first Commitment, which it seems was taken up and spent for procuring proofs of witnesses, purposely sent for from *Ireland*. And in truth the rather for Intertaining some Overtures of the Court, to take of the edge of his adversaries, and the best and usual way was by their several preferments. The Earl of *Bedford* to be Lord *Treasurer*, Mr. *Pym* Chancelor of the *Exchequer*, the Earl of *Essex* Governour of the *Prince*, Mr. *Hamden* to be his Tutor, the Lord *Say* Mr. of the wards, and Mr. *Hollis* principal secretary in the place of *Windehanck*, the Deputies place in *Ireland* also to another, and the Earl of *Warwick* in some command in the Navy. And it was in part prosecuted in relation hereto, for the

Ob. p. 226.

Anno
1640.

the Bishop of *London* did deliver up the Treasury staff, and the Earl of *New-castle*, the governance of the *Prince*, the Lord *Cottington* resigned up his offices, in the Court of wards and Exchequer, and it was not to be doubted that the Bishop of *Salisbury*, Dr. *Duppa* would willingly quit his place of Tutor to the *Prince*. But whether the Kings mind was herein mutable, or what else intervened, they thus concerned and baffled, became irreconcilable to the Earls destruction; and that this is true, may be hinted from the Kings Declaration of the twelfth of *August* after, *what Overtures had been made by them (saies the Declaration) and with what Importunities for offices, and preferments? what great services should have been done for him, and what other undertakings even to have saved the life of the Earl of Strafford?* So cheap a rate (it seems) might have saved that Incomparable Statesman.

The Earl of *Arundel* was made Lord High Steward, and the Earl of *Lindsey* Lord High Constable, and thus set (as before said) the Earl of *Strafford*, was told by the High steward, that he was called thither to answer the Impeachment of High Treason preferred against him by the Commons of *England* and *Ireland*, expressed in their accusation; to which he had answered, and both of them read took up this day; and the Court adjourned to the next day, when the house of Commons fell upon the first seven general Articles of subverting the fundamental Laws of both Nations, and this was managed by Mr. *Pym*, a paper sealed was opened and read, which signified from the Parliament of *Ireland*, that they had voted the Earl guilty of High Treason. To which, he in passion said, *There was a conspiracy against him to take away his life.* It would not admit of recollection, and the Commons cried out for Justice against him, who standing impeached of high Treason, accuseth the Parliaments of two Kingdomes of a conspiracy against him, for which inconsiderate words he humbly craved pardon, not thereby intending either Parliament, but meant it by some particular persons.

Mr. *Pym* craved that he should forthwith answer to three Articles more, which were lately annexed to the charge, But although the Earl craved not to Answer an unexpected addition without time assigned, yet the Lords prevailed, and put him to a present reply.

1. *That he had withdrawn four and twenty thousand pounds and more from the Exchequer in Ireland, and converted to his own use.*
2. *That in the beginning of his Government the Garrisons of Ireland had been maintained by the English Treasury.*
3. *That he had advanced popish and infamous persons, as the Bishop of Waterford, and others, to the prime Room in the Church of Ireland.*

Answer

Answer.

1. That England was indebted to Ireland so much, which he took up upon his own credit, and paid it in again, producing the Kings Authority and Letter for the same.
2. That the Garrisons had been formerly burdensom to England, which he so found, and had so improved the Kings Revenues there, that they were not burdensom at all.
3. That he never preferred any but whom he conceived consciencious and honest, not being able to prophesie of mens future conditions. And for the Bishop of Waterford he hath satisfied the Law.

The next Day March 24. the particular Articles were inforced, to each he answered in order.

The further Impeachment of *Thomas Earl of Strafford* by the Commons assembled in Parliament.

The first Article was not insisted upon.

2. That shortly after the obtaining of a Commission dated the 21. of March, in the 8. Year of his now Majesties Reign (to wit) the last Day of August then next following, he the said Earl (to bring his Majesties Liege-people into a dislike of his Majesty, and of his Government, and to terrifie the Justices of the Peace from executing the Laws; he, the said Earl, being then President of the Kings Council in the Northern parts of England, and a Justice of Peace) did publickly at the Assizes held for the County of York, in the City of York, in and upon the said last Day of August, declare and publish before the People there attending for the administration of Justice according to the Law, and in the presence of the Justices sitting, that some of the Justices were all for Law, but they should finde that the Kings little finger should be heavier than the loyns of the Law.

Testified by Sir David Fowls and others.

The Earls Reply.

That Sir David Fowls was his protest Enemy, that his words were clearly inverted, that his expression was, *That the little finger of the Law (if not moderated by the Kings gracious clemency) was heavier than the Kings loyns*. That these were his words, he verified; First, by the occasion of them, they being spoken to some whom the Kings favour had then enlarged from Imprisonment at York, as a Motive to their Thankfulness to his Majesty. Secondly, by Sir William Pennyman, a Member of the House, who was then present, and heard the words. Which Sir William declaring to be true: the House of Commons required Justice of the Lords against him, because

Anno
1641.

March 25.

he had voted the Articles as a Member of the House; whereupon Sir William wept.

3. That the Realm of Ireland having been time out of minde annexed to the Imperial Crown of this his Majesties Realm of England, and governed by the same Laws: the said Earl being Lord Deputy of that Realm, to bring his Majesties Liege-people of that Kingdom likewise into dislike of his Majesties Government, and intending the subversion of the Fundamental Laws, and settled Government of that Realm, and the distraction of his Majesties Liege-people, there did upon the 30. Day of September, in the 9. Year of his now Majesties Reign, in the City of Dublin (the chief City of that Kingdom, where his Majesties Privy Council, and Courts of Justice do ordinarily reside, and whither the Nobility and Gentry of that Realm do usually resort for Justice) in a publick Speech before divers of the Nobility and Gentry, and before the Maior, Aldermen, and Recorder, and many Citizens of Dublin, and other his Majesties Liege-people, declare and publish, that Ireland was a conquered Nation, and that the King might do with them what he pleased; and speaking of the Charters of the former Kings of England made to that City, he further said, that their Charters were nothing worth, and did binde the King no further than he pleased.

Testified by the Earl of Cork, and two other Lords.

The Earls Reply.

That if he had been over-liberal of his tongue for want of discretion, yet could not his words amount to Treason, unless they had been revealed within fourteen days, as he was informed. As to the Charge he said, True it is, he said Ireland was a conquered Nation, which no man can deny; and that the King is the Law-giver, in matters not determined by Acts of Parliament, he conceived all loyal Subjects would grant.

4. That Richard Earl of Cork having sued out Process in course of Law for recovery of his Possessions, from which he was put, by colour of an Order made by the said Earl of Strafford, and the Council-table of the said Realm of Ireland. The said Earl of Strafford upon a Paper-petition without legal proceedings, did the twentieth Day of February, in the eleventh Year of his now Majesties Reign, threaten the said Earl of Cork, (being then a Peer of the said Realm) to imprison him, unless he would surcease his Suit, and said, that he would have neither Law nor Lawyers dispute or question any of his Orders. And the twentieth of March, in the said eleventh Year the said Earl of Strafford speaking of an Order of the said Council-table of that Realm, made in the time of King James, which concerned a Lease which the said Earl of Cork claimed in certain Rectories or Tithes, which the said Earl of Cork alleged to be of no force, said, that he would make the said Earl and all Ireland know, so long as he had the Govern-

ment

Anno
1641.

ment there, any Act of State, there made, or to be made, should be as binding to the Subjects of that Kingdom, as an Act of Parliament. And did question the said Earl of Cork in the Castle chamber, upon pretence of Breach of the said Order of Council-table, and did sundry other times, and upon sundry other occasions, by his words and speeches arrogate to himself a Power above the Fundamental Laws, and established Government of that Kingdom, and scorned the said Laws and established Government.

The Earls Reply.

March 27.

It were hard measure for a man to lose his Honour, and his Life, for an halty word, or because he is no wiser than God hath made him. As for the words, he confessed them to be true, and thought he said no more than what became him, considering how much his Masters Honour was concerned in him, that if a proportionable obedience was not as well due to Acts of State, as to Acts of Parliament, in vain did Councils sit. And that he had done no more than what former Deputies had done, and than what was agreeable to his Instructions for the Council-table, which he produced. And that if those words were Treason, they should have been revealed within fourteen days.

5. That according to such his Declarations and Speeches, the said Earl of Strafford did use and exercise a Power above, and against, and to the subversion of the Fundamental Laws, and established Government of the said Realm of Ireland, extending such his Power to the Goods, Free-holds, Inheritances, Liberties, and Lives of his Majesties Subjects of the said Realm, viz. the said Earl of Strafford the twelfth day of December, Anno Domini 1635. in the time of full peace, did in the said Realm of Ireland, give and procure to be given against the Lord Mount Norris, (then and yet a Peer of Ireland, and then Vice-Treasurer and Receiver-general of the Realm of Ireland, and one of the principal Secretaries of State, and Keeper of the Privy Signet of the said Kingdom) a Sentence of Death by a Council of War called together by the said Earl of Strafford, without any warrant or authority of Law, or offence deserving any such punishment. And he the said Earl did also at Dublin within the said Realm of Ireland, in the Moneth of March, in the fourteenth Year of his Majesties Reign, without any legal or due proceedings or trial, give or cause to be given, a Sentence of Death against one other of his Majesties Subjects, whose name is yet unknown, and caused him to be put to death in execution of the said Sentence.

The Earls Reply.

That there was then a standing Army in Ireland, and Armies cannot be governed but by Martial Law: that it hath been put in constant practice with former Deputies, that had the Sentence been

Anno

1641.

unjustly given by him, the Crime could amount but to Felony at most, for which he hoped he might as well expect Pardon from his Majesty, as the Lord *Conway* and Sir *Jacob Astley* had for doing the like in the late Northern Army.

That he neither gave Sentence, nor procured it against the Lord *Mount Norris*, but onely desired justice against the Lord for some Affront done to him as he was Deputy of *Ireland*.

That the said Lord was judged by a Council of War, wherein he fate bare all the time, and gave no Suffrage against him; that also to evidence himself a Party, he caused his Brother Sir *George Wentworth*, in regard of the nearness of Blood, to decline all acting in the Process.

Lastly, though the Lord *Mount Norris* justly deserved to dy, yet he obtained his Pardon from the King.

6. That the said Earl of *Strafford*, without any legal proceedings, and upon a Paper-petition of *Richard Rolstone*, did cause the said Lord *Mount Norris* to be disseised, and put out of possession of his Free-hold and Inheritance of his Manour of *Tymore* in the County of *Armagh*, in the Kingdom of *Ireland*, the said Lord *Mount Norris* having been two Years before in quiet possession thereof.

The Earls Reply.

That he conceived the Lord *Mount Norris* was legally divested of his Possessions, there being a Suit long depending in *Chancery*, and the Plaintiff complaining of Delay, he upon the Complainants Petition called unto him the Master of the Rolls, Lord Chancellor, and Lord Chief Justice of the Common-Pleas, and upon Proofs in *Chancery* decreed for the Plaintiff. Wherein he said he did no more than what other Deputies had done before him.

7. That the said Earl of *Strafford* in the Term of Holy Trinity, in the thirteenth Year of his now Majesties Reign, did cause a Case commonly called the Case of Tenures upon defective Titles, to be made and drawn up without any Jury or Trial, or other legal Process, and without the consent of Parties, and did then procure the Judges of the said Realm of *Ireland* to deliver their Opinions and Resolutions to that Case, and by colour of such Opinions, did without any legal proceeding, cause *Thomas Lord Dillon*, a Peer of the said Realm of *Ireland*, to be put out of possession of divers Lands and Tenements, being his Free-hold, in the County of *Mago* and *Rosecomen*, in the said Kingdom, and divers others of his Majesties Subjects to be also put out of possession, and disseised of their Free-hold, by colour of the same resolution, without legal proceedings, whereby many hundreds of his Majesties Subjects were undone, and their Families utterly ruined.

The

The Earls Reply.

That the Lord *Dillon* with others producing his Patent according to a Proclamation on the behalf of his Majesty, the said Patent was questionable, upon which a Case was drawn and argued by Council, and the Judges delivered their Opinions. But the Lord *Dillon* or any other, was not bound thereby, nor put out of their Possessions, but might have traversed the Office, or otherwise have legally proceeded, notwithstanding the said Opinion.

Anno
1641.

8. That the said Earl of Strafford upon a Petition exhibited in October, 1635. by Thomas Hibbotts against Dame Mary Hibbotts widow, to him the said Earl of Strafford, recommended the said Petition to the Counsel Table of Ireland, where the most part of the Counsel gave their vote and opinion for the said Lady, but the said Earl finding fault herewith, caused an order to be entered against the said Lady, and threatned her, that if she refused to submit therunto, he would imprison her, and fine her five hundred pound; that if she continued obstinate, he would continue her imprisonment, and double her fine every month by month, whereof she was enforced to relinquish her estate in the Land questioned in the said Petition, which shortly was conveyed to Sir Robert Meredeth, to the use of the said Earl of Strafford.

And the said Earl in like manner did imprison divers others of his Majesties subjects, upon pretence of disobedience to his orders and decrees, and other illegal commands by him made for pretended debts, titles of Lands, and other causes, in an arbitrary and extrajudicial course, upon paper Petitions to him preferred, and no other cause legally depending.

The Earls Reply.

That true it is, he had voted against the Lady *Hibbotts*, and thought he had reason so to do; the said Lady being discovered, by Fraud and Circumvention, to have bargained for Lands of a great value, for a small Sum. And he denied, that the said Lands were after sold to his use, or that the major part of the Council-board voted for the Lady; the contrary appearing by the Sentence under the Hand of the Clerk of the Council; which being true, he might well threaten her with Commitment, in case she disobeyed the said Order. Lastly, were it true, that he were criminal therein, yet were the Offence but a Misdemeanour, no Treason.

9. That the said Earl of Strafford, the 16. day of Feb. in the 12. year of his now Majesties reign, assuming to himself a power above and against Law, took upon him by a general Warrant under his hand, to give power to the Lord Bishop of Down, and Connor, his Chancellor, or Chancellors, and their severall officers thereto to be ap-

April 12.

Anno

1641.

appointed, to attach and arrest the Bodies of all such of the meaner and poorer sort, who after citation should either refuse to appear before them, or appearing, should omit, or deny to perform, or undergo all Lawful decrees, sentences and orders, issued, imposed or given out against them, and them to commit and keep in the next Gaole, untill they should either perform such sentences, or put in sufficient Bail to shew some reason before the Counsel Table, of such their contempt and neglect, and the said Earl, the day and year last mentioned, signed and issued a warrant to that effect, and made the like warrant to send all other Bishops and their Chancellors in the said Realm of Ireland to the same effect.

The Earls Reply.

That such Writs had been usually granted by former Deputies to Bishops in Ireland; nevertheless, being not fully satisfied with the convenience thereof, he was sparing in granting of them, untill being informed that divers in the Diocess of Down were somewhat refractory, he granted Warrants to that Bishop, and hearing of some Disorders in the Execution, he called them in again.

April 2.

10. That the said Earl of Strafford, being Lord Lieutenant, or Deputy of Ireland, procured the customes of the Merchandise exported out, and imported into that Realm to be farmed to his own use.

And in the ninth year of his now Majesties Reign, he having then interest in the said Customs (to advance his own gain and lucre) did cause and procure the native commodities of Ireland, to be rated in the book of Rates for the Customes (according to which the Customs were usually gathered) at far greater values and prices, than in truth they were worth; (that is to say) every hide at 20 shillings, which in truth was worth but five shillings, every stone of Wool at thirteen shillings four pence, though the same ordinarily were worth but five shillings, at the utmost but nine shillings; by which means the Custom which before was but a twentieth part of the true value of the commodity, was enhanced sometimes to a fifth part, and sometimes to a fourth, sometimes to a third part of the true value, to the great oppression of the Subjects, and decay of Merchandise.

The Earls Reply.

That his Interest in the Customes of Ireland accrued to him by the Assignment of a Lease from the Dutcheis of Buckingham: that the Book of Rates, by which the Customes were gathered, was the same which was established by the Lord Deputy Faulkland, Anno 1628. some years before he was imployed thither. That as he hath been just and faithfull to his Master the King, by increasing his Revenue; so hath he also much bettered the Trade, and Shipping of that Kingdom.

11. That

11. That the said Earl, in the ninth year of his now Majesties Reign, did by his own will and pleasure, and for his own lucre, restrain the exportation of the commodities of that Kingdome without his licence, as namely Pipe-staves, and other commodities, and then raised great sums of money for licensing of exportation of those commodities, and dispensation of the said restraints imposed on them, by which means the Pipe-staves were raised from four pound ten shillings, or five pound per thousand, to ten pound, and sometimes eleven pound, per thousand: and other commodities were enhanced in the like proportion, and by the same means by him the said Earl.

The Earls Reply.

That Pipe-staves were prohibited in King James his time, and not exported but by Licence, paying six shillings eight pence a thousand, and that he had not raised so much thereby to himself, as his Predecessours had done for such Licences.

12. That the said Earl being Lord Deputy of Ireland, on the ninth day of Jan. in the thirteenth year of his Majesties Reign, did then under colour to regulate the importation of Tobacco into the said Realm of Ireland, issue a Proclamation in his Majesties name, prohibiting the importation of Tobacco without licence of him and the Counsell, therefrom and after the first day of May, Anno Dom. 1638. After which restraint, the said Earl, notwithstanding the said restraint, caused divers great quantities of Tobacco to be imported to his own use, and freighted divers ships with Tobacco, which he imported to his own use: and that if any ship brought Tobacco into any Port there, the said Earl and his Agents used to buy the same to his own use, at their own price. And if that the owners refused to let him have the same at under values, then they were not permitted to vent the same; by which undue means the said Earl having gotten the whole Trade of Tobacco into his own hands, he sold it at great and excessive prices, such as he list to impose for his own profit.

And the more to assure the said Monopoly of Tobacco, he the said Earl, on the 23. day of Feb. in the 13. year aforesaid, did issue another Proclamation; commanding that none should put to sale any Tobacco by whole-sale, from and after the last day, of May, then next following, but what should be made up into Rolls, and the same sealed with two seals by himself appointed, one at each end of the Roll. And such as was not sealed to be seised, appointing sixpence the pound for a reward to such persons as should seise the same: and the persons in whose custody the unsealed Tobacco should be found to be committed to Gaol: which last proclamation was covered by a pretence of the restraining of the sale of unwholesome Tobacco, but it was truly to advance the said Monopoly.

Which

Anno
1641.

Which proclamation the said Earl did rigorously put in execution, by seising the goods, fining, imprisoning, whipping, and putting the offenders against the same proclamation on the pillory, as namely, Barnaby Hubbard, Edward Coven, John Tumen, and divers others: and made the Officers of State, and Justices of peace, and other Officers, to serve him in compassing and executing these unjust and undue courses. By which cruelties and unjust Monopolies, the said Earl raised 100000. pounds per annum gain to himself. And yet the said Earl, though he enhanced the Customs, where it concerned the Merchants in general, yet drew down the impost formerly taken on Tobacco, from six pence the pound to three pence the pound, it being for his own profit so to do. And the said Earl, by the same, and other rigorous and undue means raised several other Monopolies and unlawfull exactions for his own gain viz. on Starch, Iron pots, Glasses, Tobacco pipes, and several other commodities.

The Earls Reply.

That before his time the King had but ten or twenty pounds per annum for that Custome, which now yielded twenty thousand pounds. For the Proclamation it was not set out by his means principally, or for his private benefit, but by consent of the whole Council. The prices of Tobacco, not exceeding two shillings the pound. And this he conceives cannot be made Treason, were all the Articles granted, but onely a Monopoly, for which he was to be fined.

April 3.

13. That flax being one of the principal and native Commodities of that Kingdome of Ireland, the said Earl having gotten great quantities thereof into his hands, and growing on his own Lands, did issue out several proclamations, viz. one dated the one and twentieth day of May, in the eleventh of his Majesties reign, and the other dated the one and thirtieth day of January, in the same year, thereby prescribing and enjoining the working of Flax into Yarn and Thread, and the ordering of the same in such wayes, wherein the Natives of that Kingdome were unpractised and unskilful: which proclamations so issued, were, by his Commands and Warrants to his Majesties Justices of peace, and other Officers, and by other rigorous means, put in execution, and the Flax wrought or ordered in other manner than as the said proclamation prescribed, was seized and employed to the use of him and his agents, and thereby the said Earl endeavoured to gain, and did gain in effect the sole sale of that native commodity.

The Earls Reply.

That he did endeavour to advance the Manufacture of Linnen, rather than of Woollen, because the last would be the greater detriment

ment to *England*. That the Primate of *Ireland*, the Arch-bishop of *Dublin*, Chancellour *Loftus*, and the Lord *Mount Norris*, all of the Council, and Subscribers of the Proclamation, were as liable to the Charge as himself. That the reducing of that Nation by Orders of the Council-board to the *English* Customes from their more savage usages, as drawing Horses by their tails, &c. had been of former practise: that the Project was of so ill avail to him, as he was the worse for the Manufacture thirty thousand pounds at least, by the Loom he had set up at his own charge.

The *Fourteenth Article* was not urged.

15. That the said Earl of *Strafford* traiterously and wickedly devised and contrived by force of *Armes*, in a warlike manner, to subdue the Subjects of the said Realm of *Ireland*, to bring them under his tyrannical power and will, and in pursuance of his wicked and trayterous purposes aforesaid, the said Earl of *Strafford*, in the eighth year of his Majesties reign, did by his own authority, without any warrant or colour of Law, tax and impose great sums of money upon the Townes of *Baltemore*, *Bandenbridge*, *Talowe*, and divers other Townes and places in the said Realm of *Ireland*, and did cause the same to be levied upon the Inhabitants of those Towns by Troops of Souldiers, with force and arms, in a warlike manner. And on the ninth day of *March*, in the twelfth year of his now Majesties reign, trayterously did give authority unto *Robert Savill* a Serjeant at armes, and to the Captains of the companies of Souldiers, in several parts of that Realm, to send such numbers of Souldiers to lie on the Lands and Houses of such as would not conform to his orders, until they should render obedience to his said orders and warrants, and after such submission (and not before) the said Souldiers to return to their Garrisons. And did also issue the like warrants unto divers others, which warrants were in warlike manner, with force and Arms; put in execution accordingly, and by such warlike means did force divers of his Majesties Subjects of that Realm to submit themselves to his unlawful commands.

And in the said twelfth year of his Majesties reign, the said Earl of *Strafford* did trayterously cause certain troops of horse and foot, armed in warlike manner, and in warlike array, with force and armes, to expel *Richard Butler* from the possession of *Cattle-cumber*, in the Territory of *Idough*, in the said realm of *Ireland*, and did likewise and in like warlike manner, expel divers of his Majesties Subjects from their houses, families, and possessions, as namely *Edward Brenman*, *Owen Oberman*, *Patrick Oberman*, *Sir Cyprian Horsfield*, and divers others, to the number of about a hundred families, and took and imprisoned them and their wives, and carried them prisoners to *Dublin*, and there detained them until they did yield up, surrender, or release their respective estates and rights.

Anno
1641.

And the said Earl, in like warlike manner, hath, during his Government of the said Kingdom of Ireland, subdued divers others of his Majesties Subjects ease to his will, and thereby and by the means aforesaid, hath levied war within the said Realm, against his Majesty and his liege people of that Kingdom.

Testified by Serjeant Savil.

The Earls Reply.

That nothing hath been more ordinary in Ireland, than for the Governours to put all manner of Sentences in execution by the help of Souldiers, that *Grandison, Falkland, Chichester*, and other Deputies frequently did it. [*Sir Arthur Teningham to this point deposed, that in Falkland's time he knew twenty Souldiers assessed upon one man, for refusing to pay sixteen shillings*] That his Instructions for executing his Commission, were the same with those formerly given to the Lord *Falkland*, and that in both there is expresse warrant for it. That no Testimony produced against him doth evidently prove he gave any Warrant to that effect, and that Serjeant *Savil* shewed onely the Copy of a Warrant, not the Original it self, which he conceived could not make Faith in Case of Life and Death in that high Court, especially it being not averred upon Oath to agree with the Original, which should be upon Record. That he conceived he was for an *Irish* Custome to be tried by the Peers of that Kingdom.

16. That the said Earl of *Strafford*, the two and twentieth of February, in the seventh year of his now Majesties reign, intending to oppress the said Subjects of Ireland, did make a proposition, and obtained from his Majesty an allowance, that no complaint of injustice or oppression done in Ireland, should be received in England against any, unless it first appeared that the party made first his address to him the said Earl: and the said Earl having by such usurped tyrannical and exorbitant power, expressed in the former Articles, destroyed the Peers and other Subjects of that Kingdom of Ireland, in their lives, consciences, land, liberties, and estates, the said Earl to the intent the better to maintain and strengthen his power, and to bring the people into a disaffection of his Majesty as aforesaid, did use his Majesties name in the execution of his said power. And to prevent the Subjects of that Realm of all means of complaints to his Majesty, and of redress against him and his agents, did issue a Proclamation bearing date the seventeenth day of September, in the eleventh year of his Majesties Reign, thereby commanding all the Nobility, undertakers and others, who held estates and offices in the said Kingdom (except such as were employed in his Majesties service, or attending in England by his special command) to make their personal residence in the said Kingdom of Ireland, and not to depart thence without licence of himself. And the said Earl hath

since

since issued other Proclamations to the same purpose, by means whereof the subjects of the said Realm are restrained from seeking relief against the oppressions of the said Earl, without his license: which Proclamation the said Earl hath by several rigorous waies, as by fine, imprisonment, and otherwise, put in execution on his Majesties subjects, as namely, one Parry, and others, who came over only to complain of the exorbitances and oppressions of the said Earl.

Testified by the Earl of Delmond, the Lord Roch, Marcattee, and Parry.

The Earls Reply.

April 7.

That the Deputy Falkland had set out the same Proclamation. That the same Restraint was contained in the Statute of 25 of Henry 6. upon which the Proclamation was founded. That he had the Kings express Warrant for the Proclamation. That he had also power to do it by the Commission granted him, and that the Lords of the Council and three Justices not onely yielded, but pressed him unto it. That it was done upon just cause, for, had the Ports been open, divers would have taken liberty to go to Spain, to Doway, Rhemes, or Saint Omers, which might have proved of mischievous consequence to the State. That the Earl of D'Esmond stood, at the time of his Restraint, charged with Treason before the Council of Ireland, for practising against the Life of one Sir Valentine Coke. That the Lord Roch was then a Prisoner for Debt in the Castle of Dublin, and therefore incapable of a Licence. That Parry was not fined for coming over without Licence, but for several Contempts against the Council-board in Ireland, and that in his Sentence he had but onely a casting Voice, as the Lord Keeper in the Star chamber.

The Seventeenth and Eighteenth Articles were not insisted upon.

19. That the said Earl having taxed and levied the said impositions, and raised the said Monopolies, and committed the said oppressions in his Majesties name, and as by his Majesties Royal command, he the said Earl in May the fifteenth year of his Majesties reign, did of his own authority contrive and frame a new and unusual oath, by the purport whereof, among many other things, the party taking the said oath, was to swear that he should not protest against any of his Majesties Royal commands, but submit themselves in all obedience thereunto. Which oath he so contrived, to enforce the same on the subjects of the Scottish Nation inhabiting in Ireland, and out of a hatred to the said Nation, and to put them to a discontent with his Majesty and his Government there, and compelled divers of his Majesties said subjects there to take the said oath; some he grievously fined and imprisoned, and others he destroyed and exiled, and namely, the 10. of October,

Anno
1641.

Ann. Dom. 1639. he fined Henry Steward and his wife, who refused to take the said oath, five thousand pounds a peece, and their two daughters and James Gray three thousand pounds a peece, and imprisoned them for not paying the said fines. The said Henry Stewards wife and daughters, and James Gray, being the Kings liege people of the Scottish Nation, and divers others he used in the like manner; and the said Earl upon that occasion did declare, that the said oath did not only oblige them in point of allegiance to his Majesty, and acknowledgement of his supremacy only, but to the Ceremonies and Government of the Church established, or to be established by his Majesties royal Authority; and said, that the refusers to obey, he would prosecute to the blood.

The Earls Reply.

That the Oath was not violently enjoyned by him upon the *Irish Scots*, but framed in compliance with their own expresse Petition, which Petition is owned in the Proclamation, as the main Impulsive to it. That the same Oath not long after was prescribed by the Council of *England*. That he had a Letter under his Majesties own hand, ordering it to be prescribed as a Touch-stone of their Fidelity. As to the greatness of the Fine imposed upon *Steward*, and others, he conceived it was not more than the heinousness of their offence deserved; yet had they petitioned, and submitted the next day, that would wholly have been remitted.

20. That the said Earl in the fifteenth and sixteenth Years of his Majesties Reign, and divers Years past, laboured and endeavoured to beget in his Majestie an ill opinion of his Subjects, namely those of the Scottish Nation, and divers and sundry times, and especially since the Pacification made by his Majestie with his said Subjects of Scotland in Summer, in the fifteenth Year of his Majesties Reign; he the said Earl did labour and endeavour to perswade, incite, and provoke his Majesty to an Offensive War against his said Subjects of the Scottish Nation: and the said Earl, by his counsel, actions, and endeavours, hath been and is a chief Incendiary of the War and Discord between his Majesty and his Subjects of England, and the said Subjects of Scotland, and hath declared, and advised his Majesty, that the Demand made by the Scots in this Parliament were a sufficient cause of War against them. The said Earl having formerly expressed the height and rancour of his minde towards his Subjects of the Scottish Nation, viz. the tenth Day of October, in the fifteenth Year of his Majesties Reign, he said, that the Nation of the Scots were Rebels, and Traitors; and he being then about to come to England, he then further said, that if it pleased his Master (meaning his Majesty) to send him back again, he would root out of the said Kingdom (meaning the Kingdom of Ireland) the Scottish Nation both Root and Branch: Some Lords, and others who had taken

the said Oath in the precedent Article onely excepted. And the said Earl hath caused divers of the said Ships and Goods of the Scots to be staided, seized, and molested, to the intent to set on the said War.

The Earls Reply.

That he called all the *Scotish Nation* Traitors and Rebels, no one proof is produced, and though he is hasty in speech, yet was he never so defective of reason, as to speak so like a mad man; for he knew well his Majesty was a Native of that Kingdom, and was confident many of that Nation were of as heroick spirits, and as faithfull and loyal Subjects as any the King had. As to the other words, of rooting out the *Scots* both Root and Branch, he conceives a short Reply may serve, they being proved by a single testimony onely, which can make no sufficient faith in case of Life. Again, the Witness was very much mistaken, if not worse, for he deposeth that these words were spoken the tenth day of *October* in *Ireland*, whereas he was able to evidence, he was at that time in *England*, and had been so near a Moneth before.

The one and twentieth and two and twentieth Articles were not urged.

23. That upon the thirteenth Day of April last, the Parliament of *England* met, and the Commons House (then being the Representative Body of all the Commons in the Kingdom) did according to the trust reposed in them, enter into Debate and Consideration of the great Grievances of this Kingdom, both in respect of Religion, and the publick Libertie of the Kingdom; and his Majestie referring chiefly to the said Earl of *Strafford*, and the Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*, the ordering and disposing of all matters concerning the Parliament: he the said Earl of *Strafford*, with the assistance of the said Arch-bishop did procure his Majesty, by sundry Speeches and Messages, to urge the said Commons House to enter into some Resolution for his Majesties supply, for maintenance of his War against his Subjects of *Scotland*, before any course was taken for the relief of the great and pressing Grievances, wherewith this Kingdom was then afflicted. Whereupon, a Demand was then made from his Majesty, of twelve Subsidies, for the release of Ship-money onely; and while the said Commons then assembled (with expressions of great affections to his Majestie and his service) were in Debate and Consideration of some Supply, before Resolution by them made: he the said Earl of *Strafford*, with the help and assistance of the said Arch-bishop, did procure his Majesty to dissolve the last Parliament, upon the fifth Day of May last; and upon the same Day, the said Earl of *Strafford* did treacherously, falsely, and maliciously endeavour to incense his Majesty against his loving and faithfull Subjects, who had been Members of the said House of Commons, by telling his Majesty, they had

Ann^r
1641.

had denied to supply him. And afterward upon the same, did treacherously and wickedly counsel and advise his Majesty to this effect, viz. That having tried the affections of his People, he was loose and absolved from all Rules of Government, and was to do every thing that Power would admit; and that his Majesty had tried all ways, and was refused, and should be acquitted both of God and Man, and that he had an Army in Ireland (*meaning the Army above mentioned, consisting of Papists, his Dependents, as is aforesaid*) which he might imploy to reduce this Kingdom to obedience.

The Earls Reply.

That he was not the principal cause of dissolving the last Parliament, for before he came to the Council-table, it was voted by the Lords to demand twelve Subsidies, and that Sir Henry Vane was ordered to demand no less; but he coming in the *interim*, he perswaded the Lords to vote it again, declaring to his Majesty (then present) and them, the danger of the breach of the Parliament: whereupon it was again voted, that if the Parliament would not grant twelve Subsidies, Sir Henry should descend to eight, and rather than fail, to six. But Sir Henry not observing his Instructions, demanded twelve onely, without abatement, or going lower; that the height of this demand, urged the Parliament to deny, and their denial moved his Majesty to dissolve the Parliament, so that the chief occasion of the breach thereof, was, as he conceived, Sir Henry Vane. He confesseth that at the Council-table he advised the King to an offensive War against the Scots; but it was not untill all fair means to prevent a War had been first attempted. Again, others were as much for a defensive War, & it might be as free to vote one, as the other. Lastly, Votes at a Council-board are but bare Opinions, and opinions if pertinaciouly maintained, may make an Heretick, but never can a Traitour. And to Sir Henry Vane's Deposition he said, it was onely a single Testimony, and contradicted by four Lords of the *Junto* Tables Depositions, viz. the Earl of Northumberland, the Marquess of Hamilton, the Bishop of London, and Lord Cottington, who all affirmed that there was no question made of this Kingdom, which was then in obedience, but of Scotland, that was in Rebellion; and Sir Henry Vane being twice examined upon Oath could not remember whether he said this or that Kingdom; and the Notes after offered for more proof, were but the same thing, and added nothing to the Evidence to make it a double Testimony, or to make a Privy-counsellours Opinion in a Debate at Council, high Treason.

The four and twentieth Article not urged.

25 That not long after the dissolution of the said last Parliament (viz. in the months of May, and June) he the said Earl of Strafford did advise the King to go on rigorously in levying of the Ship-money, and did procure the Sheriffs of several Counties to be sent for, for not levying the Ship-money, divers of which were threatned by him to be sued in the Star-chamber; and afterwards by his advice were sued in the Star-chamber, for not levying the same; and divers of his Majesties loving subjects were sent for and imprisoned by his advice, about that and other illegal payments.

And a great loan of a hundred thousand pounds was demanded of the City of London, and the Lord Maior and the Aldermen, and the Sheriffs of the said City, were often sent for by his advice to the Counsel Table, to give an account, of their proceedings in raising of Ship-money, and furthering of that loan, and were required to certify the names of such Inhabitants of the said City as were fit to lend, which they with much humility refusing to do, he the said Earl of Strafford did use these or the like speeches: viz. That they deserved to be put to Fine and Ransom, and that no good would be done with them, till an example were made of them, and that they were laid by the heels, and some of the Aldermen hanged up.

The Earls Reply.

That there was a present necessity for Money, that all the Council-board had voted with, yea before him. That there was then a Sentence in Star-chamber upon the Opinion of all the Judges, for the legality of the Tax of Ship-money, and he thought he might advise the King to take, what the Judges had declared was by Law his own. He confessed that upon Refusal of so just a service, the better to quicken the Citizens to the payment of Ship-money, he said, they deserved to be fined. Which words might perhaps be incircumpectly delivered, but conceives cannot amount to Treason, especially when no ill consequence followed upon them; and it would render men in a sad condition, if for every hasty word, or opinion given in Council, they should be sentenced as Traitors. But that he said, it were well for the Kings service, if some of the Aldermen were hanged up, he utterly denieth. Nor is it proved by any, but Alderman Garway, who is at best but a single Testimony, and therefore no sufficient Evidence in case of Life.

26. That the said Earl of Strafford by his wicked counsel having brought his Majesty into excessive charges without any just cause, he did in the moneth of July last (for the support of the said great charges) counsel and approve two dangerous and wicked Projects: viz.

To seise upon the Bullion and the Money in the Mint.

And to imbase his Majesties Coin with the mixtures of Brass.

And accordingly he procured one hundred and thirty thousand pounds,

Anno
1641.

pounds, which was then in the Mint, and belonging to divers Merchants, strangers and others, to be seised on and stayed to his Majesties use. And when divers Merchants of London, owners of the said Bullion, came to his house to let him understand the great mischief that course would produce here, and in other parts, what prejudice it would be to the Kingdom, by discrediting the Mint, and hindring the importation of Bullion: he the said Earl told them, that the City of London dealt undutifully and unthankfully with his Majesty, and that they were more ready to help the Rebel, than to help his Majesty; and that if any hurt came to them, they might thank themselves; and that it was the course of other Princes, to make use of such monies to serve their occasions.

And when in the same month of July the Officers of his Majesties Mint came to him, and gave him divers reasons against the imbasing of the said money, he told them that the French King did use to send Commissaries of Horse with Commission to search into mens estates, and to peruse their accompts, that so they may know what to levy of them by force, which they did accordingly levy: and turning to the Lord Cottington, then present said, That this was a point worthy his Lordships consideration.

The Earls Reply.

That he expected some Proofs to evidence the two first Particulars, but hears of none. For the following words, he confessed, probably they might escape the Door of his Lips. Nor did he think it much amiss, considering their present posture, to call that Faction Rebels. As for the last words objected against him in that Article, he said, that being in conference with some of the Londoners, there came to his hands at that instant a Letter from the Earl of Leicester, then at Paris, wherein were the Gazets inclosed, relating that the Cardinal had given order to levy Money by Souldiers. This he onely told the Lord Cottington, standing by, but made not the least Application thereof to the English Affairs.

27. That in or about the Moneth of Aug. last he was made Lieutenant General of all his Majesties Forces in the Northern parts against the Scots, & being at York did in the Moneth of September by his own authority, and without any lawfull warrant, impose a Tax on his Majesties Subjects in the County of York, of 8.d. per diem, for maintenance of every Souldier of the Trained Bands of that County, which Sums of Money he caused to be levied by force. And to the end to compell his Majesties Subjects out of fear and terrour to yield to the payment of the same; He did declare that he would commit them that refused the payment thereof, and the Souldiers should be satisfied out of their Estates; and they that refused it, were in very little better condition than of high Treason.

The

The Earls Reply.

That his Majesty coming to *York*, it was thought necessary, in regard the Enemy was upon the Borders, to keep the Trained Bands on foot for defence of the County; and therefore the King directed him to write to the Free-holders in *Yorkshire*, to declare what they would do for their own defence; that they freely offered a Moneths pay, nor did any man grudge against it. Again, it was twice propounded to the great Council of Peers at *York*, that the King approved it as a just and necessary act, and none of the Council contradicted it, which he conceived seemed a tacit allowance of it. That though his Majesty had not given him special order therein, nor the Gentry had desired it, yet he conceived he had power enough to impose that Tax by virtue of his Commission. But he never said that the Refusers should be guilty of little less than high Treason; which being proved by Sir *William Ingram*, he was but a single Testimony, and one who had formerly mistaken himself in what he had deposed.

28. That in the moneths of September and October last, he the said Earl of Strafford being certified of the Scottish Army, coming into the Kingdom, and he the said Earl of Strafford. being Lieutenant General of his Majesties Army, did not provide for the defence of the Town of Newcastle, as he ought to have done, but suffered the same to be lost, that so he might the more incense the English against the Scots. And for the same wicked purpose, and out of a malicious desire to ingage the Kingdoms of England and Scotland in a National and bloody war, he did write to the Lord Conway the General of the horse, and under the said Earls command, that he should fight with the Scottish Army at the passage over the Tyne, whatsoever should follow, notwithstanding that the said Lord Conway had formerly by Letters informed him the said Earl, that his Majesties Army then under his command, was not of force sufficient to incounter the Scots, by which advice of his, he did contrary to the duty of his place betray his Majesties Army then under his command, to apparent danger and loss.

The Earls Reply.

That he admired how in the third Article he being charged as an Incendiary against the Scots, is now in this Article made their Confederate, by betraying *New-castle* into their hands. But to answer more particularly, he said, that there was at *New-castle* the 24. of August ten or twelve thousand Foot, and two thousand Horse, under the Command of the Lord Conway, and Sir *Jacob Astley*, and that Sir *Jacob* had written to him concerning the Town of *New-castle*, that it was fortified, which also was never under his particular care, and for the passage over the River of *Tine*, his Majesty sent special Directions to the Lord Conway, to secure it, and therefore

Anno

1641.

that Lord is more (as he conceives) responsible for that Miscarriage than himself.

When he had done the House of *Commons* urged, that if he had any further Defence he should perform it presently, but had time set next Day, when the Court met, but the Earl being taken with a terrible Fit of the Stone, and in danger of his Life, if he stirred abroad; which Message though assured by the *Lieutenant* of the *Tower*, for more satisfaction to the violency of the *Commons*, the Lords agreed to proceed the next Day, if he did not appear, and sent some of the *Upper House* thither, who found him in some hopes of better health against the next Day. Not that any one could imagine that his Cause needed the help of dissembling, having satisfied all indifferent persons with his Justification, as to Treason, and no other Crimes could daunt him. But as in such Cases, his Adversaries the *Commons* had reserved their Evidence most pernicious, which the next Day they desired to produce. The Earl also pressed the like on his own behalf, which as yet had not been offered; a reasonable Request for the Defendant, as well as the Plaintiff, or to wave them on both sides. And because the Lords were absolute of this opinion, the *Commons* in apparant discontent took no leave but departed without ordering any certain Day for their next Meeting. But on *Monday* two Days after the Parliament sate in their several Houses, when Master *Pym* produced to the *Commons* a Copy of some Notes taken by Secretary *Vane*, of several opinions upon Debates at the Council-table the fifth of *May*, 1640. being the Day of the last Parliaments Dissolution; and the Discovery is thus made out.

The Father delivers to his Son Sir *Harry Vane* a Key to fetch some Papers out of a Cabinet, in which he findes another Key to an inward Shutter, which he opens and lighted upon these Notes; who forthwith shews them to Master *Pym*, and that afternoon occasioned a Conference with the Lords, to whom he urges the *Commons* former Request, that the Earl might answer to new Proofs referring to the three and twentieth Article, and were grounded upon these Notes which he then produced, and that the *Commons* desired that the Earl might answer to them the next Day at the Bar in *Westminster-hall*; which was granted.

April the thirteenth he appeared, and the Notes were read upon this ground.

No danger of a War with Scotland, if Offensive, not Defensive.

Then their several Opinions, which he collected in brief, with Nominal Letters, for each Counsellours Name thus.

K.C.H. *How can we undertake Offensive War, if we have no more money?*

L.L.IR. *Borrow of the City an hundred thousand pounds, Go on vigorously to levy Ship-money. Your Majesty having tried the affections of your People, you are absolved and loose from all Rules of Government, and to do what power will admit. Your Majesty hath tried all ways, and being refused, shall be acquitted before God and Man; and you have an Army in Ireland that you may imploy to reduce this Kingdom to obedience; for I am confident the Scots cannot hold out five Moneths.*

L.Arch. *You have tried all ways, and have always been denied, it is now lawfull to take it by force.*

L.Cot. *Leagues abroad there may be made for the defence of the Kingdom. The Lower House are weary of the King and Church. All ways shall be just to raise Moneys in this inevitable necessity, and are to be used, being lawfull.*

L. Arch. *For an Offensive, not any Defensive War.*

L.L. Ir. *The Town is full of Lords, put the Commission of Array on foot, and if any of them stir, we will make them smart.*

The Earls Reply.

That being a Privy-counsellour, he conceived he might have the freedom to vote with others, his opinion being as the Exigent required: it would be hard measure for Opinions resulting from such Debates to be prosecuted under the notion of Treason. And for the main hint suggested from his words, *The King had an Army in Ireland, which he might imploy here to reduce this Kingdom.* He answereth.

That it is proved by the single Testimony of one Man (Secretary Vane) not being of validity in Law to create Faith in a Case of Debt, much lesse in Life and Death.

That the Secretaries Deposition was very dubious; for upon two Examinations, *he could not remember any such words.* And the third time his Testimonie was various, *but that I should speak such words or the like;* and words may be very like in sound, but differ in sense, as in the words of my charge *here for there, and that for this,* puts an end to the Controversie.

There were present at this Debate but eight Privy-counsellours in all; two are not to be produced, (the Arch-bishop and *Windebank*) but Sir Harry Vane affirms the words, I deny them, then there remain four for further evidence, *viz.* the Marquis *Hamilton*, the Earl of *Northumberland*, the Lord *Treasurer*, and the Lord *Cottington*, who have all declared upon their Honours, that they never heard me speak those words, nay, nor the like. Lastly, suppose (though I granted it not) that I spake those words, yet cannot the word *this* rationally imply *England*, because the Debate was not

Anno

1641.

the conclusion
of the Earls
defence.

cerning Scotland, as is yielded on all hands, because England was not out of the way of obedience, as the Earl of Clare well observed; and because there was never any the least intention of landing the Irish Army in England, as the aforefaid Lords of the Privy-council are able to attest.

And having done, the Lord High Steward asked him, if he had any more to say in his own defence; for the Court was willing to prepare matters for Judgment. To which he made a summary Repetition of his several Defences. And having ended, he spake thus:

My Lords.

THere remains another kind of Treason that I should be guilty of, for endeavouring to subvert the Fundamental Laws of the Land. That this should be Treason together, that is not Treason in one part; a Treason accumulative, that when all will not do it alone, being weaved up with others, it should do it, seems very strange. Under favour, my Lords, I conceive there is neither Statute nor Common Law, which doth declare this endeavouring to subvert the Fundamental Laws of the Land to be high Treason; for I have been diligent in the inquiry, as you know it deeply concerns me, and could never discover it. It is hard to be questioned for life and honour upon a Law, that cannot be shewn; for it is a rule in Sir. Edward Coke, *De non apparentibus & non existentibus eadem est ratio. Fhesu!* Where hath this fire lain hid so many hundreds of years, without smook, to discover it, till it thus burst forth to consume me and my children? That punishment should precede promulgation of a law, to be punished by a law subsequent to the Fact, is extreme hard; what man can be safe if this be admitted? My Lords, it is hard in another respect, that there should be no token set, by which we should know this offence, no admonition by which we should avoid it. If a man pass the Thames in a boat, and split himself upon an Anchor, and no Buoy be floating to discover it, he who oweth the Anchor shall make satisfaction; but if a Buoy be set there, every man passeth upon his own peril. Now where is this mark, where the token upon this Crime to declare it to be high Treason? My Lords, be pleased to give that regard to the Peerage of England, as never to expose your selves to such moot-points, such constructive interpretations of Laws, If there must be a tryal of wits, let the subject matter be of somewhat else, than the lives and honours of Peers, It will be wisdom for your selves, for your posterity, and for the whole Kingdom to cast into the fire these bloody and mysterious volumes of constructive and arbitrary Treason, as the Primitive Christians did their Books of curious Arts, and betake your selves to the plain letter of the Law and Statute, that telleth us what is, and what is not Treason without being more ambitious to be more learned in the art of Killing than

than our fore-fathers. It is now full 240. years, since any man was touched for this alleged Crime to this height before my self, let us not awaken these sleeping Lyons to our destruction; by taking up a few musty Records, that have lain by the walls so many ages, forgotten or neglected. May your Lordships please not to add this to my other misfortunes; for my other sins be-slave me, not for Treason; Let not a president be desired from me, so disadvantageous as this will be, in the consequence to the whole Kingdom; do not, through me, wound the interest of the Common-wealth. And howsoever these Gentlemen say they speak for the Common-wealth, yet in this particular I indeed speak for it, and shew the inconveniencies and mischiefs which will fall upon it. For, as it is said in the Statute 1. of Henry 4. No man will know what to doe, or say, for fear of such penalties. Doe not put, my Lords, such difficulties upon Ministers of State, that men of wisdom, of Honour, of Fortune, may not with cheerfulness and safety be employed for the publique; if you weigh and measure them by graines and scruples, the publique affaires of the Kingdome will lie waste, no man will meddle with them who has any thing to lose. My Lords, I have troubled you longer than I should have done, were it not for the interest of these dear pledges a Saint in heaven hath left me. [At this he stopt a while offering up some tears to her ashes] what I forfeit my self is nothing, but that my indiscretion should extend to my posterity it woundeth me to the very soul. You will pardon my infirmity, something I should have added, but am not able; therefore let it pass. And now, my Lords, for my self, I have been by the blessing of almighty God taught, that the afflictions of this present life, are not to be compared to the eternal weight of Glory which shall be revealed hereafter. And so my Lords, even so with all tranquillity of mind, I freely submit my self to your judgment; and whether that judgment be of life, or death.

—Te Deum laudamus.

When he had done, two of the Members, Mr. Glyn and Mr. Pym endeavouring to render him as odious, as it is usually observed from Declamateurs, satisfying the Ear of the Auditours, but not their judicial Censure; for the point came to be this, the Commons are to justify their Charge by Law upon the matters of Fact, as yet not appearing under the Letter of any Statute of Treason. As for that of the 25 of Edward 3. it came short; but yet it is supplied with this Proviso annexed, that because all particular Treasons could not be then defined, therefore what the Parliament should declare to be Treason in time to come should be punished as Treason; within which compass they intend to bring him, and that by Bill of Attainder.

The Commons justify their charge by Law.

The Earl put upon a point of Law, desires Council, which by no means the Commons would assent unto, and notwithstanding all the reason in the world, it was canvassed three Days, and at last concluded,

Anno
1641.

The Earl answered by
Council with
satisfaction.

cluded that his Council should plead such matters as they should be restrained unto.

Saturday the seventeenth of *April*, the Earl appears with his Council, Master *Lane* the Prince's Attourney, Master *Gardner* Recorder of *London*, Master *Loc* and Master *Lighfoot*; *Lane* argued that the said Statute of 25 *Edward* 3. was a Declarative Law, and so not to be interpreted as of consequence, equity, or construction, but by the expresse Letter onely: that it was a penal Law, and so not to admit of any Constructions or Inferences; for the true nature of penalties enforce the keeping of known Laws, not of conjectural and dubious. And for the *Salvo*, he affirmed, that in the sixth of *Henry* 4. the Nobility petitioned the Parliament to limit all Treasons by Statute; in which Parliament *Chapter* 10. an Act passed thereupon, that the *Salvo* should be holden repealed in all times to come, nothing to be esteemed Treason, but what was literally contained in the Statute of 25. *Edward* the third, nor could the rest of the Council speak more then what had been said by Mr. *Lane* being so sufficient for matters of Law, unless their Lordships would state any other questions to which they were ready to answer, upon which the Court adjourned without prefixing any time of meeting.

But is by the
Commons
voted by Bill
guilty of high
Treason.

The Commons meant it not to meet any more, the *Earl* had satisfied all curious observations of his defence, and the Commons knew it well enough; but they resolved to attaint him by *Bill*, which was debated by the Commons the nineteenth day, and the *Earl* voted by them guilty of high Treason meerly upon the evidence of Secretary *Vane*, and his notes, but upon reading the Bill engrossed in their house the one and twentieth day, It was hardly canvassed by the *Poll*; the dissenters being fifty nine and my Lord *Digby* the most eminent, that urged for him, and yet it passed.

That afternoone, with all expedition it was brought to the Lords, and the four and twentieth day, they were put in minde to fix a day for reading of it, to which they returned answer, that on *Munday* and *Tuesday* after they would not fail, being not over harty to do it then, for it was debated by the Lords to be a business of very high concernments, and so perplext as necessarily required a conference with the Common, who put it upon Mr. St. *John* the Kings Solicitor, to satisfy them, and to justify the Bill by Law, upon *Thursday* the nine and twentieth, and to offer reasons enforcing them to this way of proceeding against the Earl, who was ordered to be there present

And the Commons to shadow the violence of this proceeding with the Earl, they bethought themselves, of some publique affair; and so petition the King.

1. For removing of all Papists from Court.

2. For disarming of them generally throughout the Kingdome.

3. For

3. For disbanding the Irish Army.

Anno

1641.

To which they had Answer the eight and twentieth.

1. *They all knew what legal trust the Crown hath in that particular, therefore he shall not need to say any thing to assure them that he shall use it so, as there shall be no just cause of scandal.*
2. *He is content it shall be done by Law.*
3. *And for the last, he had entered into consultation about it finding many difficulties therein; and he doth so wish the disbanding of all Armies, as he did conjure them speedily and heartily to joyn with him in disbanding those two here, Scots and English.*

I am now come to the point, to consider of the Differences between two Writers, our *Historian* and his *Observatour*, concerning the Death of the Earl of *Strafford*, and reflecting upon the late Arch-bishop of *Armagh*, Primate of all *Ireland*, whilst he was living, and so pursued since his Death, I being intrusted by him, when time and occasion should happen, to offer in publick what I had in charge under his own hand-writing, (and others also) not to quarrel it any further, but to rectifie mis-understandings, if it may be done without malice on any side; and so I shall handle it as a *Moderatour*.

We begin from the Bill of *Attainder* which was read in presence of the Earl at the Bar.

Whereas the Knights, Citizens, and Burgeses of the House of Commons in this present Parliament assembled, have in the name of themselves and of all the Commons of England, impeached Thomas Earl of Strafford of High-treason, for endeavouring to subvert the ancient and fundamental Laws and Government of his Majesties Realms of England and Ireland, and to introduce an Arbitrary and Tyrannical Government against Law in the said Kingdoms; and for exercising a tyrannous and exorbitant Power over and against the Laws of the said Kingdoms, over the Liberties, Estates, and Laws of his Majesties Subjects; and likewise for having by his own Authority commanded the laying and assessing of Souldiers upon his Majesties Subjects in Ireland, against their consent, to compell them to obey his unlawfull Commands and Orders, made upon Paper-petitions, in Causes; between party and party, which accordingly was executed upon divers of his Majesties Subjects, in a warlike manner within the said Realm of Ireland; and in so doing did levy War against the Kings Majesty and his Liege-people in that Kingdom. And also for that he upon the unhappy Dissolution of the last Parliament, did slander the House of Commons to his Majesty, and did counsel and advise his Majesty, that he was loose and absolved from Rules of Government, and that he had an Army in Ireland,
which

Bill of Attainder.

Anno
1641.

which he might imploy to reduce this Kingdome, for which he deserves to undergo the paines and Forfeitures of high Treason.

And the said Earl hath been also an Incendiary of the wars between the two Kingdoms of England and Scotland, all which offences have been sufficiently proved against the said Earl upon his Impeachment.

Be it therefore Enacted by the Kings most excellent Majesty and by the Lords and Commons in this present Parliament assembled, and by authority of the same, that the said Earl of Strafford, for the painous crimes and offences aforesaid, stand and be adjudged and attainted of high Treason, and shall suffer such pain of death, and incur the Forfeitures of his Goods and Cattels, Lands, Tenements and hereditaments of any estate of freehold or Inheritance in the said Kingdoms of England and Ireland, which the said Earl, or any other to his use, or in trust for him, have or had the day of the first sitting of this present Parliament, or at anytime since.

Provided that no Judge or Judges, Justice or Justices whatsoever, shall adjudge or interpret any Act or thing to be Treason, nor hear or determine any Treason, nor in any other manner than he or they should or ought to have done before the making of this Act, and as if this Act had never been had, or made. Serving alwaies unto all and singular persons and bodies politique and corporal their Heirs and successors, other than the said Earl and his Heirs, and such as claim by from or under him) all such right, title and Interest, of in and to all and singular such of the said Lands, Tenements, and Hereditaments, as he, they, or any of them, had before the first day of this present Parliament, any thing herein contained to the contrary notwithstanding.

Provided that the passing of this present Act, and his Majesties assent thereunto, shall not be any determination of this present sessions of Parliament, and all Bills and matters whatsoever depending in Parliament, and not fully enacted and determined, And all Statutes and Acts of Parliament, which have their continuance until the end of this present session of Parliament, shall remain continue, and be in force, as if this Act had not been.

This Bill of Attainder being read opened and affirmed by sundry Presidents and Acts of Parliament, might no doubt remove the misty cloud of the Peers understanding. And therefore the next day the heat of that house appeared towards his destruction, contrary to the Kings conscience, whose Judgement was, that he deserved relief. And to that end, the first of May, he called both Houses together, and to them he opened himself for the Earls defence, thus.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I had no intention to have spoken to you of this business to day, which is the great business of the Earl of Strafford, because I would do nothing

Anno
1641.

nothing which might hinder your occasions. But now it comes to pass that I must of necessity have part in the judgment, I think it most necessary to declare my conscience therein.

I am sure you know I have been present at the hearing of this great cause, from one end to the other; and I must tell you that in my conscience I cannot condemn him of high Treason.

It is not fit for me to argue this business, I am sure you will not expect it, a positive Doctrine best becomes the mouth of a Prince, yet must I tell you three truths, which I am sure no man can tell so well as my self.

First, That I had never any intention of bringing over the Irish Army into England, nor ever was advised by any body so to do.

Secondly, That there was never any debate before me, either in publique Councel, or private Committee, of the disloyalty of my English subjects, nor ever had I any suspicion of them.

Thirdly, That I was never counselled by any to alter the least of any of the Laws of England, much less to alter all the Laws. Nay I tell you this, I think nobody durst ever be so impudent as to move me to it. For if they had, I should have made them such an example, and put such a mark upon them, that all posterity should know my intentions by it, they being ever to govern by the Law, and no otherwise.

I desire rightly to be understood, for though I tell you in my conscience I cannot condemn him of high Treason, yet cannot I clear him of misdemeanours; therefore I hope you may find out a way to satisfy justice, and your own fears, and not oppress my conscience.

My Lords, I hope you know what a tender conscience is, and I must declare unto you, that to satisfy my people I would do great matters; but in this of conscience, neither fear, nor any other respect whatsoever, shall ever make me goe against it.

Certainly I have not deserved so ill of this Parliament at this time, that they should press me in this tender point, therefore I cannot suspect you will go about it. Nay I must confess for misdemeanours I am so clear in them, that, though I will not chalk out the way, yet I will shew you, that I think my Lord of Strafford is not fit hereafter to serve me, or the Common-wealth, in any place of trust, no not so much as a Constable. Therefore I leave it to you, my Lords, to find out some such way as to bring me out of this straight, and keep your selves and the Kingdome from such inconveniences.

So then in effect; he tells them of his presence at the hearing of that great cause from one end to the other, and that positively in his conscience, he cannot condemn him of High Treason; but could not clear him of misdemeanours, and he hoped that they might finde out a way to satisfy Justice and their own fears, and not to oppress the Kings conscience, which neither fear nor any other respect whatsoever should make him go against it, and leaves

Anno

1641.

Prince of
Orange married
the Princess
Mary.

Tumult at
Westminster
crying out for
Justice of the
Earl.

Eikon Bas.
chap. 4.
Upon the In-
solencie of the
Tumults.

them the way, to bring him out of this straight.

This speech thwarting the general resentment of the Parliament, they were dismissed with very great discontent.

The next day being *Sunday* the second of *May*, the Marriage was solemnized at Court, between the young Prince of *Orange* and the princess *Mary* at *Whitehal*, he had been here ever since the twentieth of *April*.

One daies time falling in of leasure to the Parliament, to consider of all the former passages concerning the Earl, and that by a convenience of the service of that holy day, *Sunday*, where the Pulpits of some Incendiaries preached to the people the necessity of Justice upon high Delinquents now to be acted, which so prevailed, that on *Munday* the next morning being the third of *May*, a rabble of the light headed City, neer 6000. came thronging down that morning to *Westminster*, the most of them armed with swords, others with Cutchels and staves, crying out for Justice against the Earl of *Strafford*; pretending that their trading decayed and they in great want thereby of bread; they were loth to say so, against their own knowledge, being rather extreemly wanton, with too much pride.

They applied themselves to the Earl of *Mountgomery*, who very wisely indeavoured to appease them. They notwithstanding poasted up at *Westminster* a Catalogue of names, and stiled them *Straffordians* such whose suffrages had been to acquit him.

And this way of tumult had been lately taken up to enforce a consent or execution of any the Parliament designs, upon which the King observes the subsequent mischiefs that followed.

I never thought (saies the King) anie thing (except our sins) more ominously presaging all these mischiefs which have followed, then those Tumults in London and Westminster, soon after the Convening of this Parliament; which were not like a storm at Sea, (which yet want's not it's terror) but like an Earth quake, shakeing the very foundations of all; then which, nothing in the world bath more of horror.

As it is one of the most convincing Arguments that there is a God, while his power sets bounds to the rageing of the Sea, so tis no less, that he restrain's the madness of the people. Nor doth any thing portend more Gods displeasure against a Nation, then when he suffers the confluence and clamors of the Vulgar, to pass all boundaries of Laws, and reverence to Authority.

Which those Tumults did to so high degrees of Insolence, that they spared not to invade the Honor and Freedom of the two Houses, menacing, reproaching, shakeing, yea, and assaulting som Members of both Houses, as they fancied or disliked them: Nor did they forbear most rude and unseemly deportments, both in contemptuous words and actions, to My self and My Court.

Nor

Nor was this a short fit or two of shaking, as an Ague, but a quotidian Fever, alwayes encreasing to higher inflammations, impatient of any mitigation, restraint, or remission.

First, they must be a Guard against those fears which som men scared themselves and others withall, when indeed, nothing was more to be feared and less to be used by wise men then those tumultuarie confluxes of mean and rude people, who are taught first to Petition, then to Protest, then to dictate, at last to Command and Over-aw the Parliament.

All obstructions in Parliament (that is, a freedom of differing in Votes, and debating matters with reason and candor) must be taken away with these Tumults: By these must the Houses be purged, and all rotten Members (as they please to count them) cast out: By these the obstinacie of men, resolved to discharge their Consciences, must be subdued; by these all factious, seditious, and schismatical Proposals against Government Ecclesiastical or Civil, must be backed and abetted, till they prevailed.

Generally, who ever had most minde to bring forth confusion and ruine upon Church and State, used the midwiferie of those Tumults; whose riot and impatience was such, that they would not stay the ripening and season of Counsels, or fair production of Acts, in the order, gravitie, and deliberateness befitting a Parliament; but ripped up with barbarous crueltie, and forcibly cut out abortive Votes, such as their Inviters and Encouragers most fancied.

Yea, so enormous and detestable were their out-rages, that no sober man could be without an infinite shame and sorrow to see them so tolerated and connived at by some; countenanced, encouraged, and applauded by others.

What good man had not rather want any thing he most desired, for the publique good, then obtain it by such unlawful and irreligious means? But mens passions and Gods directions seldom agree; violent designs and motions must have suteable engines; such as too much attend their own ends, seldom confine themselves to Gods means. Force must crowd in, what Reasons will not lead.

Who were the chief Demagogues and Patrones of Tumults, to send for them, to flatter and embolden them, to direct and turn their clamorous importunities, some men yet living are too conscions to pretend ignorance: God in his due time will let these see, that those were no fit means to be used for attaining his ends.

But, as it is no strange thing for the sea to rage, when strong windes blow upon it; so, neither for multitudes to become insolent, when they have Men of some reputation for parts and piety to set them on.

That which made their rudeness most formidable, was, That many Complaints being made, and Messages sent by My self and some of both Houses; yet no order for redress could be obtained with any vigor and efficacie, proportionable to the malignity of that now far-spread disease, and predominant mischief.

The Reign of King Charls.

Such was some mens stupidity, that they feared no inconvenience; Others petulancie, that they joyed to see their betters shamefully out-raged and abused, while they knew their onely security consisted in vulgar flattery: So insensible were they of Mine, or the two Houses common safety and Honors.

Nor could ever any order be obtained, impartially to examine, censure, and punish the known Boutefeus, and impudent Incendiaries, who boasted of the influence they had, and used to convoke those Tumults, as their advantages served.

Yea, some (who should have been wiser States-men) owned them as friends, commending their Courage, Zeal, and industry; which to sober men could seem no better then that of the Devil, who goes about seeking whom he may deceive, and devour.

I confess, when I found such a deafness, that no Declaration from the Bishops, who were first foully inselenced and assaulted; nor yet from other Lords and Gentlemen of Honor; nor yet from my self could take place for the due suppression of these Tumults; and securing, not onely Our Freedom in Parliament, but our very Persons in the streets; I thought My self not bound by My presence, to provoke them to higher boldness and contempts: I hoped, by My with-drawing, to give time, both for the ebbing of their Tumultuous fury, and others regaining some degrees of modesty and sober sense.

Some may interpret it as an effect of Pusillanimity for any man, for popular terrors to desert his Publique Station. But I think it a hardiness, beyond true valor, for a wise man to set himself against the breaking in of a Sea; which to resist, at present, threatens imminent danger; but to with-draw, gives it space to spend its fury, and gains a fitter time to repair the breach. Certainly, a Gallant man had rather fight, to great disadvantages for number and place in the field, in an orderly waite, then skuffle with an undisciplined rabble.

Some suspected and affirmed that I meditated a War, (when I went from White-hall onlie to redeem My Person and Conscience from violence) God knows I did not then think of a War. Nor will any prudent man conceive, that I would by so many former, and some after-Acts, have so much weakned My self, If I had purposed to engage in a War, which to decline by all means, I denied My self in so manie particulars: 'Tis evident I had then no Army to flie unto, for protection, or vindication.

Who can blame Me, or any other, for with-drawing our selves from the daily baitings of the Tumults, not knowing whether their furie and discontent might not flie so high, as to worrie and tear those in pieces, whom as yet they but plaid with in their paws? God, who is My sole Fudge, is My Witness in Heaven, that I never had anie thoughts of going from my House at White-hall, If I could have had but anie reasonable fair Quarter: I was resolved to bear much and did so, but I did not think Myself bound to prostitute the Majesty of My place and Per-
son

son, the safetie of My Wife and Children to those, who are prone to insults most, when they have objects and opportunitie most capable of their rudeness and petulancie.

But this business of the Tumults (whereof some have given already an account to God, others yet living know themselves desperately guilty) Time and the guilt of many hath so smothered up and buried, that I think it best to leave it, as it is; onely I believe the just Avenger of all disorders will in time make those men, and that City see their sin in the glass of their punishment. 'Tis more then an even-laiie that they may one daie see themselves punished by that waie they offended.

Had this Parliament, as it was in its first election and Constitution, sate full and free, the Members of both Houses being left to their freedom of Voting, as in all reason, honor, and Religion, they should have been; I doubt not but things would have been so carried, as would have given no less content to all good men, then they wished or expected.

For, I was resolved to hear reason in all things, and to consent to it so far as I could comprehend it: but as Swine are to Gardens and orderly Plantations; so are Tumults to Parliaments, and Plebeian concourses to publique Councils, turning all into disorders and sordid confusions.

I am prone sometimes to think, That had I called this Parliament to any other place in England (as I might opportunely enough have don) the said consequences in all likelihood, with Gods blessing, might have been prevented. A Parliament would have been welcom in any place; no place afforded such confluence of various and vitious humors, as that where it was unhappily convened. But we must leave all to God, who orders our disorders, and magnifies his wisdom most when our follies and miseries, are most discovered.

And with these Mutinies comes the Intimation of some practises in the North to distract the English Army; the occasions you shall hear of hereafter. But it gave fewel to the fiery faction, and to the Parliament to fall into debate, about a general National Protestation [To maintain and defend with my life power and estate, the true reformed Protestant Religion expressed in the doctrine of the Church of England, against all popery and popish Innovations; within this Realm, contrary to the same doctrine, his Majesties person, Honour and estate, The power of Parliament, the lawful rights and Liberties of the subject, and every person that maketh this protestation, whatsoever he shall do, in the lawfull pursuance of the same; the third of May.] This being too general in these words. The true Reformed Protestant Religion &c. They were explained by an ordinance to be only, [The publique doctrine professed in the Church of England, so far as it is opposite to Popery and Popish Innovations, and not to the maintaining any form of worship discipline or Government, nor any Rites or Ceremonies of the Church of England, the fifth of May] And so it was taken

National protestation,

Anno
1641.

Monies raised
for the Kinge

Bill propoun-
ded for conti-
nuance of the
Parliament.

Earl of Strif-
ford voted
guilty of High
Treason by the
Lords.

taken by the Commons House, the next day by the Lords, and ordered to be taken by all the people of *England*. Hereby it appears, that they meant to question the discipline of the Church, which they did.

They had no better way to qualifie the *Kings* discontent than to raise him some mony, for the satisfying of high accounts, which the Kingdom stood charged withall, two Armies now on foot craving their pay. And therefore a cunning Knight of *Lancashire* offered to procure his Majesty 650000. l. until such time as the subsidies should be raised, with this declaration; *Provided that the King would pass a Bill, not to adjourn the Parliament, nor Prorogue it, nor dissolve it, without the consent of both Houses, to indure until the Greivances of this Kingdom were redressed,*] And so complaints arising like *Hidra's* head, never to have thereby any end, yet to colour it they fell upon a great debate thereof, but instantly order was given to draw up a Bill in pursuance of it. And the Lords another way busie to lay a side the Bill of the Earls *Attainder*, because it brought in the King as a Judge, and so fell upon the several Articles of his Accusation, resolving to send them to the Commons the next day, with their Resolution, when, amongst forty five Lords, twenty six of them, voted him guilty of High Treason; *upon the fifteenth Article for Levying monies in Ireland by force, in a warlike manner,* And upon the nineteenth for *Imposing an Oath upon the subjects in Ireland*, which was for distinction of the *Scots* Covenanters, as you have heard heretofore.

And so both these Bills, of an everlasting Parliament and of the *Attainder*, being compleated; a conference was had of both Houses the next day after, and some Lords dispatched to the King to request his answer, who tells them, *That on Munday Following he would satisfie them.*

I conceive it convenient in more particular, to clear two mistakes of our Authors; concerning *The Articles of Ireland and the death of the Earl of Strafford*, reflecting upon the late most Reverend Prelate, the Arch Bishop of *Armagh* Primate of all *Ireland*, whilst he was living, and worse pursued since his decease, somewhat too sharp also on Dr. *Barnard*.

Herein I take leave in cool blood to interpose those Animadversions, being intrusted therein by Command of the deceased Prelate. Under whose hand writing, and others also, much of the matter is made evident, to rectifie misunderstandings, Intentionally thereby to end disputes.

The *Historian* takes the field.

Observations upon his History.

The *Historian* replies, (*Observator* observed)

The *Observator* Rescued, and Rejoynes.

And

The Reign of King Charls.

407

And the Historian at a Non-plus, his friend (even Squire Sanderson) as the man, that mediates for him.

Anno

1641.

The Interim took up the Kings time, in doubt, what answer to return to his subjects, a discontented people; Himself their Sovereign, troubled with a distracted conscience, They for Justice, He for Mercy.

In this perplexity (saies the Historian) the King consults with four Bishops the Sunday morning; desiring them as Casuists to advice him what course to steer between these two great Rocks &c. That three of them urged the opinion of the Judges, and the votes of Parliament, &c. That they advised, yea partly perswaded his Majesty, though not fully convinced, to pass the Bill, But the motive to all (he saies) was a Letter to the King from the Earl himself, that very day, viz.

Hist page 257.

Sir

To set your Majesties conscience at liberty &c. more of this hereafter.

But this Observator enforceth reasons: That the Bishops were not sent for, but sent to the King by the Parliament, to inform his conscience and bring him to yeild to the Bill, who consulted rather their own ends; And names them, the Primate of Armagh, the Bishops of Lincoln, Durham and Carlile, the two last unskilled, depended wholly on the other two, and those two (as the Parliament knew full well) carried a sharp tooth against the Lord Lieutenant upon former grudges, that of the Primate for abrogating of the Articles of Religion, established in the Church of Ireland; and setting in their place the Articles of the Church of England, and because Doctor Bromel (once chaplain to the Lord Lieutenant) then Bishop of Derrie had opposed most in it, &c. That of the Bishop of Lincoln on whom was the most dependance, of worse affections than the other &c.

Ob. pag. 240.

The Historian replies, (in his observator observed page 41) That the Bishops were not sent to the King but sent for by the King. That they were five not four Bishops. That if any of them depended on the Judgment of others, it was the Bishop of London who at the last meeting spake not a syllable; That, Durham and Carlile spake as freely as any other.

Observator
observed page
41.

That the Lord Primate had no sharp tooth against the Lieutenant, and instances in that of the Articles of Ireland, which were never abrogated, and produces this Certificate of two Doctors of Divinity.

We who were present at, and Members of the Convocation holden at Dublin Anno. 1634. do hereby testifie. That upon the proposal of the first Canon, wherein for the manifestation of our agreement with the Church

Anno
1641.

Church of England in the confession of the same Christian faith and doctrine of the Sacraments (as was then expressed) wee did receive and approve the Book of Articles of Religion agreed upon in the Convocation holden at London, Anno 1562. One of the Assembly stood up and desired that the other Book of Articles, agreed upon in the Convocation holden at Dublin Anno, 1615. should be joyned therewith: Unto whom it was then answered that this addition was altogether needless; that Book, having been already sufficiently ratified by the decrees of the former Synod; But that the least motion was then or there made, for the suppressing of those Articles of Ireland hath no truth at all in it. And therefore the Observator and whosoever else, hath or doth aver that the said Articles either were abolished or any motion made for the suppressing or abolishing of them, are grossly mistaken, and have abused the said Convocation in delivering so manifest an untruth: The eighteenth of March 1655.

Nicholas Bernard.
Samuel Pullen.

And to prove no discontent between the Primate and Earl, he remarks, That before his sentence, He did advise with the Primate concerning his defence, And after sentence the Earl desired that the Primate might serve him in his ministerial office, in his last and fatal extremity, who prayed with him, sent Messages to the King by him, took him by the hand and led him to the Scaffold. That there was never any controversie in that Synod of Ireland between the Primate and the Bishop of *Derrie*, concerning the Articles: That the King pressing the Judges to declare any particular Article which (if proved) was treason, could not extort from them one single instance, but that the Earl was guilty upon the whole matter. So much saies the Historian.

The Observator is rescued with witty Arguments, to make good his defence in justification of what he had said before, concerning the Bishops, in which he puts himself upon a very unhand-some expression, *is it likely saies he &c. that the King would confide in Potter* (Bishop of Carlisle) *a man of so much want and weakness?* concluding the *Historians Ipse dico* no proof at all. And so keeping the field, the Historian appears no more.

But the Observator having dispatched that adversary, he finds out another, and indeavours to be rescued from the back blowes of Dr. Barnard; Indeed if there were any, they could be no other, for the Author there turned the back, not the face, being an *Anonymous*, and so appeared in that disguised, for he that smote a Clergie Man without his Priestly habit was thereby excused. A man that walks in the dark, may meet with a knock by such as mean him no harm, for the Doctors aim was (if I mistake not) from his apprehension

The Reign of King Charls.

prehension of the Authors disaffection to the Primate of Ireland, endeavouring to blemish that *worthy* Prelate of our Church in some particulars (tollowing,) and gave it then suspected (by the Archbishop himself and others) to be some Agent of the See of Rome; though as yet not any one of them, *hath moved his tongue against this Isralite*, at his *exile* hence. And wee may be sorry to see, his sole enemies to be those of *his own house* in profession, that out of themselves should arise Men, *speaking perverse things*; such pen and tongue combates are gratefull to none, but to the grand adversary of us all.

It comes in my way, by calm endeavours and *command of the dead*, to vindicate him, that holy Prelate, and to compose, what relates to him on either side, specially in these two mistakes, concerning the *Articles of Ireland*, and the scandal put upon him in relation to the Earl of *Straffords death*; as I have received it from himself and others, and charged upon me to publish; which was long since prepared by it self, but after conceived more convenient to be inserted in this history.

First for the *Articles of Religion* established in the Church of Ireland, Anno. 1615. and pretended to be *abrogated* Anno. 1634. it so far (onely) concerns the late Primate, as being chosen by the Synode to draw them up, which was no more a Scandal to them, than for King *James* his sending into Ireland, the Articles of *Lambeth* (as the Author tells us) were to those.

Articles of
Ireland.

Indeed Dr. *Heylen* in his History of the Sabbath pag. 2. Cap. 8. hath taken a latitude in affirming that *the whole Book* of Articles of Ireland was called in, and in the place thereof the Articles of the Church of England confirmed by Parliament in that Kings name, Anno. 1634. whom the *Observer* hath followed in the like terms, pag. 241. and so both imagined to be from the same Person; for there was no such motion made, and indeed no likelihood to have taken place, there being then *so many Papists* of both Houses, who would have received neither; For the further clearing of which, this part of a Letter will evidence, being written by the late Primate in Answer to an Honourable person of this Kingdom, upon the first coming forth of that Book.

As for Dr. *Heylens* relation concerning our Articles of Ireland, it is much mistaken. For first where he saith, they did pass when his *Majesties Commissioners* were imployed about the settling of the Church Anno. 1615. and chargeth them with *this strict austerity* (as he termeth it) in the prescript and observation of the *Lords day*, he sheweth himself very weak, there having been no such Commissioners here at that time, and our Articles having been published in Print divers years before that the Commissioners (whom he meaneth) came hither, as Sir *Nathaniel Rich*, (who was one of them himself) can sufficiently inform you. Secondly where he saith, he is

The Reign of King Charls.

Anno
1641.

sure, that till that time the Lords day had never attained such credit as to be thought an Article of faith, he speaks very idely. He that would confound the *ten Commandements*, (whereof this must be accounted for one, unless he wil leave us but nine) with the *Articles of the faith*, had need be put to learn his Catechism again: and he that would have every thing which is put into the Articles of Religion (agreed upon in the Synod for the avoyding of diversity of opinions and for the maintenance of peace and uniformity in the Church) to be held for an *Article of the faith*, should do well to tell us, whether he hath as yet admitted these two here instanced were not by way of diminution, for he did highly approve of both as being most excellent composures, but because they are either for the most part to be reckoned among the *Agenda* rather than the *Credenda*, or that in both there are some circumstantials observed and exhorted unto, onely for decency and order, according to the wisdom of the Church which come not within the compass of the Creed, as upon the view of them, without descending to Particulars, may easily appear, the Book of the Ordination of Bishops and the two volums of *Homilies* into his creed, for sure I am he shall finde these in the Articles of Religion agreed upon in the Synod held at *London 1562*. To which Dr. *Heylin* himself having subscribed, I wonder with what face he can oppose the conclusion, which he findeth directly laid down in the *Homily* of the time and place of prayer in the *fourth Commandement*, God hath given expresse charge to all men that upon the Sabbath day, which is now our Sunday (for these are the plain words of the *Homily*, which the Doctor with all his sophistry will never be able to elude) they shall cease from all week-day labour, to the intent that like as God himself wrought six daies and rested the seventh and blessed it, and Sanctified, it and consecrated it to quietness and rest from labour, even so Gods obedient people should use the Sunday, and rest from their common and dayly business, and also give themselves wholly to heavenly exercise of Gods true Religion and service. By the verdict of the Church of England I am sure the Lords day had attained such a pitch of credit, as nothing more could be left to the Church of Ireland in their Articles, afterward to adde unto it. Thirdly he shameth not to affirm that the whole book of the Articles of Ireland is now called in (which is a notorious untruth) and lastly the Articles of the Church of England were confirmed by Parliament in this Kingdom, Anno. 1634. which it is well known that they were not so much as once propounded to either house of Parliament, or ever intended to be propounded: the truth is, that the house of convocation in the beginning of their Canons for the manifestation of their agreement with the Church of England in the confession of the same Christian faith, and the Doctrine of the Sacraments, (as they themselves profess) and for no other end in the world, did receive and approve of the Articles of England; but that either the Articles of Ireland were ever called in, or any Articles

The Reign of King Charls.

Anno

1641.

Articles or Canons at all, were ever here confirmed by act of Parliament, may well be reckoned among Dr. *Heylins* fancies, who sheweth how little credit he deserveth in his Geography when he bringeth us news of the remote parts of the world, that telleth us so many untruths of things so lately and so publicquely acted in his neighbour nation.

Now although this, (of that most Reverend Primate) writ many years since, with the said Certificate of Dr. *Barnard* and Dr. *Pullein* may be satisfactory, that the said Articles were not repealed or abrogated (for we must keep the Authors own terms, who is so precise that he hath at large contended for it) yet I shall further confirm it by this brief Narrative of the whole matter, as I had it from such as were present.

First in the house of the Clergie (which was then in the Cathedral of St. *Patricks Dublin*) there was a motion made for the reception *a new*, of the Articles of *Ireland*, and all (unanimous,) were for the affirmative, excepting two, who went out.

Another time, the whole house of the Clergie being called into the *Quire* where the Bishops sat, and the same *thing* again propounded to *them*, they all stuck to their former vote excepting *seven*. The intent of the whole Clergie being by this sufficiently understood, and it appearing, there was no need of any such confirmation, having been *Anno. 1615.* fully and formally established, that motion was no more repealed, only the Primate was consulted, concerning the approving and receiving of the Articles of *England* also; to which he readily consented, therein being no substantial difference between them, which he had subscribed himself voluntarily, long before in *England*, and conceiving it to be without any prejudice to the other.

Hereupon the first Canon (being all that was done in relation to them) was drawn up, the Primate approved it, and proposed it himself (as president of the Synod) in the House of the Bishops, commended it to the House of the Clergie, where, by his motion many assented the more readily, they all gave their Votes man by man excepting one person, who suspended his, out of the suspicion that some might make that construction, which is the *Observers* conclusion, to whose Arguments somewhat may be answered. His chief is, from the words of the Canon, where they do not onely approve but receive the Articles of *England*, from this must infer a *super inducing*, and so an *abrogation* of those of *Ireland*.

Now there was not a *reception* of the one instead of the other, but the one, *with* the other; there being no difference in substance but onely in method; number of subjects determined, and other circumstantial, argue no more an *abrogation* then that doth, of the *Apostles* Creed, by our *reception* of the *Nicene* Creed and *Athanasius's* wherein some points are more enlarged; Or that the *reception* into

The Reign of King Charls.

Anno
1641.

And we have heard what hath been said of them. And now let us see what the Arch-bishop of Armagh is pleased to say, and that under his own hand-writing.

The Arch-bishop of Armagh's Testimony in Answer to the Historian, pag. 257. l. 29.

That Sunday morning (writes he) wherein the King consulted with the four Bishops, London, Durham, Lincoln, and Carlile, the Arch-bishop of Armagh was not present being then Preaching, as he then accustomed, every Lords day to do, in the Church of Covent-garden, when a Messenger coming to him from his Majesty, he answered, that he was then (as he saw) imployed in Gods service, which as soon as he had done, he would attend upon the King, to understand his pleasure. But the King spending the whole After-noon in the serious debate of the Earl of Strafford's case, with the Lords of the Council, and the Judges of the Land; he could not before Evening be admitted to his Majesties presence; when the Question was again agitated, Whether the King in justice might pass the Bill of Attainder against the Earl of Strafford?

For, that he might shew mercy to him, was no question at all; no man doubting but that the King without any scruple of conscience, might have granted him pardon, if other reasons of State (in which the Bishops were neither made Judges nor Advisers) did not hinder him; the whole result therefore of the determination of the Bishops was to this effect.

That herein, the Matter of Fact, and the Matter of Law were to be distinguished; that of the Fact, he himself might make a Judgment, having been present at all the proceedings against the said Lord; where, if upon the hearing of the allegations on either side, he did not conceive him guilty of the crime, wherewith he was charged, he could not in justice condemn him. But for the Matter of Law, what was Treason, and what was not, he was to rest in the Opinion of the Judges, whose office it was to declare the Law, and who were sworn therein to carry themselves indifferently betwixt him and his Subjects; which gave his Majesty occasion to complain of the bad dealing of the Judges with him, not long before; that having earnestly pressed them to declare in particular what point of the Earls charge they adjudged to be Treason, (for as much as upon the hearing of the proof produced, he might in his conscience perhaps finde him guiltless of that Fact;) he could not by any means draw them to name any particular, but that upon the whole matter, Treason might justly be charged upon him.

And in the second Meeting (at night) it was observed, that the Bishop of London spake nothing at all, and the Bishop of Lincoln not onely spake, but sent a Writing into the Kings hands, wherein what was contained the rest of his Brethren knew not.

So much writes the Arch-bishop.

Some

The Reign of King Charls.

Anno
1641.

Some of these passages are dispersed in the *Observatour observed*, but not credited by the Authour of the *Observatour rescued*, receiving it onely upon the Historians bare affirmation; but by this Testimony it may be hoped, he will be of more moderation, notwithstanding he hath there shewn much disaffection to the Primate, in endeavouring to his utmost to evade divers of those particulars, either in giving the worst sense of them, or turning them to other ends, wherein he doth not onely obscurely fall upon this reverend Primate, but injuriously detracts from a very worthy man, Doctour Potter Bishop of *Carlile*, and that after his death.

Dr. *Cosens* hath given him a better Example, who hearing in *France* of the Primate's Funeral, and what had been then said of this subject, writes thus to his Friend, *I am glad to hear my Lord of Armagh was carried with so much honour to his Grave, who yet deserved far more than was given him. I never believed, that he perswaded the King to put the Deputy of Ireland to death, for he satisfied me against the common Report in that matter long since, himself; the world will hereafter know who it was, &c.*

Neither do I finde any thing in the late Kings Book in that Meditation (as followeth) concerning the Earl of *Strafford*, that hath any such necessary inference that way, either as to him, or any of his Profession. And for the note put upon the person, to be one that had been harrassed and crushed by the people, I see not how it might be appliable to him, his loss being by that Rebellion in *Ireland*, and by the Parliament here, he had an Allowance, and had more esteem from them than others of his Profession.

What the *Observatour* took upon trust in some mistaken Notes given him of Doctour *Bernard's* Sermon concerning this subject, after the spending some sharp language upon him, he puts afterwards into *Errata of Advertisements and Additions*, and so I pass it over.

So then, thus far we may be satisfied. There were but four Bishops at the first, *London, Lincoln, Durham, and Carlile*; and at night five Bishops, the Arch-bishop of *Armagh* making one: the judgment of the Judges, and the opinion of the Bishops formerly set down, answer in effect to the controverted Disputes.

But it seems from all the Controversions, to be thus concluded, that the Kings former promise to save the Earl, was at last, and that absolutely, the Kings desire to be satisfied therein: whereupon (say I) the Bishop of *Lincoln* finding the Kings pulse to beat upon that string, and knowing that four days before (not that morning) the Earl had writ a long Letter to the King, concluding to solve his Majesty from that promise, this Bishop *Lincoln* took upon him to tell the King that morning, (when *Armagh* was not present) that if that were all, he was confident, that the Earl was so great a Lover of his Majesties peace, and tender of his conscience, and the King-

The kings former promise to the main Dilemma.

doms

The Reign of King Charls.

Anno
1641.

doms safety, as willingly to acquit the King of that *promise*. To which the King gave a brow of anger, as if thereby to be ensnared: and so the four Bishops parted.

Upon this *Lincoln* in private speaks with the *Lieutenant* of the *Tower*, (or rather some other person) who was at hand, waiting the Kings pleasure, and cunningly relates to him so much of the morning conference, and the manner, as might suit with his purpose; that nothing stuck with his Majesty, but his *promise to the Earl*, and that under his hand. So then, (says he) if when my Lord *Strafford* fendeth to you, and asketh what is done concerning him, you may acquaint him therewith. I know the Earl of *Strafford*, Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*, will disdain to hold his life upon no other merit, but a bare *promise*; and if all the service he hath done, be not a stronger obligation than a few words, he will (I dare say) to try the Kings affection, soon acquit him of that *promise*.

And as the Devil and he would have it, so it happened; for the throbbing Prisoner, inquisitive concerning his doom; the *Lieutenant* or the other person told him, that the King was satisfied of his guilt in Law, and was onely bound up by his *promise* to your Lordship. At which the Earl started up out of his Chair, immediately calls for Pen and Paper; Nay, said he, if that be all that bindes the King, I shall soon release him: and presently fell to writing (say some) that short Letter that same morning, which the Historian pag.257. minceth into a particle of the whole, and begins it at the last Paragraph in these words:

S I R,
To set your Majesty, &c.

But I say otherwise, for that Letter (which he means) was writ five days before. Yet the Earl intending to say more than had been writ: in some passion he cast away the Pen, and out of his Cabinet drew that *Paper-promise* under the Kings hand; intrusting it to the *Lieutenant* (or to that other person) for the King, whether sealed up, or open, I cannot say: and this is the Paper which the Primate doth mention that *Lincoln* put into the Kings hand. But the Letter before spoken of, was very long, and written to the King upon the Citizens Tumult at *Westminster*. And it was thus.

May it please your Majesty,

It hath been my greatest grief in all these Troubles, to be taken as a person which should endeavour to represent and set things amiss between your Majesty and your People, and to give Councils tending to the disquiet of the three Kingdoms.

Most true it is, that this mine own private condition considered, it had been a great madness, since through your gracious favour I was so provided,

The Earls
Letter to the
King upon the
Tumult of the
Prentices.

The Reign of King Charls.

Anno
1641.

vided, as not to expect in any kinde to mend my fortune, or please my minde more, than by resting where your bounteous hand had placed me.

Nay, it is most mightily mistaken, for unto your Majesty it is well known, my poor and humble advices concluded still in this, that your Majesty and your people could never be happy, till there were a right understanding betwixt you and them; no other means to effect and settle this happiness, but by the counsel and assent of the Parliament, or to prevent the growing evils upon this State, but by intirely putting your self in your last resort, upon the loyalty and good affections of your English Subjects.

Yet, such is my misfortune, this truth findeth little credit, the contrary seemeth generally to be believed, and my self reputed as something of separation between you and your people, under a heavier censure, than which I am perswaded no Gentleman can suffer.

Now, I understand the minde of men are more incensed against me, notwithstanding your Majesty hath declared, that in your princely opinion I am not guilty of Treason, nor are you satisfied in your conscience to pass the Bill.

This bringeth me into a very great strait, there is before me the ruine of my Children and Family, hitherto untouched in all the branches of it with any foul crimes. Here is before me the many ills, which may befall your sacred person, and the whole Kingdom, should your self and the Parliament part less satisfied one with the other, than is necessary for the preservation of King and people. Here are before me the things most valued, most feared by mortal man, Life or Death.

To say Sir, that there hath not been a strife in me, were to make me less than God knoweth mine infirmities give me.

And to call a destruction upon my self and young children, were the intentions of my heart (at least have been innocent of this great offence) may be believed will finde no easie content to flesh and blood.

But with much sadness, I am come to a resolution of that which I take to be best becoming me, to look upon that which is most principal in it self, which doubtless is the prosperity of your sacred person, and the Common-wealth, infinitely before any private mans interest.

And therefore in few words, as I put my self wholly upon the honour and justice of my Peers, so clearly, as to beseech your Majesty might please to have spared that Declaration of yours on Saturday last, and intirely to have left me to their Lordships. So now to set your Majesties conscience, &c. at liberty, I do most humbly beseech you, for the preventing of such mischief as may happen by your refusal, to pass the Bill, by this means to remove (praised be God) I cannot say this accursed, but (I confess) this unfortunate thing forth of the way, towards that blessed Agreement, which God I trust shall for ever establish betwixt you and your Subjects.

Sir, my consent herein, shall more acquit you to God, than all the World can do besides. To a willing man there is no injury done. And as by

[h h h]

Gods

The Reign of King Charls.

Anna
1641.

Gods grace I forgive all the World, so Sir, I can give up the Life of this World with all chearfulness imaginable, in the just acknowledgment of your exceeding favours: and onely beg, that in your goodness, you would vouchsafe to cast your gracious regard upon my poor Son and his Sisters; less or more, and no otherwise, than their unfortunate Father shall appear more or less guilty of his death. God long preserve your Majesty.

Tower,
May 4. 1641.

Your Majesties most humble and
faithfull Subject and Servant,

STRAFFORD.

But then this Letter (you see) was dated five days before the ninth day of May, which was Sunday. So that the account stands thus.

Saturday May the first, the Kings Speech to both the Houses in defence of the Earl of *Strafford*.

Munday 3. The Tumult of the Citizens at *Westminster*, crying out for justice against the Earl.

Tuesday 4. The said Letter was writ from the Earl to the King, mentioning the Kings Speech on *Saturday* last.

Wednesday 5. The Lords laid aside the Bill of *Attainder*, because it brought the King in as a Judge, and consulted to fall upon several Articles of his Accusation.

Thursday 6. The Lords voted him guilty of high Treason, and the Commons as busie about the Bill for continuation of the Parliament.

Saturday 8. Both Bills were presented to the King, who promised his Answer on *Munday* after.

Sunday 9. The conference with the Bishops.

At the close of which, and at parting at night, the Bishop of *Lincoln* having gotten that *Paper-promise* under the Kings hand, from the Lieutenant of the *Tower* (or from that other person) sent it, or put it into the Kings hands.

These passages made it late on *Sunday* night.

And the next morning, *Munday* the tenth of May, he was solicited early from both Houses with those two Bills, which the King signed, and commissioned the Earl of *Arundel*, the Lord *Privy Seal*, the Lord *Chamberlain*, and others, for the passing of them; the one for the continuation of the Parliament, during the pleasure of the two Houses; the other, the Bill of *Attainder* against the Earl of *Strafford*; at one time, the same instant, with the same Pen and Ink, the King lost his Prerogative and *strafford's* life also.

Corruptio unius generatio alterius.

But

The Reign of King Charls.

But because we may not censure without the Book, see what the King says, giving his Reasons which enforced him to the signing of both these *Bills*; and first, (as in order) upon his passing the *Bill* for the *Triennial Parliament*, and after settling this, during the pleasure of the two *Houses*.

Ann^o

1641.

That the world (saies the King) might be fully confirmed in My purposes at first, to contribute, what in Justice, Reason, Honour, and Conscience I could, to the happie success of this Parliament, (which had in Mee no other design but the General good of My Kingdoms) I willingly passed the *Bill* for *Triennial Parliaments*: which, as gentle and seasonable Physick, might (if well applied) prevent any distempers from getting any head of prevailing; especially, if the remedie proved not a disease beyond all remedie.

Eikon Bas.
chap. 5. upon
the Kings
passing the
Bill for the tri-
ennial Parli-
ament.
and after set-
tling this, du-
ring this Par-
liaments Plea-
sure.

I conceived, this Parliament would finde work with convenient recesses for the first three yeers; but I did not imagine that some men would thereby have occasioned more work then they found to do, by undoing so much as they found well don to their hands, Such is som mens activitie, that they will needs make work, rather then want it; and chuse to be doing amiss, rather then do nothing.

When that first *Act* seemed too scantie to satisfie some mens fears, and compass publique Affairs; I was perswaded to grant that *Bill* of *Sitting* during the pleasure of the Houses, which amounted, in some mens sense, to as much as the perpetuateing this Parliament. By this *Act* of highest confidence, I hoped for ever to shut out, and lock the door upon all present Jealousies and future mistakes: I confess I did not thereby intend to shut My self out of doors, as some men have now required Mee.

Bill for a per-
petual Par-
liament.

True: it was an act unparelled by anie of My predecessors, yet cannot in reason admit of any worse interpretation then this, of an extreame confidence I had, that My Subjects would not make ill use of an *Act*, by which I declared so much to trust them, as to deny My self in so high a point of Prerogative.

For good Subjects will never think it just or fit that My condition should be worse by My bettering theirs: Nor indeed would it have been so in the events, if som men had known as well with moderation to use, as with earnestness to desire advantages of doing good or evil.

A continual Parliament (I thought) would but keep the Common-weal in tune, by preserving Laws in their due execution and vigor, wherein My interest lies more then any mans, since by those Laws, My rights, as a King, would be preserved no less then my Subjects; which is all I desired. More then the Law gives me I would not have, and less the meanest Subject should not.

Som (as I have heard) gave it out, that I soon repented me of that settling *Act*: and many would needs perswade me, I had cause so to do: but I could not easily nor suddenly suspect such ingratitude in men of Honor; Tht the more I granted them, the less I should have, and

The Reign of King Charls.

Anno
1641.

enjoy, with them. I still counted My self undiminished by My largest concessions, if by them I might gain and confirm the love of My People.

Of which, I do not yet despair, but that God will still bless Me with increase of it; when men shall have more leisure, and less prejudice: that so with unpassionate representations they may reflect upon those, (as I think) not more princely than friendly contributions, which I granted towards the perpetuating of their happiness, who are now onely miserable in this, that some mens ambition will not give them leave to enjoy what I intended for their good.

Nor do I doubt, but that in God's due time, the loyal and cleared affections of my people will strive to return such retributions of honour and love to me, or my posteritie, as may fully compensate both the acts of my confidence and my sufferings for them: which (God knows) have been neither few, nor small, nor short; occasioned chiefly by a perswasion I had, that I could not grant too much, or distrust too little to men, that being professedly my subjects, pretended singular pietie and religious strictness.

The injurie of all injuries is, that which some men will needs load me withall, as if I were a wilfull and resolved occasioner of mine own and my subjects miseries, while (as they confidently, but (God knows) falsely divulge) I repining at the establishment of this Parliament, endeavoured by force and open hostilitie to undo what by my royal assent I had done. Sure it had argued a very short sight of things, and extreme faintitie of minde in me, so far to binde mine own hands at their request, if I had shortly meant to have used a sword against them. God knows, though I had then a sense of injuries, yet not such, as to think them worth vindicating by a war: I was not then compelled, as since, to injure my self by their not using favours, with the same candour wherewith they were conferred. The tumults indeed threatened to abuse all acts of grace, and turn them into wantonness; but I thought at length their own fears, whose black arts first raised up those turbulent spirits, would force them to conjure them down again.

Nor, if I had justly resented any indignities put upon me, or others, was I then in any capacitie to have taken just revenge in an hostile and warlike way upon those, whom I knew so well fortified in the love of the meaner sort of people, that I could not have given mine Enemies greater, and more desired advantages against me, than, by so unprincely inconstancie, to have assaulted them with arms, thereby to scatter them, whom but lately I had solemnly settled by an Act of Parliament.

God knows, I longed for nothing more than that my self, and my subjects might quietly enjoy the fruits of my many condescendings.

It had been a course full of sin, as well as of hazard, and dishonour for me to go about the cutting up of that by the sword, which I had so lately planted, so much (as I thought) to my subjects content, and mine
own

The Reign of King Charls.

Anno
1641.

own too, in all probabilitie : if some men had not feared where no fear was, whose securitie consisted in scaring others.

I thank God, I know so well the sinceritie and uprightnes of mine own heart, in passing that great Bill, which exceeded the very thoughts of former times, that although I may seem a less Politician to men, yet I need no secret distinctions or evasions before God. Nor had I any reservations in my own soul, when I passed it; nor repentings after, till I saw that my letting some men go up to the Pinnacle of the Temple, was a temptation to them to cast me down head-long; concluding, that without a miracle, Monarchie it self, together with me, could not but be dashed in pieces, by such a precipitious fall as they intended. Whom God in mercie forgive, and make them see at length, that as many Kingdoms as the Devil shewed our Saviour, and the glorie of them, (if they could be at once enjoyed by them) are not worth the gaining, by the ways of sinfull ingratitude and dishonour, which hazards a soul worth more worlds, than this hath Kingdoms.

But God hath hitherto preserved me, and made me to see, that it is no strange thing for men, left to their own passions, either to do much evil themselves, or abuse the over-much goodness of others, whereof an ungratefull Surfeit is the most desperate and incurable Disease.

I cannot say properly, that I repent of that act, since I have no reflexions upon it as a sin of my will, though an error of too charitable a judgment : onely I am sorry other mens eys should be evil, because mine were good.

And having signed both these Bills, the King sent Sir Dudley Carleton Secretary of State to the Earl, to acquaint him what he had finished, & the necessity urging him so to do, together with the Earls free consent, and the return of his Paper-promise, which ballanced all. The Earl amazed, seriously asked him, whether his Majesty had passed the Bill, as not believing without some astonishment, that the King would have done it? And being again assured that it was passed, He arose from his Chair, and standing up, lift his eys to Heaven, clapt his hand upon his heart, and said, *Put not your trust in Princes, nor in the sons of men, for in them there is no salvation.*

I have been assured from him that heard the King speak it (and others confirming) that the Bishop of London did not dissuade nor perswade the King in the passing of the Bill, but wisely or cunningly said nothing at all.

Nor does it appear, that any of the other Bishops (*Lincoln* onely excepted) did any way press the King to his death.

And for satisfaction of all the world, that the Arch-bishop of *Armagh* did not urge his death, but rather the contrary, I was present when it was discoursed by a person of honour and honesty, one that in these times and in these particulars thus controverted, would not be positive, but in the truth. And as willingly as necessarily he

The Reign of King Charls.

Anno
1641.

he hath set it under his hand, and ready to justifie it with his Oath and Honour, in these words, and so witnessed by those that were present.

That the late King being in the Garison of Oxford, a publick rumour passed, that the Arch-bishop of Armagh was then dead, and so intimated to the King in his Bed-chamber, who was pleased to resent the news with much sorrow, and with very high expression of the Prelates remarkable piety and learning; and so said all that were present, in confidence of his great endowments of exemplary virtues; Except Sir, (said one) in his advice to your Majestie to the hasty resolution of the Lord Strafford's death. To which the King in some passion replied; It was false; protesting (with an Oath) his innocencie therein: and that a fter the Bill was passed (said the King) the Arch-bishop came to me with much regret and sorrow, and that the Arch-bishop wept bitterly. This as a great truth I am ready to aver (says the Relator) by my Oath and Honour, as I do now under my hand, this eighth day of May, 1656.

W. L.

Hereupon having this under his hand and witness, I urged the question with another person of like Honour, who said, that himself was present at that time, relating the very same words, (in effect as the former) and both of them I spake with apart many miles asunder, and neither of them witting of the use which I now make thereof, they mentioned each other to be present. And this also is certified upon his Oath and Honour, and under his hand also, and witnesses.

G. K.

And now we shall see what the Arch-bishop of *Armagh* hath been pleased to signifie as to the *Observatours* pag. 240. concerning the result of the Bishops.

Arch-bishop
of *Armagh*'s
answer under
his hand, con-
cerning the
consult with
the Bishops.

That Sunday morning the five Bishops (writes he) for so many they were, London being one of them, were sent for by the King himself, and not sent to him by the Houses of Parliament: amongst whom the Bishop of Durham and Carlile were so far from depending wholly upon the judgment of the other two, whom the Observatour accounts Politicians, that they argued the case themselves, as fully as did any other.

To the Argument of one of them, the King also returned this Answer, that his Syllogism was faulty, because it had in it four terms.

And for that most uncharitable surmise (writes he) concerning the Arch-bishop of Armagh, as if the displeasure he had conceived against the Lord Lieutenant, were so great, that it could not be satisfied but by the seeking of his very blood; It is hard to say, whether that calumny be more malicious or ridiculous? for both the ground of that conceited grudge is utterly false; the Articles of Religion established in the Church of

Ireland

The Reign of King Charls.

Anno
1641.

Ireland, having been never abrogated by him or any other. And in the ordering of this his (the Earls) last business, there was no man with whom he held greater correspondency than with the Primate himself, whereof this may be sufficient proof, that as before his condemnation; he did from time to time consult with him touching his answer to their present charge; so also, afterwards, having obtained from the Parliament; that the Primate might be sent unto him, to prepare him for his death. He cheerfully imbraced his spiritual instructions, prayed with him, sent messages to the King by him; and by no means would dispense with him for being absent from his Execution. But taking him by the hand led him along to the Scaffold, where with incomparable courage, and as himself professed, (even then ready to lay hown his head) without the least touch of any passion or fear, he rendered up the spirit to him that gave it.

And as to the Historian's Paragraph, pag. 263. l. 33. The Earl proceeding, &c. This Paragraph (says the Arch-bishop) is wholly to be left out; for at his passing to the Scaffold, there was a great silence amongst the people, all of them universally commiserating his case in an extraordinary manner; and with great passion lifting up their hands to heaven for him.

And to the Historian, pag. 263. l. 38. The Earl being brought, &c. The Earl (says the Arch-bishop) being brought to the Scaffold; his Chaplains prayed with him, and himself remaining still upon his knee rehearsing with great reverence the five and twenty Psalm. Afterwards arising, he addrest his Speech unto the people to this effect after following.

But the occasion of the mistakes of the addressing of his Speech unto the Lords, as the Historian hath, (My Lords.) It should be My Lord, which the Earl used in the Singular Number; turning himself to the Arch-bishop, who stood by him, as appears by the Pamphlet presently published, concerning his suffering, where the tenour of his Speech which he then used, is to be taken, as agreeing almost with the very syllable by him used, and not as the Historian hath it: for thus in truth it was.

My Lord Primate, &c. (as hereafter in due place.)

But to return to the tenth of May, the King having the day before signed both Bills, that of the continuation of the Parliament, and this for the execution of the Earl, and with one Pen of Ink, and at one instant, he sets his hand to the loss of himself, and to the destruction of his faithfull and most able Counsellour and Servant.

The next day, eleventh of May, he being extremely troubled at what he had done concerning the Earl, he vouchsafes to write to the Lords, and sends this Letter by his Son the Prince of Wales.

My

The Reign of King Charls.

Anno

1641.

The Kings
Letter in be-
half of the
Earl.

My Lords,

I did yesterday satisfie the justice of the Kingdom, by passing the Bill of Attainder against the Earl of Strafford: but mercie being as inherent and inseparable to a King as justice, I desire in some measure to shew that likewise, by suffering that unfortunate man to fulfill the natural course of his life in close imprisonment; yet so, that if he ever make the least offer to escape, or offer directly or indirectly to meddle in any sort of publick business, especially with me, either by Message or Letter, it shall cost him his life without further process. This, if it may be done without the discontentment of my people, will be an unspeakable contentment unto me.

To which end, as in the first place, I by this Letter do earnestly desire your approbation, and to endear it the more, have chosen him to carry it, who is, of all your House, most dear unto me. So I desire that by conference you will endeavour to give the House of Commons contentment likewise. Assuring you that the exercise of mercie is no more pleasing to me, than to see both Houses of Parliament consent for my sake, that I should moderate the severitie of the Law in so important a case.

I will not say that your complying with me in this my intended mercie, shall make me more willing, but certainly it will make me more chearfull in granting your just grievances.

But if no less than his life will satisfie my people, I must say, Fiat justitia.

Thus again recommending the consideration of my intentions to you, I rest,

Your unalterable and affectionate Friend,
CHARLS. R.

If he must die, it were charitie to reprieve him till Saturday.

To this Letter the Lords conceived this Order the same day.

May 11. 1641.

This Letter all written with the Kings own hand, we the Peers this day received in Parliament, delivered by the hands of the Prince. It was twice read in the House; and after serious but sad consideration, the House resolved presently to send twelve of the Peers, Messengers to the King, humbly to signifie, that neither of the two intentions exprest in the Letter, could with dutie in us, or without danger to his Consort the Queen, and all the young Princes their Children be possibly admitted. Which being accomplished, and more expressions offered, his Majestie suffered no more words to come from us, but out of the fulness of his heart to the observance of justice, and for the contentment of his people told us that what he intended by his Letter was with an [If] If it may be done without discontentment to his people. If it cannot be, I say again the same that I wrote, Fiat justitia.

My

The Lords
Answer.

The Reign of King Charls.

My other intention proceeding out of charitie for a few days respite, was upon certain information that his estate was distracted, that it necessarily required some few daies respite for settlement thereof.

Anno
1641.

Whereunto the Lords answered, *Their purpose was to be suiters to his Majestie for favour to his innocent Children, and that their Fathers provision for them might be confirmed.* Which pleased the King, who thereupon departed from the Lords.

At his Majesties departure the Lords offered up to the King the original Letter which he had sent, but he was pleased to say, *What I have written to you, I shall be content it be registred by you in your House, in which you see my minde, I hope you will use it to mine honour.*

Upon the return of the Lords, thus much was reported to the House by the Lord Privie Seal.

Upon the fatal day, *Wednesday* the twelfth of *May*, the Earl was summoned to his period, being conveyed from his Chamber in the Tower with these Ceremonies: before him went the Marshal's men, next them the Sheriff's Officers with Halberts, then the Warders of the Tower, being of the King's Guard, and after the Earl's Gentleman Usher bare, and then himself, accompanied with the Primate of Ireland, and others: in his way, passing by the Lodging of the Arch-bishop of *Canterburie* a Prisoner, and casting up his eye to his Window where he looked out, desired his Prayers and his Blessing, who after some collection of his sadness, resolved into comfort, and doubted not when his own turn came, that he should taste that bitter Cup with a most Christian courage.

The Earl
brought to the
Scaffold.

The Earl being come to the Scaffold upon the Hill, he addrest his Speech to the Lord Primate.

My Lord Primate of Ireland,

It is my very great comfort, that I have your Lordship by me this day, and I do thank God and your Lordship for it, in regard that I have been known to you these many years: I should be very glad to obtain so much silence as to be heard a few words, but I doubt I shall not, the noise is so great.

The Earl's
Speech upon
the Scaffold.

I come hither, by the good will and pleasure of Almighty God, to pay the last debt which I ow to sin, which is death, and by the blessing of that God to rise again through the merits of Jesus Christ to righteousness and life eternal.

I am come hither to submit to that Judgment which hath passed against me; I do it with a very quiet and contented minde; I do freely forgive all the world; a forgiveness that is not spoken from the teeth outwards (as they say) but from the very heart. I can very well say in the presence of Almighty God, before whom I stand, that there is not a displeased thought arising in me towards any creature. I thank God, I can

The Reign of King Charls.

Anno
1641.

say, and that truly too, and my conscience bears me witness, that in all the imployments since I had the honour to serve his Majestie, I never had any thing in the purpose of my heart, but what tended to the joint and individual prosperitie of the King and people. If it hath been my fortune to be mis-understood, surely I am not the first that hath been so; it is the common portion of us all whilest we are in this life to err, but righteous judgment we must wait for in another place, for here we are very subject to be mis-judged one of another.

There is one thing I desire to free my self of, and I am confident (speaking it now with so much chearfulness) that it cannot be but that I shall obtain your Christian charitie in the belief of it: I did alwaies think the Parliaments of England the happiest Constitutions that any Kingdom or Nation lived under, and next under God the best means to make the King and his people happie, so far have I been from being against Parliaments.

For my death, I here acquit all the world, and beseech the God of Heaven heartily to forgive them, though in the intentions and purposes of my heart I am innocent of what I die for.

And, my Lord Primate, it is a very great comfort unto me, that his Majestie conceives me not meriting so severe and heavie a punishment as is the uttermost execution of this Sentence. I do infinitely rejoyce in this mercie of his, and I beseech God to return it upon him, that he may finde mercie when he stands most in need of it.

I wish this Kingdom all the prosperitie and happiness in the world: I did it living, and now dying it is my wish. I do most humbly recommend it to every man that hears me, and desire that they will lay their hands upon their hearts, and consider seriously, whether the beginning of the happiness of the Reformation of a Kingdom should be written in letters of blood: consider this when ye are in your own homes, and let me be never so unhappie, as that the least drop of my blood should rise up in judgment against any one of you. I acquit you all, but I fear you are in a wrong way.

My Lord, I here profess, and with that I shall end, that I do die a true and obedient Son to the Church of England, wherein I was born, and in which I was bred; peace and prosperitie be ever to it. And whereas it is objected (if it be an Objection worth the answering) that I have been inclined to Poperie, I may truly say, that from the time of one and twentie to this present, going on now towards nine and fourtie years, I never had in my heart to doubt of this Religion of the Church of England, nor ever any man the boldness to suggest any such thing (to the best of my remembrance) to me. So being reconciled by the merits of Christ Jesus my Saviour, into whose bosome I hope I shall shortly be gathered to those eternal happinesses that shall never have end.

I desire heartily the forgiveness of every man, for any rash and unadvised words, or for any thing done amiss: And so my Lords and Gentlemen, Farewell. Farewell all the things of this world.

I desire

The Reign of King Charls.

Anno
1641.

I desire that ye would be silent, and join with me in praier, and I trust in God we shall all meet and live eternally in Heaven, there to receive the accomplishment of all happines, where every tear shall be wiped away from our eyes, and every sad thought from our hearts; and so God blest this Kingdom, and Jesus have mercie on my soul.

To this he added a Prayer, (not taken by any) to strengthen his faith, confirm him in patience and charity, to preserve the King and his Realms in prosperity, the Church in unity, and to have mercy on his soul.

Rising from his knees, he delivered these commands for his children.

To his Son William Wentworth commends himself, gives him charge to serve his God, to submit to his King with all faith and allegiance in things temporal, to the Church in things spiritual: gives him charge as he will answer it to him in Heaven, never to meddle with the patrimonie of the Church, for it will be the Cancer that will eat up the rest of his Estate; again, charges it as he will answer him in Heaven.

Et sic finem fecit.

And to shew that his Speech on the Scaffold was not sudden, but premeditate, the Paper of the Heads written with his own hand, as it was left upon the Scaffold, doth evidence, which the Primate took up.

Come to pay the last debt we ow to sin.

Rise to Righteousness.

Die willingly.

Forgive all.

Submit to justice, but in my intentions innocent from perverting, &c.

Wishing nothing but prosperitie to the King and people.

Acquit the King, constrained.

Beseech to repentance.

Strange way, to write (the beginning of Reformation and settlement of a Kingdom) in bloud.

Beseech, that demand may rest there.

Call not for bloud upon themselves.

Die in the faith of the Church.

Pray for it, and desire their Praiers, &c.

This Prayer was found in his Chamber at the Tower, his own hand-writing, and the Petition which follows after.

O Almighty and most mercifull Father, of whose goodness I am made, and by whose favour I have hitherto subsisted, I confess the multitude

The Reign of King Charls.

Anno
1641.

tude and greatness of my sins deserve, I should be utterly out of thy protection, be entirely left to my weak self, that am unable to withstand even those assaults my own thoughts make. Yet O most gracious and loving Father, be thou true to thy goodness and mercie, though I be deceitfull in thy services, reconcile me in Jesus Christ unto thy self, for his sake forgive, and then enable me to forsake all my sins, those principally that have procured my instant affliction; discover unto me what in my minde and thoughts displeaseth thee, that I may purge thence what thy blessed visitation seems now to point at there.

Good Lord so clear and sanctifie my reason, that no fancie of mine own create in me any causeless disturbance, and strengthen me to endure and overcome, what ever real affliction thou art pleased to impose; affect me deeply with the apprehension of thine omnipresence, with a sense of thy nearness to those in trouble, let my faith see thine Angels pitcht about me, and my heart by all these be as secure as it is safe.

Lord, perswade my soul of the unquestionableness of that truth, that nothing can befall me against thy will, and ever dispose me to entertain chearfully what thou wilt.

Make me in this to see how little the specious, but vain appearances and advantages of this life, confer to the settling of a discomposed minde; give me a due sense of mine own infirmitie, yet good Lord suffer no infirmitie to make me diffident of thy support, whose strength is best and most seen in weakness. Let the malice and unweariedness of Satan, render me more solicitous of what he would destroy, and never suffer me to want that comfortable consideration, that all his power is under thy restraint.

Dear Father, sanctifie this affliction to me, that I may willingly submit to whatsoever design thou hast upon my soul herein, that I may decline those sins thou most warn'st me of by it, prosecute that goodness thy grace in this visitation prompts me to. For this end, grant me carefully to observe mine own heart, that my sorrow for what I finde may become proper and effectual, and grow into such an endeavour of new obedience as shall never end.

And blessed be thy holy Name, O Lord, who (for all my former repulsing of thee) hast added this inward affliction to the perswasion of thy word and my outward troubles, as if thou wouldst leave nothing unattempted, that might reduce me: Lord, though I have long neglected thy call, abused thy patience and expectation, yet now speak, thy Servant hears, and humbly acknowledgeth that wisdom and might are thine, that thou who onely knowest, onely canst help what is amiss.

O shew thy power and wisdom in great mercie on me, either free me of this trouble of my soul, or support me with patience and thankfulness to attend thine opportunitie.

Good Lord, as thou recoverest my soul out of trouble, so do thou my soul out of sin, that it may be a thorow cure; and that I, seeing the innumerable accidents that we are here subject to, and that our souls are not free, but by thy favour, may for the future make thy glorie my design, thy

service

The Reign of King Charls.

service the business of my life, so to secure unto me thy favour here, and my eternal happiness hereafter, through Jesus Christ our Lord, in whose Name and words I conclude ;

ANNO
1641.

Our Father which art in Heaven, &c.

The Petition of the Earl of *Strafford* unto the Lords before he died.
To the Right Honourable the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, in this present Parliament assembled.

The humble Petition of Thomas late Earl of Strafford, sheweth, that seeing it is the good will and pleasure of God, that your Petitioner is now shortly to pay that dutie which we all ow to our frail nature ; he shall in all Christian patience and charitie confirm and submit himself to your justice, in a comfortable assurance of the great hope laid up for us in the mercie and merits of our Saviour, blessed for ever.

Onely he humbly craves, to return your Lordships most humble thanks for your noble compassion towards those innocent children, whom now with his last blessing he must commit to the protection of Almighty God, beseeching your Lordships to finish your pious intentions towards them : and desiring that the reward thereof may be fulfill'd in you, by him that is able to give above all we are able either to ask or think. Wherein I trust the Honourable House of Commons will afford their Christian assistance.

And so beseeching your Lordships charitably to forgive all his omisions and infirmities, he doth very heartily and truly recommend your Lordships to the mercies of our heavenly Father, and that for his goodness be may perfect you in every good work. Amen.

Tho: Wentworth.

Some design there was no doubt of delivering the Earl of *Strafford* by escape, as appears by examination of Sir *Will. Balfore* Lieutenant of the *Tower*, who says he was commanded to receive Captain *Billingsley* into the *Tower* with an hundred men, for securing of the place, and to be under his command : but coming thither *Balfore* opposeth his entrance, and therefore the Earl expostulates with him by way of advice of the danger to deny the Kings commands, to whom the Lieutenant said, that there was a certain discovery of his intended escape, by examination of three Women, Goodwives of *Tower-street*, that peeping in at his Gallery-door-key-hole, where he was walking with *Billingsley*, they heard him advise therein, by ascertaining his Brothers ship to be in readines, which was fallen down on purpose below in the River, that they
three

The Reign of King Charls.

Anno
1641.

three might be there in twelve hours, that if the Fort were but secured for three or four moneths, there would come aid enough, and that there was nothing to be thought upon but an escape, and much more broken speech to that purpose.

To which the Earl answered, that he had discourse with *Billingsey* thereabout, but meant it as by the Kings authority to be removed to some other Castle, and confessed the most of the Womens relation.

Besides the Lieutenant's examination, that the Earl of *Strafford* sent for him four days before his suffering, perswading him to assent to his escape, for twenty thousand pounds to be paid, and a Mariage of his Daughter to *Balfore's* Son.

And because the memory of this brave man may live for ever, reade his Character from the King his Master, whose distinction concluded his death to be more safe than just.

I looked (says the King) upon my Lord of Strafford, as a Gentleman, whose great abilities might make a Prince rather afraid, than ashamed to employ him in the greatest affairs of State.

For those were prone to create in him great confidence of undertakings; and this was like enough to betray him to great errors, and many enemies; whereof he could not but contract good store, while moving in so high a sphere, and with so vigorous a lustre, he must needs (as the Sun) raise many envious exhalations, which, condensed by a popular odium, were capable to cast a cloud upon the brightest merit and integritie.

Though I cannot in my judgment approve all he did, driven (it may be) by the necessities of times, and the temper of that people, more than led by his own disposition to any height and rigour of actions: yet I could never be convinced of any such crimonousness in him, as willingly to expose his life to the stroke of justice, and malice of his enemies.

I never met with a more unhappie conjuncture of affairs, than in the business of that unfortunate Earl: when, between mine own unsatisfiedness in conscience, and a necessitie (as some told me) of satisfying the importunities of some people, I was perswaded by those, that I think wished me well, to chuse rather what was safe, than what seemed just; preferring the outward peace of my Kingdoms with men, before that inward exactness of conscience with God.

And indeed I am so far from excusing or denying that compliance on my part (for plenarie consent it was not) to his destruction, whom in my judgment I thought not, by any clear Law, guiltie of death: that I never bare any touch of conscience with greater regret; which as a sign of my repentance, I have often with sorrow confessed both to God and men, as an act of so sinfull frailtie, that it discovered more a fear of man, than of God; whose name and place on earth no man is worthie to bear,

who

The Reign of King Charls.

Anno

1641.

who will avoid inconveniences of State, by acts of so high injustice, as no publick convenience can expiate or compensate.

I see it a bad exchange to wound a mans own conscience, thereby to salve State-sores; to calm the storms of popular discontents by stirring up a tempest in a man's own bosom.

Nor hath Gods justice failed in the event and sad consequences, to shew the world the fallacie of that Maxim, Better one man perish, (though unjustly) than the people be displeased, or destroyed.

In all likelihood I could never have suffered, with my people, greater calamities, (yet with greater comfort) had I vindicated Strafford's innocencie, at least by denying to sign that destructive Bill, according to that justice, which my conscience suggested to me, than I have done since I gratified some mens unthankfull importunities with so cruel a favour. And I have observed, that those, who counselled me to sign that Bill, have been so far from receiving the rewards of such ingratiatings with the people, that no men have been harassed and crushed more than they. He onely hath been least vexed by them, who counselled me not to consent against the Vote of mine own conscience: I hope God hath forgiven me and them the sinfull rashness of that business.

To which, being in my soul so fully conscious, those judgments God hath pleased to send upon me, are so much the more welcom, as a means (I hope) which his mercie hath sanctified so to me, as to make me repent of that unjust act, (for so it was to me) and for the future to teach me, that the best Rule of Policie is to prefer the doing of justice, before all enjoiments; and the peace of my conscience before the preservation of my Kingdoms.

Nor hath any thing more fortified my resolution against all those violent importunities, which since have sought to gain a like consent from me, to Acts, wherein my conscience is unsatisfied, than the sharp touches I have had for what passed me, in my Lord of Strafford's business.

Not that I resolved to have impleied him in my affairs, against the advice of my Parliament; but I would not have had any hand in his death, of whose guiltlesness I was better assured, than any man living could be.

Nor were the crimes objected against him so clear, as after a long and fair hearing, to give convincing satisfaction to the major part of both Houses, especially that of the Lords, of whom scarce a third part were present, when the Bill passed that House. And for the House of Commons, many Gentlemen, disposed enough to diminish my Lord of Strafford's greatness and power, yet unsatisfied of his guilt in Law, durst not condemn him to die: who for their integritie in their Votes, were (by posting their Names) exposed to the popular calumnie, hatred, and furie, which grew then so exorbitant in their clamours for justice, (that is, to have both my self and the two Houses Vote, and to do as they would have us) that many ('tis thought) were rather terrified to concur with the condemning

The Reign of King Charls.

Anno
1641.

demning partie, than satisfied, that of right they ought so to do.

And that after-Act vacating the authoritie of the precedent, for future imitation, tells the world, that some remorse touched even his most implacable enemies, as knowing he had very hard measure, and such as they would be very loth should be repeated to themselves.

This tendernes and regret I finde in my soul, for having had any hand (and that very unwillingly, God knows) in shedding one mans bloud unjustly, though under the colour and formalitie of justice, and pretences of avoiding publick mischiefs, which may (I hope) be some evidence before God and man, to all posteritie, that I am far from bearing justly that vast load and guilt of all that bloud which hath been shed in this unhappie War, which some men will needs charge on me, to ease their own souls, who am, and ever shall be, more afraid to take away any mans life unjustly, than to lose mine own.

And now I take my leave of our two Writers, the *Historian* and his *Observatour*. They stop here, and we part Friends. But I am to go on towards my journeys end, a great way farther.

The sad execution of this brave man put the great Officers of State in some doubt what to do with themselves, as tearing that upon the like score they might be subject to destruction. And because envy and insecurity wait nearest upon persons of eminency in office; or because they considered that the ambition of the adverse party might be some way satisfied; divers of the Kings nearest Officers resigned up their Places the seventeenth of May, viz.

The Lord *Cottington* Master of the Wards, to the profitable desires of the Lord *Say*.

Dr. *Fuxon* Bishop of *London*, resigning his Office of Treasurer of *England* into the hands of five Commissioners more sufficient than he could be.

The Earl of *Leicester* was made Lieutenant of *Ireland*, perhaps to ballance with the late Lord's merit.

Marquess *Hertford* sworn Governour of the Prince in the room of the Earl of *New-castle*, who hereafter the Parliament pretend to be a Papist.

The Earl of *Essex* made Lord Chamberlain of the Kings Household, and *Pembroke* put out.

The

Anno
1641.

A design of
the Army dis-
covered.

The Officers of the *English* Army set a Design on foot, by which (it was pretended) that they meant to force the *Parliament*, but being discovered, and soon made publick, the manner and matter collected out of the Examinations in *May* and *June*, were thus :

The Field-officers and Commanders being at *London*, and Members of either Houses, the Army was left to the oversight of Sir *Jacob Astley*: the Ground of the Design was pretended from the Dislikes between the *King* and *Parliament*, with the hasty Supply of the *Scotish* Army, and the neglect of the *English*, which begat Discontent in them, and private Meetings and Consultations there, and so brought up to Court. But their Design not fixed, fell into several Intentions, which never came to head, being crush'd in the Embryo, by sudden discovery.

In the general, it was voted the nineteenth of *June* that the *Scots* should receive one hundred thousand pounds (of their three hundred thousand pounds) at *Mid-summer* next, 1642. and the remainder at *Mid-summer*, 1644. But the *Scots* by writing pretend necessity for the present, and demanded twenty five thousand pounds, there being in readiness but fifteen thousand pounds; for the *Parliament* had designed fifty thousand pounds for the necessity of the *English* Army, from whose Money the House of *Commons* soon consented to deduct ten thousand pounds for the *Scots*.

The Lord *Piercy*, Commissary General *Wilmot*, and Colonel *Ashburnham*, sitting together, and murmuring at it, *Wilmot* stept up and told Master *Speaker*, *That if such Papers of the Scots could procure Moneys, he doubted not, but the Officers of the English would soon do the like.* But it prevailed not, to prevent the *Scot*, and provoked the *English* Army to say, *that the Parliament had disobliged them.*

These at *London* put themselves into a *Funto* of sworn secrecy, resolving to engage in some particular for themselves, and the publick service of the *King*, drawing up uncertain, extravagant Heads, by way of *Petition* to the *King* and *Parliament*.

For Money for the Army.

Not to disband before the Scots.

To preserve Bishops Votes and Functions.

To settle the Kings Revenue.

The Army tainted from hence, meet at *Burrowbrig*, draw up a Letter by way of *Petition*, which Paper of Instructions was shewn to the *King*, who seemed to approve of it, (say the *Parliament*) by signing it C.R. which served onely as a direction to Captain *Leg*, that none should see it, but Sir *Jacob Astley*, who in absence of the chief Commanders ordered the Army. The main of the matter there

Anno
1641.

was, that all good men ought to thank God for directing the Kings heart to the desires of his Parliament, by delivering up into their hands the chiefest of Counsellours and Servants, and many other things, to gratifie them, which never was done by any his Ancestours: By Petition of Right, Triennial Parliament, and such like; yet that some turbulent spirits backt by rude and tumultuous Mechanicks, seem not to be satisfied without the total subversion of the Government of State, &c. That therefore the Army so orderly governed, though without Martial Law, No payment, and few Officers, might be called up to attend the safety of the Kings person, and Parliaments security: or that both Armies should be disbanded for the ease of the Kingdom; with a desire, to procure the Officers hands hereto, &c.

The Actours there were Sir James Ashley, Sir John Conniers, Sir Foulk Hunks, Colonel Varvior, Chudleigh, William Leg, and Oneal, and others; all examined to this purpose, but none suffered for the same.

Amongst those others here above, and some Courtiers, was Master Henry Fermin, who to avoid the bad effects of his Medling, conveyed himself to Portsmouth, with the Kings command to Colonel Goring, to ship him over Seas into France, 14. May, 1641.

These Proceedings were lodged up in silence by the Parliament, till their time to vent it, and others the like surmises upon the King, to his disadvantage, in their Declaration at the end of this Moneth, the nineteenth of May. To which he often answered, that he disliked to be suspected, and called to account upon general and idle discourses and inferences of unknown persons, and Letters, for matters improbable in themselves, and scandalous to him, of which he often asked Reparation, not onely for vindicating of his Honour, but for settling his Subjects from jealousies and fears, grounded, fed, and maintained by false and malicious Rumours, raised from time to time, and cast upon the King to stir up the People against him; of which he heartily complains.

Eikon Basilike
c. 15. Upon
Jealousies and
Scandals cast
upon the
King.

If I had not mine own Innocency, (says the King) and Gods Protection, it were hard for me to stand out against those Stratagems and Conflicts of Malice, which by Falsities seek to oppress the Truth; and by Jealousies to supply the defect of real Causes, which might seem to justifie so unjust Engagements against me.

And indeed, the worst effects of open Hostility come short of these Designs: For, I can more willingly lose my Crowns, than my Credit; nor are my Kingdoms so dear to me, as my Reputation and Honour.

Those must have a period with my Life; but these may survive to a glorious kinde of Immortalitie, when I am dead and gone: A good Name being the embalming of Princes, and a sweet consecrating of them to an Eternitie of Love and Gratitude among Posteritie.

Those

Anno
1641.

Those foul and false Aspersions were secret Engines at first employed against my Peoples love of me; that, undermining their opinion and value of me, mine Enemies, and theirs too, might at once blow up their Affections, and batter down their Loyaltie.

Wherein yet, I thank God, the Detriment of mine Honour is not so afflictive to me, as the Sin and Danger of my Peoples Souls; whose Eys once blinded with such Mists of Suspitions, they are soon misled into the most desperate precipices of Actions; wherein they do not onely not consider their Sin and Danger, but glorie in their zealous Adventures; while I am rendred to them so fit to be destroyed, that many are ambitious to merit the Name of my Destroyers; imagining they then fear God most, when they least honour their King.

I thank God, I never found but my pitie was above mine anger; nor have my passions ever so prevailed against me, as to exclude my most compassionate Praiers for them, whom devout Errours, more than their own Malice have betrayed to a most religious Rebellion.

I had the Charitie to interpret, that most part of my Subjects fought against my supposed Errours, not my Person; and intended to mend me, not to end me: And, I hope, that God, pardoning their Errours, hath so far accepted and answered their good Intentions, that as he hath yet preserved me, so he hath by these Afflictions prepared me, both to do him better service, and my People more good, than hitherto I have done.

I do not more willingly forgive their Seductions, which occasioned their loyal Injurie, than I am ambitious by all Princely Merits to redeem them from their unjust suspitions, and reward them for their good intentions.

I am too conscious to my own Affections toward the generalitie of my People, to suspect theirs to me; nor shall the Malice of mine Enemies ever be able to deprive me of the comfort, which that confidence gives me; I shall never gratifie the spitefulness of a few with any sinister thought of all their Allegiance, whom pious frauds have seduced.

The worst some mens ambition can do, shall never perswade me to make so bad interpretations of most of my Subjects actions, who possibly may be Erroneous, but not Heretical in point of Loyaltie.

The sense of the Injuries done unto my Subjects, is as sharp, as those done to my self; our welfares being inseparable; in this onely they suffer more than my self, that they are animated by some Seducers to injure at once both themselves and me.

For this is not enough to the malice of mine Enemies, that I be afflicted; but it must be done by such Instruments, that my Afflictions grieve me not more, than this doth, that I am afflicted by those, whose prosperitie I earnestly desire, and whose Seduction I heartily deplore.

If they had been my open and forreign Enemies, I could have borne it; but they must be my own Subjects, who are, next to my Children, dear to me: and for the restoring of whose tranquillity, I could willingly be the Jonah; if I did not evidently fore-see, that by the divided Interests of

Anno
1641.

their and mine Enemies, as by contrary Windes, the Storm of their Miseries would be rather increased than allayed.

I had rather prevent my Peoples ruine, than rule over them; nor am I so ambitious of that Dominion, which is but my Right, as of their happiness; if it could expiate or countervail such a way of obtaining it, by the highest Injuries of Subjects committed against their Sovereign.

Yet I had rather suffer all the Miseries of Life, and die many Deaths, than shamefully to desert, or dishonourably to betray mine own just Rights and Sovereignie; thereby to gratifie the ambition, or justifie the malice of mine Enemies; between whose malice, and other mens mistakes, I put as great a Difference, as between an ordinary Ague and the Plague; or the Itch of Noveltie, and the Leprosie of Disloyaltie.

As Liars need have good Memories, so malicious persons need good Inventions; that their calumnies may fit every mans fancie; and, what their Reproaches want of Truth, they may make up with Number and Shew.

My patience (I thank God) will better serve me to bear, and my charitie to forgive, than my leisure to answer the many false Aspersions which some men cast upon me.

Did I not more consider my Subjects Satisfaction, than mine own Vindication, I should never have given the malice of some men that pleasure, as to see me take notice of, or remember what they say or object.

I would leave the Authours to to be punished by their own evil manners and seared Consciences, which will, I believe, in a shorter time than they be aware of, both confute and revenge all those black and false Scandals which they have cast on me; and make the World see, there is as little truth in them, as there was little worth in the broaching of them; or Civilitie, (I need not say Loyaltie) in the not suppressing of them; whose credit and reputation, even with the People, shall ere long be quite blasted by the breath of that same Fornace of popular obloquie and detraction, which they have studied to heat and inflame to the highest degree of infamie, and wherein they have sought to cast and consume my Name and Honour.

First, nothing gave me more cause to suspect and search mine own Innocencie, than when I observed so many forward to engage against me, who had made great Professions of singular pietie; For this gave to vulgar mindes so bad a reflection upon me, and my Cause, as if it had been impossible to adhere to me, and not withall part from God; to think or speak well of me, and not to blaspheme him; so many were perswaded that these two were utterly inconsistent, to be at once Loyal to me, and truly Religious toward God.

Not but that I had (I thank God) many with me, which were both Learned and Religious, (much above that ordinrie size, and that vulgar proportion, wherein some men glorie so much) who were so well satisfied

fied in the cause of my Sufferings, that they chose rather to suffer with me, than forsake me.

Nor is it strange, that so Religious Pretensions, as were used against me, should be to many well-minded men a great temptation to oppose me; especially, being urged by such popular Preachers, as think it no sin to lie for God, and what they please to call Gods cause, cursing all that will not curse with them; looking so much at, and crying up the goodness of the end propounded, that they consider not the lawfulness of the means used, nor the depth of the mischief, chiefly plotted and intended.

The weakness of these mens judgments must be made up by their clamours and activitie.

It was a great part of some mens Religion to scandalize me and mine; they thought theirs could not be true, if they cried not down mine as false.

I thank God, I have had more trial of his grace, as to the constancie of my Religion in the Protestant Profession of the Church of England, both abroad and at home, than ever they are like to have.

Nor do I know any Exception, I am so liable to, in their opinion, as too great a fixedness in that Religion, whose judicious and solid Grounds, both from Scripture, and Antiquitie, will not give my Conscience leave to approve, or consent to those many dangerous and divided Innovations, which the bold Ignorance of some men would needs obtrude upon me, and my People.

Contrarie to those wel-tried Foundations both of Truth and Order, which men of far greater Learning, and clearer Zeal, have settled in the Confession and Constitution of this Church in England; which many former Parliaments, in the most calm and unpassionate times, have oft confirmed; in which I shall ever, by Gods help, persevere, as believing it hath most of Primitive Truth and Order.

Nor did my using the assistance of some Papists, which were my Subjects, any way fight against my Religion, as some men would needs interpret it: especially those who least of all men cared whom they imploied, or what they said, and did, so they might prevail.

'Tis strange, that so wise men, as they would be esteemed, should not conceive, That Differences of perswasion in matters of Religion may easily fall out, where there is the sameness of Dutie, Allegiance, and Subjection. The first they owe as men and Christians to God. The second, they owe to me in common, as their King. Different Professions in point of Religion cannot (any more than in civil Trades) take away the communitie of Relations either to Parents, or to Princes: And where is there such an Oglio or Medley of various Religions in the World again, as those men entertain in their service who finde most fault with me) without any scruple, as to the diversitie of their Sects and Opinions?

It was, indeed, a foul and indelible shame, for such as would be counted Protestants, to enforce me, a declared Protestant, their Lord and
King,

The Reign of King Charls.

King, to a necessarie use of Papists, or any other, who did but their Dutie to help me to defend my self.

Nor did I more than is lawfull for any King, in such Exigencies to use the aid of any his Subjects.

I am sorrie the Papists should have a greater sense of their Allegiance, than many Protestant Professours, who seem to have learned, and to practise the worst Principles of the worst Papists.

Indeed, it had been a verie impertinent and unseasonable scruple in me, (and verie pleasing no doubt to mine Enemies) to have been then disputing the Points of different Beliefs in my Subjects, when I was disputed with by Swords points: and when I needed the help of my Subjects as men, no less than their praier as Christians.

The noise of my Evil Counsellours was another usefull Devise for those, who were impatient any mens counsel, but their own, should be followed in Church and State; who were so eager in giving me better counsel, that they would not give me leave to take it with freedom, as a Man; or Honour, as a King; making their counsels more like a Drench that must be poured down, than a Draught which might be fairly and leisurely drunk, if I liked it.

I will not justifie, beyond humane Errours and Frailties my self, or my Counsellours: they might be subject to some Miscarriages, yet such as were far more reparable by second and better thoughts, than those enormous Extravagancies, wherewith some men have now wildered, and almost quite lost both Church and State.

The event of things at last will make it evident to my Subjects, that, had I followed the worst counsels, that my worst Counsellours ever had the boldness to offer to me, or my self any inclination to use, I could not so soon have brought both Church and State in three flourishing Kingdoms, to such a Chaos of Confusions, and Hell of Miseries, as some have done; out of which they cannot, or will not, in the midst of their many great Advantages, redeem either me or my Subjects.

No men were more willing to complain, than I was to redress what I saw in Reason was either done or advised amiss; and this I thought I had done, even beyond the expectation of moderate men; who were sorrie to see me prone even to injure my self, out of a zeal to relieve my Subjects.

But other mens insatiable Desire of Revenge upon me, my Court, and my Clergie, hath wholly beguiled both Church and State, of the benefit of all my, either Retractions, or Concessions; and, withall, hath deprived all those (now so zealous Persecutours) both of the comfort and reward of their former pretended Persecutions, wherein they so much gloried among the vulgar; and which, indeed, a truly humble Christian will so highly prize, as rather not to be relieved, than be revenged, so as to be bereaved of that Crown of Christian Patience, which attends humble and injured Sufferers.

Another Artifice used to with-draw my Peoples Affections from me,

to their Designs, was, the noise and ostentation of Libertie, which men are not more prone to desire, than unapt to bear in the popular sense; which is to do what every man liketh best.

If the divinest Libertie be to will what men should, and to do what they so will, according to Reason, Laws, and Religion, I envie not my Subjects that Libertie, which is all I desire to enjoy my self; so far am I from the desire of oppressing theirs: nor were those Lords and Gentlemen which assisted me, so prodigal of their Liberties, as with their Lives and Fortunes to help on the enslaving of themselves and their Posterities.

As to Civil Immunities, none but such as desire to drive on their ambitious and covetous Designs over the Ruines of Church and State, Prince, Peers, and People, will ever desire greater Freedoms than the Laws allow; whose Bounds good men count their Ornament and Protection; others their Manacles and Oppression.

Nor is it just any man should expect the Reward and Benefit of the Law, who despiseth its Rule and Direction; losing justly his Safetie while he seeks an unreasonable Libertie.

Time will best inform my Subjects, that those are the best Preservers of their true Liberties, who allow themselves the least licentiousness against, or beyond the Laws.

They will feel it at last to their cost, that it is impossible those men should be really tender of their Fellow-subjects Libertie, who have the hardness to use their King with so severe Restraints, against all Laws, both Divine and Humane; under which, yet, I will rather perish, than complain to those, who want nothing to complete their mirth and triumph, but such Musick.

In point of true consciencious tenderness (attended with humilitie and meekness, not with proud and arrogant activitie, which seeks to hatch every Egg of different opinion to a Faction or Schism) I have oft declared, how little I desire my Laws and Scepter should intrench on Gods Sovereigntie, which is the onely King of mens consciences; and yet he hath laid such Restraints upon men, as command them to be subject for conscience sake, giving no men libertie to break the Law established, further than with meekness and patience they are content to suffer the Penalties annexed, rather than perturb the publick Peace.

The truth is, some mens thirst after Novelties, others despair to relieve the Necessities of their Fortunes, or satisfie their Ambitions, in peaceable times, (distrusting Gods Providence, as well as their own merits) were the secret (but principal) Impulsives to these popular Commotions, by which Subjects have been perswaded to expend much of those plentifull Estates they got, and enjoyed under my Government, in peaceable times; which yet must now be blasted with all the odious Reproaches, which impotent malice can invent; and my self exposed to all those Contempts, which may most diminish the Majestic of a King, and increase the ungratefull Insolencies of my People.

Anno
1641.

For mine Honour; I am well assured, that as mine Innocencie is clear before God, in point of any Calumnies they object; so my Reputation shall, like the Sun, (after Owls and Bats have had their freedom in the Night and darker times) rise and recover it self to such a degree of splendour, as those feral Birds shall be grieved to behold, and unable to bear. For never were any Princes more glorious, than those whom God hath suffered to be tried in the Furnace of Afflictions by their injurious Subjects.

And who knows but the just and mercifull God will do me good, for some mens hard, false, and evil speeches against me; wherein they speak rather what they wish, than what they believe, or know.

Nor can I suffer so much in point of Honour, by those rude and scandalous Pamphlets (which, like Fire, in great conflagrations, flie up and down to set all places in like flames) as those men do, who, pretending to so much pietie, are so forgetfull of their Dutie to God and me; By no way ever vindicating the Majestie of their King against any of those, who contrary to the Precept of God, and President of Angels, speak evil of Dignities, and bring railing Accusations against those, who are honoured with the name of Gods.

But 'tis no wonder, if men not fearing God should not honour their King.

They will easily contemn such Shadows of God, who reverence not that Supreme, and Adorable Majestie, in comparison of whom all the glorie of Men and Angels is but obscuritie; yet hath he graven such Characters of Divine Authoritie, and Sacred Power upon Kings, as none may without sin seek to blot them out. Nor shall their black Veils be able to hide the shining of my Face, while God gives me an heart frequently and humbly to converse with him, from whom alone are all the Irradiations of true Glorie and Majestie.

There was ever and anon some occasions offered in the Commons House against Bishops; and I finde one Master Thomas to start up in confirmation of what was said there before, when they voted the Bishops out of the Upper House; and now he explains himself; whose Speech in some Points may be observed.

He takes a View and Examination of all the former Actions of Bishops in Parliament, from the Year 1116. to this this time, in the severall Reigns of three and twenty Kings and Queens of this Kingdom, how obnoxious they have been to Prince and People, and therefore not fit or convenient that they should continue Members of the Higher House, in which they have been (said he) so disloyally and traiterously affected to Regality, and no less mischievous and pernicious to Church and Common-wealth.

Then he ravel into all foreign Records, whereout he could pick any personal Delinquency of any Bishop, and from thence falls up-

on

Mr. Thomas
his Speech
against Bi-
shops.

on such others in the Reigns of *English* Sovereigns. But as to their Interest in *Parliament*, he acknowledges them from the first *Parliament*, Anno 1116. but he would have them now considered, not *an fuerunt*, but *an profuerunt*; and so not to debate *an factum*, but *an fieri debuit*; if bad, the longer the worse. Antiquity without Truth is but ancient Error; for Henry 1. (an Usurper upon Robert his elder Brother) admitted them in the *Upper House*, to justify his Title to the *Crown*.

They advanced King Stephen another Usurper, though they had formerly sworn to *Maud* the Empress, endeavouring to salve it by bringing in the *Salique* Law into this Kingdom.

And tells the story of *Thomas Becket* against Henry 2. that although the *Papists* adored him as a *Saint, Martyr*, yet the Doctours in *Paris* did debate whether he were damned therefore, avowing that he deserved Damnation for his Contumacy towards the King, [being the Minister of God.]

That Bishop *Longchamp* Governour or Viceroy for *Richard 1.* (absent in the Holy War) *Rex & Sacerdos*, who for his Sacrilege and barbarous Misdemeanours, being taken in Womans Apparel, *velut delicata Muliercula*, was banished.

And remember the story of the Bishop of *Barvois* in *France*, taken Prisoner in his Coat of Mail was by that King sent to the Pope with a *Vide an tunica filii tui sit, an non?*

That Arch-bishop *Hubert* advanced the Usurper King *John*, rejecting *Arthur* his eldest Brothers Son, and yet at last deprived *John* of his Life and Kingdom. [But herein Mr. Thomas is mistaken, for *Hubert* died ten years before King *John*.]

That Henry 3. and his eldest Son the Prince, were forced by *Stephen* Arch-bishop of *Canterbury* to swear to be governed by four and twenty Noble-men, allowing to the King onely *Primus accubitus in cœnis*. [And why onely *Stephen*? Was it not voted by Act of the Parliament at *Oxford*, and concluded in several Articles?]

That *Edward 2.* life was taken away by Bishop *Thorlton*, [The story is, that this Man *Adam de Orlton* was Bishop of *Hereford*, took a Text, 2 Kings 4. *Caput meum ægrotat*, My head, my head aketh: whereby he advised the cure of a sick head of the Kingdom to be cut off, and therefore must be guilty of his Murder afterwards; Indeed there was an enigmatical Verse fathered also upon him,

Edvardum occidere nolite timere bonum est.

which Verse the Bishop utterly denied.]

Then comes he to *Edward 3.* that *John* Arch-bishop of *Canterbury* incited the King and Parliament to a bloody War with *France*. [And why *John*? Was it not voted in Parliament, where all the Peers

H h h

were

Anno
1641.

were as hot upon it as he: Indeed because the Clergie in those days spake better sense than an ignorant unlearned Lord, many Historians father the ill success of former actions upon them Promotors of the Designs, as if in re stulta sapientes, and in malo publico facundi.]

That in Parliament the Laity offered Richard 2. a Fifteenth, if the Clergy would also give a Tenth and a half, which William le Courtney Arch-bishop opposed, as not to be taxed by the Laity; and thereupon the Lords besought the King to deprive them of their Temporalities, thereby (says he) to humble them, [to humble them, and damn the Authours of Sacrilege and cruelty, yet were they mercifull, not to take away all, Spiritualities also.]

Then follows H. 4. (an Usurper, he says) and that the Bish. of Carlile opposes him in a Speech, [and therein so reasonable was the cause, (just, I cannot say) that the Lords combined to depose him: for there were living of the House of Clarence Title, to precede his of Mortimer, for whom five other Bishops went Ambassadors abroad to get assistance, and those Bishops also scape not the censure of doing evil, by justifying this others Right to the Crown, and deposed him also; but then it was so voted in Parliament; and therefore not all the blame to be laid upon those Bishops that acted but their part: and it is true, that in a Parliament in that Kings Reign, a Bill was exhibited against the Temporalities of the Clergie, but not passed. [Parliamentum indoctorum, (says one) and the Commons fitter to enter Common with their Cattle.]

Henry 5. succeeds, he says, who was incited by Arch-bishop Chidley, to revive his Title to France, with the effusion of much blood and ill success. [And was it not true, that the King had good Title to France? And the same cause had Edward 3. And as just was it against the domestick Title of Henry 4. and so in sum in either of the Bishops by their Council.] You say, it was not the Office of Bishops to incense Wars, either Domestick or Foreign. But then, Policy is pickt up for a Reason, being (you say) to divert the King from reforming the Clergy.]

That in the time of Henry 6. the Protectour Duke of Gloucester accused Beaufort Cardinal of Winchester, [But then, take all the story, he was also Chancellour of England, great Uncle to this King, Son to John of Gaunt, and his Brother Cardinal of York; and the greatest Crime intended was because of his greatness, which the Protectour durst not trust, and therefore devised a Charge, of which he was not guilty, but acquitted by Parliament.]

Edward 4. follows, who was taken Prisoner (he says) by Arch-Bishop Nevil, declaring him an Usurper, and entailed the Crowns of England and France upon Henry and his Issue male, and in default upon Clarence, disabling King Edward's eldest Brother. [He was a party in the Plot, if there were any, but then take the Junto of the Authours; it was the power of that great Warwick, and others, that did create and unmake Kings at pleasure, the confusion

fusion of the right; submitting to power whether right or wrong.]

Edward 5. his Crown was by the Prelates placed on his murderous Uncle Richard 3. the Cardinal Archbishop taking the Brother Richard out of Sanctuary, that so both of them might be taken away. [*That Cardinal was a great Actour therein, but the Duke of Bukingham did the busines, upon whose head the Cardinal would have set the Crown, who had no right thereto.*]

Henry 7. (he says) was perswaded by the same Cardinal (Morton) and prevailed to the Crown. [*He might assist therein; what honest English man would not have done so? But to say, (that the Cardinal was the main Instrument) we shall want the force of all Arguments, but Gods good Providence.*]

Henry 8. called the Bishops half Subjects to him. Wolsey and Campeius refused to give Judgment for his Divorce. Numbring up against them the Petitions, Supplications, and Complaints of godly Ministers, Doctour Barnes, Latimer, Tyndal, Bean, and others. [*And were not some of these godly men, Bishops also?*] That the Statutes of 31 Henry 8. yet in force against them. That in Anno 37. Letters Patents were granted to Lay-men to exercise all manner of Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction, as the Kings Officers, not the Bishops. [*Let us never deduce Reason or Justice from that Kings Actions, more like an Atheist than a Christian, either Ecclesiastical or Temporal; besides the Mutation and Change of Religion then, not affording any good President in either kinde.*]

But thus much (as in excuse) was in time of Popery.

He proceeds to others no less detestable, (he says) nay, more heinous since the Reformation, but with this Proviso, that in the Reigns of all the succeeding Sovereigns to this present, he charging those reverend Bishops, good men, chief Pillars of the Church, great Lights of Learning, they doing those things as Bishops, (which he believes, they would not have done as private Ministers) to hold their Bishopricks, to please great Lords, Princes, Kings, and Emperours, have not onely yielded but perswaded to introduce Idolatry, to dis-inherit right Heirs to Kingdoms, and force good Princes to Acts unnatural and unjust. But he is not against Episcopacy or a Church-government; but so much degenerate it is from the first substance, *Vox & prater ea nihil*, yet would not have it demolished, till a better Model be found out. [*God-a-mercy for that.*]

And presently he charges Arch-bishop Cranmer, and Bishop Ridley, for perswading Edward 6. that the Lady Mary might be permitted Mass in her own Chapel, more like Politicians than Divines, though not prevailing with that pious Prince. [*She was the right Heir apparent to her Brother, and the onely right Issue to the Crown, begotten no doubt in lawfull Matrimony, bred up in Romish, and the might of Charls the Emperour would and did in Reason and Policy afford her liberty of her Profession, without any scandal upon those Bi-*

Anno
1641.

shops for their opinion therein: her Mother had suffered too much injustice, and it was no justice to have denied to her Daughier this desire.]

After Edward 6. those two Bishops Cranmer and Ridley (says he) promoted the Lady *Janes* Title before the lawfull Heir Queen *Mary*, and the Bishops and Lords writ to *Mary*, that she ought to submit to her Cousin the Lady *Jane*, as her Sovereign: that *Canterbury* and *Ely* subscribed that Letter; and *Ridley* preached the same at *Paul's Cross*; and so concluded them disloyal Traitors. [The Protestant Bishops were engaged upon the Faith of Religion to promote *Jane*: besides the visible cause of Danger to the State and Kingdom was notorious in the accession of *Mary*, and proved fiery hot to the execution of their persons, the most of the powerfull Lords were Protestants, the other being beyond Seas, or kept under at home; and but two of all the Bishops that signed to the Letter.

The next godly Princess was *Elizabeth*, who began her Reign with a Conference for increase of Reformation of Religion, earnestly pressed by good Divines, *Scorie*, *Cox*, *Jewel*, *Ebener*, *Grindall*, *Whitehead*, *Horn*, *Gest*; but were opposed by the Bishops, to the prejudice of the Queens desire therein.

That at the Queens Coronation the Bishops did refuse to anoint or consecrate her, and names them, *York*, (*Canterbury* dead) and ten more the chiefest. And were not all these Popish Bishops that hated her? [Nay, there might be another cause which is not hinted by him, though his whole discourse hath insisted upon the Sovereigns Titles; there might be reason enough to dispute it now: but he forbears, and so do I.]

[But the lawfull Line succeeds her.] And so King *James* (says he) commences with a Conference for Reformation at *Hampton Court*, where were Doctour *Reynolds* and *Sparks* of *Oxford*, *Knewstubs* and *Chaderton* of *Cambridg*: but were resisted in the Reformation by eight Bishops and six Deans, alleging, there was no need of Reformation; but God and good men did know the contrary. In his Reign they introducing Schisms, Heresies, and Idolatry, of Popery and Arminianism, and what not? Irreligion to the Deity, mischief and danger to the Kingdom.

(There needs not particular observation concerning his Notes of this Kings time: that there was a Conference complete, an equal number of Disputants, continuing some Days the whole Discourse, imprinted, and now common, which I finde Master *Thomas* passes over, as not willing to stand to the Test of that Conference, being nothing at all for his purpose, but to the contrary.)

As for their Actions in his Majesties Reign, which (he thinks) do poise all, and over-balance all formerly done since the beginning of Parliaments put together in the other Scale, which he refers to the Reports of the Committees for the Pope of *Lambeth*, and his Cardinals

Anno
1641.

dinals *Wren* and others; and briefly concludes, that they having in Parliaments contrived Treasons, Rebellions, Domestick and Foreign, Incendiaries, and Grievances to State and Church, Arch-Enemies to King and Common-wealth. He hopes, his Majesty will *Lege talionis* make their Episcopacy onely Titular, for they are to have priority or precedency *Quoad Ordinem*, not *Quoad Ministerium*, wherein the poorest Curate is his Companion; but as he is not for equality and parity, so not too great a distance.

These being his Reasons for their unlawfulness, and fitting in Parliament any longer, And this was spoken in *May*.

This Speech was accounted the Cut-throat of Episcopacy, which the rather I insert, and the Reasons I observe; because much of the matter is Records, and so not out of my way, nor unnatural for an Historian to observe; and therefore herein I may be excused from any note of partiality, mis-becoming a Register of Records.

Master *White*, and others there were that followed, with inveterate Speeches against Episcopacy, but because all of them of one nature, and to record them here impertinent, I shall refer the Reader to their Reasons published in several Pamphlets, and to others that answered them, both Clerks and Lay-men; the whole business of this time taken up with Freedom of the Presses, to prate any thing scandalous on any side; and that you may see their plotting, take this Letter, which I set down somewhat before its due place and time it came from.

Master *John White* of *Dorchester*, to his Nephew Master *White* at *London*, *Septemb. 8*. The King being in *Scotland* thus writes.

Touching our main business, (says he) the King will come back from *Scotland* shortly, without effecting any thing answerable to his and others expectations, and consequently may be fit enough to be won to condescend to any reasonable Demands. If the Commons hold their own they may have what they will desire. All the work will be to hold them stiff to their former Resolutions, to which they may be well prepared by their Friends in the time of this Access, if they bestir themselves as they ought. Sir, we conceive, if we could win Master Mainard to joyn thoroughly about the taking away of Episcopacy it would much further the cause. The way must be to charge home the thirteen Bishops that are now impeached, if they be found in a *Præmunire*, and so cast out of the Higher House, it is hoped the better Lords will prevail, and then the Work is at an end. The way to prevail with Master Mainard is by his Wife, and with her by Master Hughs a Lecturer, I conceive. It were worth a Journey thither for you to ride over and speak with her,

Mr. White's
Letter.

if

Anno
1641.

if these who deal with this man go about it with metal, I am confident it will be carried. Good Sir, afford your helping hand herein with as much speed as possibly you can.

Dorchester,
September 8. 1641.

Yours
John White.

I need not suppose this mans Character, the Tone, too well known, and to what Sect he appertained, but the manner of their working by the lecturing weak Women, who have more strength in their pewling, than *Sampson* had in his Locks.

But the state of a Question was propounded concerning Bishops, whether or no *Jure Divino*, (as hath been heretofore remembred) but now it was that Master *Grimston* argued.

That Bishops are Jure Divino is of a question.

That Arch-bishops are not Jure Divino is out of question.

That Ministers are Jure Divino, there is no question.

Now (says he) *if Bishops which are questioned whether Jure Divino, and Arch-bishops which out of question are not Jure Divino, suspend Ministers that are Jure Divino, I leave it to you Master Speaker.*

Mr. Selden's Answer.

That the Convocation is Jure Divino, is a question.

That Parliaments are not Jure Divino is out of question.

That Religion is Jure Divino is no question.

Now Master Speaker, *that the Convocation which is questioned whether Jure Divino, and Parliaments which out of question are not Jure Divino, should meddle with Religion, which questionless is Jure Divino, I leave to you Master Speaker.*

Grimston replies.

But Arch-bishops are no Bishops.

Selden answers.

That's no otherwise true, than that Judges are no Lawyers, and Aldermen no Citizens.

New mode
Ecclesiastical
Government.

Busie the Commons House have been to settle a new Mode of Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction, and the seventeenth of July ordain every Shire of England and Wales to be a several Circuit and Diocess, excepting *York-shire*, which is to be divided into three.

2. A constant Presbytery of twelve choice Divines to be selected in every Shire or Diocess.

3. A constant President to be established as a Bishop over this Presbytery.

4. And

Anno
1641.

4 And he to ordain, suspend, deprive, degrade, Excommunicate, by and with the assistance of several divines of this Presbytery, and that four times of the year. He to reside within his Diocess in some one prime place: To have one special particular Congregation, and the richest in value, and there to preach. Never to be translated to any other Bishoprick. And after his death the King to grant a *Congé d'elire* to the Clergy of that Diocess, they to present them Presbyters, out of which the King to elect one, the first Presbyter of every shire to be named by the Parliament, and upon his avoidance the remaining Presbyters to chuse another out of the Parish Ministers. No Bishop or Clergy-man to exercise any temporal office, Once a year to summon a *Diocesan Synod* to regulate the scandal in life and doctrine among the Clergy-men.

Every third year a National Synod, of all the Bishops in the Land, with two Presbyters and two Clerks of every Diocess to be chosen. This Synod to ordain Canons of Government of the Church, but not to be binding till confirmed by Parliament &c.

A man would have Imagined that all this a doe would have produced something like an Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction, but the House of Commons were puzzled as much more to devise a presbyterial Discipline for the Church Government, and being thus at large and in high distraction, The Arch Bishop of *Armagh* to put them in a way of accommodation, considering the general consent for matters of doctrine, he composed some heads, for conjunction in point of Discipline: that so Episcopal and Presbyterial Government might not be, (by circumstances) at a far distance, Reducing Episcopacy unto the form of Synodical Government in the Antient Church. Which he offered as an expedient hereupon, for the prevention of future troubles; in likelihood henceforth to arise about Church Government; Not improper to be mentioned now parallel to these times, when we have none at all.

The Arch-
Bishop of *Ar-*
maghs Propo-
sitions in
Church Go-
vernment.

B*Y order of the Church of England, (saies the Arch Bishop) all Presbyters are charged (a) to administer the Doctrine and Sacraments, and the Discipline of Christ as the Lord hath commanded, and as this Realm hath received the same; And that they might the better understand what the Lord had commanded therein, (b) the exhortation of St. Paul to the Elders of the Church of Ephesus is appointed to be read unto them at the time of their Ordination; Take heed unto your selves and to all the flock among whom the Holy Ghost hath made you overseers to (x) Rule the Congregation of God which he hath purchased with his Blood.*

(a) The book
of Ordinati-
on.

(b) *Ibid ex*
Act. 20. 27.
28.

(x) so taken
in *Mat. 2. 6.*
Rev. 12. 5. &c
19. 15.

Of the many Elders who in common thus ruled the Church of Ephesus, there was one President whom our Saviour in his Epistle unto this Church in a peculiar manner styleth (c) the Angel of the Church of Ephesus:

Anno

1641.

(f) 1 Tim. 4.
14.(e) Tertul.
Apolog. cap.
39.(f) Nec de
aliorum mani-
bus quam præ-
sidentium su-
mmus, Id. de
coronaz militis,
cap. 3.(g) Dandi
quidem Bp-
rismi habet
jus summus sa-
cerdos qui est
Episcopus, de-
hinc Presbyteri
& Diaconi.
Id. de Bapt.
cap. 17.(h) Omni actu
ad me perlato
placuit contra-
bi Presbyteri-
um. Cornel. a-
pud Cyp. epist.
46.(i) Cyprian.
epist. 55. ad
Cornel.(k) Concil.
Carthag. 4.
cap. 23.(l) Excerptio
Egberti cap.
43.(m) 15. q. 7.
cap. Nullus.

Ephesus: and Ignatius in another Epistle written about twelve years after unto the same Church, calleth the Bishop thereof. Betwixt the Bishop and the Presbytery of that Church, what an harmonious consent there was in the ordering of the Church Government, the same Ignatius doth fully there declare, by the Presbytery, with (d) St. Paul, understanding the community of the rest of the Presbyters or Elders, who then had a hand not only in the delivery of the Doctrine, and Sacraments, but also in the Administration of the Discipline of Christ: for further proof of which, we have that known testimony of Tertullian in his general Apology for Christians. (e) In the Church are used exhortations, chastisements, and divine censure; for Judgement is given with great advice as among those who are certain they are in the sight of God, and it is the chiefest foreshewing of the Judgement which is to come, if any man have so offended, that he be banished from the Communion of Prayer, and of the Assembly, and of all holy fellowship. The Presidents that bear rule therein are certain approved Elders, who have obtained this honour not by reward, but by good report, who were no other (as he himself intimates) elsewhere, but (f) those from whose hand, they used to receive the Sacraments of the Eucharist.

For with the B. who was the chief President (and therefore styled by the same Tertullian in another place (g) Summus Sacerdos for distinction sake) the rest of the dispensers of the word and Sacraments joyned in the common government of the Church; and therefore where, in matters of Ecclesiastical Judicature, Cornelius Bishop of Rome used the received form of (h) gathering together the Presbytery; of what persons that did consist, Cyprian sufficiently declareth, when he wisheth him to read his Letters (i) to the flourishing Clergy which there did preside or rule with him. The presence of the Clergy being thought to be so requisite in matters of Episcopal audience, that in the fourth Council of Carthage it was concluded, (k) That the Bishop might hear no mans cause without the presence of the Clergy: and that otherwise the Bishops sentence should be void, unless it were confirmed by the presence of the Clergy: which we finde also to be inserted into the Canons of (l) Egbert, who was Arch-bishop of York in the Saxon times, and afterwards into the body of the (m) Canon Law it self.

True it is, that in our Church this kinde of Presbyterial Government hath been long dis-used, yet seeing it still professeth that every Pastor hath a right to rule the Church (from whence the name of Rector also was given at first unto him) and to administer the Discipline of Christ, as well as to dispence the Doctrine and Sacraments, and the restraint of the exercise of that right proceedeth only from the custome now received in this Realm; no man can doubt but by another Law of the Land, this hindrance may be well removed. And how easily this ancient form of government by the united suffrages of the Clergy might be revived again, and with what little shew of alteration the Synodical conventions of

of the Pastors of every Parish might be accorded with the Presidency of the Bishops of each Diocess and Province, the indifferent Reader may quickly perceive by the perusal of the ensuing Propositions.

1. In every Parish the Rector or Incumbent Pastor, together with the Churchwardens and Sidesmen, may every week take notice of such as live scandalously in that Congregation, who are to receive such several admonitions and reproofs, as the quality of their offence shall deserve; And if by this means they cannot be reclaimed, they may be presented to the next monethly Synod; and in the mean time debarred by the Pastor from access unto the Lords Table.

2. Whereas by a Statute in the 26 year of Henry 8. (revived 1 Eliz.) Suffragans are appointed to be erected in 26 several places of this Kingdom; the number of them might very well be conformed unto the number of the several Rural Deanries into which every Diocess is subdivided; which being done, the Suffragan supplying the place of those who in the ancient Church were called Chorepiscopi, might every moneth Assemble a Synod of all the Rectors, or Incumbent Pastors within the Precinct, and according to the Major part of their voices, conclude all matters that shall be brought into debate before them.

To this Synod the Rector and Charchwardens might present such impenitent persons as by admonitions and suspension from the Sacrament would not be reformed; who if they should still remain contumacious and incorrigible, the sentence of Excommunication might be decreed against them by the Synod, and accordingly be executed in the Parish where they lived. Hitherto also all things that concerned the Parochial Ministers might be referred, whether they did touch their Doctrine or their conversation; as also the censure of all new Opinions, Heresies, and Schisms, which did arise within that Circuit; with liberty of Appeal, if need require, unto the Diocesan Synod.

3. The Diocesan Synod might be held once or twice in the year, as it should be thought most convenient: Therein all the Suffragans, and the rest of the Rectors or Incumbent Pastors (or a certain select number, of every Deanry) within the Diocese might meet, with whose consent, or the major part of them, all things might be concluded by the Bishop or (x) Superintendent (call him whether you will) or in his absence, by one of the Suffragans; whom he shall depute in his stead to be Moderator of that Assembly.

(x) unde & nomen Episcopi tractum est. Hieron. epist. 85. ad Evangelium.

Here all matters of greater moment might be taken into consideration, and the Orders of the monethly Synods revised, and (if need be) reformed: and if here also any matter of difficulty could not receive a full determination: it might be referred to the next Provincial or National Synod.

4 The Provincial Synod might consist of all the Bishops and Suffragans, and such other of the Clergy as should be elected out of every Diocess within the Province, the Arch-bishop of either Province might be the Moderator of this meeting (or in his room some one of the Bishops

Anno
1641.

appointed by him) and all matters be ordered therein by common consent as in the former Assemblies.

This Synod might be held every third year, and if the Parliament do then sit (according to the act of a Triennial Parliament) both the Archbishops and Provincial Synods of the Land might joyn together, and make up a National Council: Wherein all Appeals from inferior Synods might be received, all their Acts examined, and all Ecclesiasticall constitutions which concern the estate of the Church of the whole Nation established.

Tunnage and
Poundage.

The House of Commons could not digest the paiment of Tunnage and Poundage as a duty, but as an Act durante some limited time of necessity, and in 1628. had drawn up a smart Remonstrance therein, which was prevented by Proroguing that Parliament, then; and continual hammering upon it ever since; brought by Bill to pass it away from himself: which Bill was brought up by Mr. Speaker to the Lords House, and said thus to the King the two and twentieth of June.

The speaker to
the King.

That Policy, (most gracious and dread Sovereign) which weighs prerogative, and Propriety in the same scales, and increases the plenty of the Crown and contentment of the People, the even paising of the Beam, enables both.

A principle creating belief in the Subject: that not only their wills are bound to Allegiance, but their Fortunes and Estates must bend to the Commands of their Sovereign.

Compulsory obedience, by the Transcendent power of Prerogative, will not support Government. Affections and estates of the people, tied with the threads of obedience by rules of Law, fastens safety and prosperity to the Crown, former Presidents of puissant Princes conclude the glory of their greatness, to command the hearts of free-men.

That several Parliaments have stamp't the Character of a free gift upon the fore front of this aid, as a Sacrifice of Thanksgiving for safe conduct of the Merchants, and provision of the Navy. Our hopes were long since to have settled this for the measure and the time, and so to have presented it. But, as a Ship floting on a Rough sea and cast upon Rocks of fear and dangers, tossed upon billowes of distraction and distrust, of Church and Common-wealth, hopeles ever to pass to the Haven without the hand of that sacred providence, yet no division had power to distract any one of us from our duty to your Person.

To that end, I am sent (saies he) by the Commons to present this as a Mark only of their inward duties untill a further expression of their affections, The acceptation of this gift, (the largest ever given) will joyn wings to our desires and hopes to our hearts, never to return without that Olive leaf, which may declare that the waters are abated and your Majesty may have full assurance of our faith and loyalty.

The King presently replies. *I do accept this office as a Testimony, and beginning of your dutiful affections, and that in due time you will perform your promises, when you have leasure. And I doubt not but you will see by the passing this Bill, the trust I have in your affections, and wish it reciprocal, so yours to me. By this I freely and frankly give over the right of my Predecessors, and challenged, and though disputed in their times, but never yielded till now, By which you see how I put my self upon my people for subsistence. Rumors of Fealousies and suspicions by flying and Idle discourses have come to my ears; But he understands them as having relation to the Scottish Army, and preventing Insinuations which vanished in their birth, which he leaves to them having of himself no design but to return the affection of his people by Justice and truth.*

After many debates, the Commons now resolving to be rid of the *Scottish Army*, and the Charge of the *English* also, passed a Bill of Imposing the Tax of Poll-Mony upon the people; for having now the power of an everlasting Parliament, they would by degrees inure the people to the Taxes, and points which they meant in time hereafter to press upon them.

The Parliament therefore (besides the grant of six subsidies) had imposed a Tax seldome or never known, which was that of the Poll-Mony, wherein the whole Kingdome was to be assessed, every Duke at 100. l. a Marquess at 80. l. Earls 60. l. Viscounts and Barons at 40. l. Knights of the Bath 30. l. Knights Bachelirs at 20. l. Esquires 10. l. and every Gentleman dispending 100. l. *per annum.* at 5. l. and all others of ability, a competent proportion; the meanest head through the whole Kingdom was not excused under six pence, which mony the Parliament made use of after.

This Bill of Poll-mony was offered by the House, to the King, with two other of great concernment, the one for putting down the High Commission Court, and the other for putting down Star-chamber Court. But the King shewed some reluctancie in these, willing to pass onely that Bill of Poll-mony and to deliberate about the other two. At which the House of Commons voted *either all three or none at all.* Notwithstanding the second of *July* he passed the Poll-mony, and demurred upon the other Two: But being informed of the displeasure of the Parliament; He came again to the Lords House upon the *Tuesday* after, being the fifth of *July*, and passed the other two also, and (forsooth) because He did it not freely, at the first motion, the Parliament made that their exception to save their good natures from too much paines to give him thanks for such other and these unparallel graces and favours.

The King therefore in passing of these told them as much, [*That he could not but be sensible of these reports of discontent, which he had heard was taken by some for his not passing them before; and thought it very strange that Two things of so great Importance should be expected*

Anno

1641.

The King replies.

Bill of Poll-mony passed,

as also suppressing the High Commission Court and Star-chamber Court.

Anno
1641.

from him without allowance of time to consider of them: That he wondered they could harbour any Discontent, if they remembred how much he had done for this Parliament, as his granting that the Judges hereafter should hold their Places *Quam diu se bene gesserint*; bounding the Forest-laws; taking away Ship-money; establishing the Subjects propriety in Tunnage and Poundage; granting the Triennial Parliament; free justice against Delinquents, with other things, concluding graciously, that he would omit nothing which might give them just content.

Qu. Mother of
France dies
at Colen.

Mary de Medices the Queen Mother Dowager of France, having been here a chargeable Guest till the entrance into our much misery, (a Fate that followed her where ere she came, as if this unfortunate Princess had always carried ill luck in her company) took her leave, with the good liking of Prince and People to be rid of her, who was conveyed over to *Holland* by the Earl of *Arundel*; he finding his native Countrey too hot for him to hold out, being a *Roman* Catholick, gets himself designed to wait upon her, and to remain beyond Seas during his own pleasure, which lasted to his death, at *Colen* in *Germany*: and the Queen passing by *Zealand*, thither where she had time to consider, that he (the Cardinal *Richelieu*) whom she had raised so high, slighted her misfortunes, whilest he stood fast in favour of her Son, and in the intire administration of the affairs of *France*; she (I say) this great Queen Mother to the King, over-whelmed with miseries and old age, and in a condit ion of melancholy, fell sick and died at *Colen* also, sometime after that Earl of *Arundel*.

Ambassadour
to the Empe-
rour at the
Diet.

And though we were entered into great Distempers in our civil estate, yet the King was mindfull of the restauration of his Nephew the Prince Electour *Palatine*, who was to meet at the Diet at *Ratisboae*, with the Emperour; and Sir *Thomas Roe* was designed Ambassadour from hence, to assist him there; and but suspecting what might happen, neglect and refusal, the King acquaints the Parliament herewith, and that he intended to publish a *Manifesto* in his own name, with their consent to give repute thereto; which was so done and intrusted to the Ambassadour, but without any real success.

Resolution to
disband the
Scots and
Engl. sh Army.

The Parliament now in good security and power, having done their work thus far, and by the effects of this continual Parliament could do what they pleased, began now to think themselves concerned in honour and conscience to be rid of the two devouring Armies in this Kingdom: the Scots having in a manner performed their part, for which they were called hither, both Armies should be disbanded together, which was not convenient for the Parliaments interest to have been done before now; for the Cessation of Arms which was made heretofore to expire in the end of *December* last, was at that time renewed by the Parliament for a Moneth longer:

longer; and in that time resolved that the *Scots* should be satisfied for their Charges and Losses, sustained since their Insurrection.

In *February* following, it was not onely agreed that their pitifull Ships taken since that War should be restored, and four thousand pounds in ready Money given to them to rig those Ships; but it was also resolved by Parliament, to give them three hundred thousand pounds towards a supply of the Losses and Necessities of our (dear) Brethren of *Scotland*; and shortly to consider of the manner of raising and Days of payment, whereupon the *Scots* Covenanters three Days after return thanks to the Parliament for that huge Sum of Money; but most of all (they say) for the honour and style of Brethren which they had given them, dear and costly Companions.

And in *June* after, it was concluded that the *Scots* should receive one hundred thousand pounds of it at *Mid-summer* come twelvemoneth, and the other two hundred thousand pounds at *Mid-summer* two years after. Nay, that Army was still carested to stay longer, untill there was an Arrear due to them of one hundred and twenty thousand pounds, besides the said Gift of three hundred thousand pounds, so great a Charge was the Nation put unto, rather than the *Scots* must be gone till the Parliament had their own business and power settled unto them. Nor was it disbanded till *August 6.* as the *English* was, both together, but the *Scots* had the most Money.

And the King very gracious to confirm his Favours to the *Scots*, resolves speedily to caresthat Nation with his personal presence once again, and to return with all speed, which he did at four Moneths end.

It was in *December* last the 28. that Doctour *Wren* Bishop of *Ely*, and Dean of the King's Chapel had been accused of Mildermeanours in his Diocess amounting to Treason. And now the fifth of *July* the Committee made their Report to the House of Commons of the Charge against him. He had been Bishop of *Norwich*, a Diocess indeed full fraught with Sects and Schisms, brought over by the Mariners and other the Natives of *Holland*, and mingled here among the *English* in trading and weaving of Stuffs: and the Bishop kept them down from innovating their Opinions and Heresies, but he was proceeded against, and soon voted unworthy and unfit to hold or exercise any Office or Dignity in Church or Commonwealth; and a Message sent to the Lords to joyn in a Petition to the King to remove him from his service. Nor more, nor less, have we ever heard of him, or his crimes. But being committed to the Tower, there he hath lain ever since, without any further question, thus civilly executed.

Dr. Wren Bishop of Ely committed to the Tower.

The five Judges who had formerly given the Opinion for Ship-money, Judg *Bramston*, Baron *Trever*, Baron *Weston*, Baron *Davenport*,

Judges questioned about Ship-money.

Anno
1641.

port, and Judg *Crawley*, were now brought under particular and respective Charges, but against another Judg *Berkley*, for high Treason.

The House of *Commons* intent upon Reformation of any thing any kinde of way, and to please the Presbyter, with little debate made an Order for taking away all scandalous Pictures, Crosses, and Figures within the Churches, and afterwards from without, suppressing the very Signs and Sign-posts; and this curiosity of Imployment was conferred upon such as had least to do, and could intend to be busied abroad. Sir *Robert Harloe* was found out to be the fittest person, which makes me remember *Chancer's* Character of such another.

*A busier man there never was,
Yet seemed busier than he was.*

Commis-
sioners in the
Kings ab-
sence.

The King had given knowledg of his Resolution to journey to *Scotland*, and to set out the tenth of *August*, to which the Houses had agreed; but now thus near, they desire the King to put it off a Fortnight longer, the great affairs of State necessarily requiring his presence, and instanced in some Bills yet to be passed, and some settlement for the Government of the Kingdom in his absence: he told them, the warning was so long since, as that they might have hastened their business to that purpose.

Bills signed.

And so the same day passed some Bills for Knighthood, free making of Gun-powder and Saltpeter: and signed a Commission (for passing Bills in his absence) unto the Lord Keeper, the Lord Privy-Seal, the Earl of *Lindsey*, Earl of *Essex*, Marquess *Hartford*, the Earl of *Bath*, and the Earl of *Dorset*.

And signed to another Bill for the Earl of *Essex*, General of all his Forces on this side *Trent*, by which he had power to raise Forces in case of necessity: but to that request that the Earl of *Pembroke* should be made Lord high Steward in the place of the Earl of *Arundel* now absent, and the Earl of *Salisbury* to be Lord Treasurer, he had no minde to either of them.

Parliament sit
on a Sunday.

But the day before the King's Journey into *Scotland*, and the Parliament serious in some sudden affairs of importance, they were forced to lay aside the solemnity of this Day, being *Sunday*, and to sit from Morning till Night: but not to bring it into President they publish in Print, *That for many urgent occasions they thought it necessary to sit, and do declare so much, that no inferiour Court or Council, or any person may draw this into Example for their encouragement in neglecting the due observation of the Sabbath, Sunday, August 8.*

And then they adjourned untill the twentieth of *October*, and a standing Committee of the House of Commons (consisting of fifty Members) appointed, during the Recess. But

Anno
1641.

Aug. 10. Disorders by connivance of Parliament.

But the King gone to *Scotland*, the Parliament at leisure to frame business against his return, such a Freedom and Liberty was taken up of the People, and such connivance from the Parliament, as somewhat like the late Comedy, *The World turn'd up side down*.

Many Jealousies in the hearts of the People, many Divisions and Differences in Opinion, which little favour the Parliaments proceedings. The Prelatical party utterly discountenanced, and Learning discouraged, the Universities neglected, Orthodox men slighted. A wonderfull liberty and licence afforded to the Communality of a long time had now taken root, and Riots too. Every one as his fancy increased, took upon him by connivance of several Members of several Opinions to countenance such, who without other authority, order or decency, rudely and riotously disturbing Church-service in time of Prayers, tearing the Book of Liturgy, the Surplices, and such things, which the Parliament onely connived at, being to use such a considerable party in time of need. Ridiculous Conventicles and Preachings in Conventicles, nay, openly, in corners of the Streets, by Trades-men, Tub-preachers, to the general scandal of all good men.

In earnest, to wise men and religious these courses were offensive, and thereby grew disaffected to Parliaments: but there were ways invented, some were taken off by Preferments, others deterred, and most men distracted with these varieties, exprest a Mutation and change of Church and State, which after followed.

Insolencies and Disorders in the Populacy uncorrected, or connived at, grow up to Insurrections and Rebellions, as with the late Actions of the *Scots*, after whose Example the *Irish* Nation resolve of the like Freedom, the one of Reformation, the other of old ancient Popery. National pretence either had, but the effects of the former were soon smothered and pacified for the present: but this other taking fire, in time of our *English* Distractions, which afforded them means and boldness to contrive the most horrid Rebellion in *Ireland* that after-ages will not easily believe.

It fell out in the Kings absence at *Scotland*, and so we shall take up that time to enter the Reader in the former part of that miserable story; and first of all to give some account of the Grounds, and their rebellious pretences.

Somewhat we have said concerning the State of Ireland, from the first Conquest of the English, to these times of King Charls, who highly indulged his Subjects there in this last Year 1640. upon their late Complaints, and their general Remonstrance to him from the Parliament sitting at Dublin, by a Committee of four Temporal Lords of the Upper House, and twelve Members of the House of Commons instructed to represent the heavy pressures which they pretended to have suffered under the Government of the Earl of Strafford.

Irish Rebellion
the Proeme.

Anno
1641.

Parsons and
Burlace made
Lords Justices
of Ireland.

The Earl of
Leicester de-
clared Lord
Lieutenant.

Parliament
adjourned for
three Moneths.

Rebellion
brake out,
Octob. 23.

The King took their Grievances into his royal consideration, heard them himself, and presently provided for their redress. And upon the decease of Master Wansford, Master of the Rolls in Ireland, and then Lord Deputy, under the Earl of Strafford, (who still continued Lord Lieutenant of that Kingdom, though then accused of high Treason, and imprisoned in the Tower of London) the King sent a Commission of Government to the Lord Dillon of Kilkenny West, and Sir William Parsons Knight and Baronet Master of the Wards there: but finding his choice of Dillon to be much disgusted by the Irish Committee, that Commission was forthwith cancelled, & with their approbation he placed the Government upon Sir William Parsons and Sir John Burlace Knight, Master of the Ordnance, both of them persons of great integrity, who took the Sword the ninth of February, 1640. who applied themselves with all possible content to the People. In abating the Subsidies there, (being given in the time of the Earl of Strafford) from forty thousand pounds each Subsidy to twelve thousand pounds a piece, so low were they reduced; and drew up two Acts in Parliament most impetuously desired by the Natives. The one was the Act of Limitations, which settled all Estates of Land there for sixty years preceding. The other Act for the relinquishment of the Kings Right and Title to the four Counties in Conaught, legally found for him by several Inquisitions, and ready to be disposed of to Brittish Undertakers, as also to some Territories in Munster and Clare upon the same Title.

And that the King might testifie his own settled resolution for his future grace and favours to them, he did about the end of May, 1641. declare the Earl of Leicester Lord Lieutenant General of Ireland, perhaps upon the former score, as Heir to his Uncle Sir Philip Sidney, as to Sir Henry Sidney his Grand-father who had been Governour of Ireland in time of Queen Elizabeth, and himself a person not engaged in any publick pressures of the Common-wealth, and therefore most likely to prove just and acceptable to the People.

The Papists likewise permitted privately to enjoy their Religion, and a general good agreement between the Natives and the English in all parts.

In August the Popish party in Parliament grown high and incompatible with the present Government, the Parliament was adjourned for three Moneths, and then the Committee returned out of England, and arrived at the end of August, desiring that all the Acts of that Parliament might be proclaimed and sent down to the several Counties; and so they retired to their places of abode.

In this great serenity and security, the late Irish Army raised for the assistance of the Kings service against the Scots, was disbanded, and all their Army brought into Dublin. Then there brake out upon the three and twentieth of October, 1641. a desperate Rebellion, universal defection, and general Revolt of the Natives together, which almost all the old English that were Popish totally involved.

A Rebellion so execrable, as no Age, no Nation can parallell, the abominable Murders, without number or mercy upon the Brittish Inhabitants, of what sexes, age, or quality soever they were; and this to be contrived with that secrecy amongst themselves, that not one English man received any notice thereof before the very Evening of their intended Execution.

But though there were no direct appearance of the first Contrivers of this Rebellion, yet I finde the Romish Clergy and the the Popish Lawyers great Instruments of the Fundamentals whereupon their bloody Superstructions were reared.

The Lawyers standing up in Parliament as great Patriots for the Liberties of the Subject, and Redress of Grievances, boldly obtruding their pernicious speculations, as undoubted Maxims of Law, which though apparent to wise men, yet so strangely were many of the very Protestants and others wel-meaning men, blinded with an apprehension of ease and redress, and so stupified with their bold accusations of the Government, as discouraged others to stand up to oppose them.

And then it was that the Parliament having impeached Sir Robert Bolton Lord Chancellour of Ireland of high Treason, with other prime Officers of State, that were of English birth, and done their worst also against the Earl of Strafford in England.

Some of these great Masters and pretended Patriots took upon them impudently to declare the Law as they pleased, to make new Expositions of their own upon that Text, to frame Queries against Government, (Presidents they had enough of former proceedings in England) they disdained the moderate qualifications of such as replied to them, but those would not serve their turn. New Mode. of Government they would have, drawing it wholly into the hands of the Natives, which they knew could not be compassed in a Parliamentary way, they onely made preparatives there by desperate Maxims which being diffused would fit and dispose the people to a change.

Some of their Maxims they declared for Law, that any one being killed in Rebellion, though found by matter of Record, would give the King no Forfeiture of Estate. That though many thousands stood up in Arms, working all manner of destruction, yet if they professed not to rise against the King, that it was no Rebellion. That if a man were outlawed for Treason, and his Land rested in the Crown, or given away by the King, his Heir might come afterwards and be admitted to reverse the Outlawry, and recover his Ancestours Estate. And many such were published this Session; nay, they presumed to attempt a suspension of Poyning's Act, and at last the very abrogation of the Statute, the best Monument of the English intire dominion over the Irish Nation, and the annexion of that Kingdom to the Imperial Crown of England; assuming a power of Judicature to the Parliament in criminal and capital offences, which no former age could presidence.

Anno

1641.

And so carried on their Sessio begun in May, till the breaking out of the Rebellion, and yet then they would hardly adjourn.

These and many other such, which wise men fore-saw, and since came to pass, that Fools may run and read them.

They made the whole Body of State corrupt and ill-affected, that the evil humours and distempers of the Kingdom required Cauteries.

This was the Disease, as appears by all the Symptoms, and the joint concurrence in opinion of all the pretended Patriots that held themselves wise enough to propose Remedies to so desperate a Malady.

But indeed, although but pretences, yet the King had condescended to their present relief, giving much more satisfaction to their Agents lately in England, than ever they could in any other time expect to receive, or hope to enjoy, but presently upon their return to Ireland this Conspiracy brake out.

Certainly, the late successes of the Scots in their Insurrections gave encouragement to these, they having happily succeeded in their affairs, obtained signal Immunities from the King by their last Eruptions.

Our domestick garboils also might indulge them liberty to perplex the English the more; and not the least advantage by the death of the late Deputy the Earl of Strafford, whom the Irish equally pursued with the Zelots of Parliament in England; and thereupon the unseasonable disbanding of the Irish Army, eight thousand, raised for the Scottish Expedition. All these together added to them for their Design, four thousand whereof were granted to Don Alonso de Cardenes the Spanish Ambassadour to be transported from the danger of Innovation at home, and the Officers and Colonels put out by the Parliaments commands, might depart with their Regiments whither they pleased.

These were their Incitements, and their Deceits followed, they boast, that the Queen was in the Head of their Forces; that the King was coming with an Army; that the Scots had concluded a League with them, and to get credit therein they altogether caress the Scots; that they were authorised by the Kings Commission, which they counterfeited and produced at Farnham Abbey from one Colonel Plunket, as appeared afterwards by several Confessions; that they asserted the Kings cause against the Puritans of England.

And to their own Countrey-men, they scatter Letters and Advertisements out of England, that there was a Statute very lately made, to compell all the Irish to be present at the Protestant worship, under penalty of loss of their Goods for the first neglect; the loss of their Inheritances for the second; and their Lives for the third.

They gave there great hopes of recovering their Liberties, and regaining their ancient Customes, and to shake off the English yoke, to elect to themselves a King of their own Nation, and to distribute the Goods and Possessions of the English.

These Inducements made the Irish mad, to perpetrate such hideous Attempts as no leading Age hath heard of.

They

Anno
1641.

Motives to the
Catholicks to
take Arms.

They published also these Motives in print, that our royal King and Queen are by the Puritans curbed and abused, and their Prerogatives restrained, diminished, and almost wholly abolished, contrary to the rights and power of all Monarchical Authority, and also the duty, allegiance, and consciences of all loyal Subjects; which with grief we take to heart, as faithfull and loyal Subjects ought to do. The Catholick Religion suppressed and put down in England, and the Catholicks persecuted with all rigour, even to death; and the like have the Puritans of this Kingdom threatned to have brought hither.

That there is a Law against Catholicks in this Countrey, whereby the Kingdom hath been often impaired and ruined with persecutions; by means whereof the Catholicks are made uncapable of any Office or Place of commodity or profit, to the great and extraordinary decay of the Catholicks in their Estates, Education and Learning.

That the Government of the Kingdom is wholly in the hands of strangers, who in their beginning are generally poor of birth and means, and very quickly become Noblemen, and men of great Estates, by oppression and ruinating the poor Natives.

That there hath been great threatnings of late, of sending great Scottish Forces with the Bible in one hand, and Sword in the other, to force our consciences, or end our lives: besides our private report, of a sudden surprisal and cutting the Catholicks throats, intending which way we know not; but it hath been both written and spoken by several Protestants and Puritans.

That the Catholicks are not allowed to have any Arms or Munition (as the Protestants and Puritans were) but stood like dead men, not able to defend themselves in such desperate Dangers.

All which being by them considered, they saw no way but to attempt to seize upon Arms where they could get them, to save their lives, maintain the King and Queen, their Religion, and Countrey.

It is true, that for the first Days horrid Rebellion and Butchery, the Irish did forbear the Scots Plantation there, knowing their good Natures to be such as to sit still and see the English destroyed, so they might hope to escape, and to have more room for Colonies of their own Nation, it being more easie for the Irish to deal with one Nation than with both; and they knew that the Scots had then in Scotland some formed Forces standing, which in few hours might be transported, and so to distract them, before their intended progress into Rebellion.

To that end for a time they were spared with life, but not with Gules and Geer, and so had leave to return to Scotland, a worse transmigration than into the other World.

Some pretence they make, declaring in the sight of God and the World their Intentions and Resolutions to the last Man with their Lives, Estates and Fortunes, to endeavour the advancement and preservation of his Majesties service and Interest in that Kingdom, and of all those whoever that prosecute his quarrel, having no other De-

Anno

1641.

sign or Intent but onely the free exercise of their Religion.

On the contrary, it was wonderfull to observe what Irritations stirred up the English, to revenge the Death of the Massacred, and to defend the lives of those that survived.

A Mass of Money (300000. pounds sterling) was soon raised in England, but otherways disposed, and great Contributions for pay of the Souldiers and Provisions, and many thousands of English prepare for that War. And yet so eminent was the divine wrath over England, that even upon this very account, our Incongruities and Feuds at home were inflamed, which amongst others how intense soever, yet sould a peace for some interim.

Hereupon, those that aimed at Innovations infused into mens mindes scruples and suspitions; and though the King most intent to suppress the raging cruelty of that Rebellion by his personal hazzard to scourge their insolencies, the Parliament would not consent that the War be managed by his Authority, nor to trust the Souldiers with their Allegiance to the King, nor any of them that had served him in the Scottish Expedition: but such as themselves affected, and he disgusted, yet rather than the War should linger on those Differences, he submitted to the joint authority of manning the same; and so Patents and Commissions were signed by both King and Parliament, leaving himself without power, either to make peace, or grant them pardon, without the Parliaments consent.

And so by this concurrence of Affairs concerning the Rebels, and mischievous Distractions in England, ripening into a civil War, the Parliament seize upon the collected sums of hundreds of thousand pounds for Ireland, and two or three Regiments raised for that service, they convert to the suppressing of the Kings War against them: nay, the very Benevolence begged for the relief of the perishing Evangelists they turn into pay for their Souldiery.

Though the Kings Souldiers having seized on some provisions sent by the Parliament towards Chester, as but designed for Ireland, the King upon complaint, soon restored it for that service. And although there appeared no evidence of truth, it was rumored to the Kings dishonour, that he had been Authour of that Rebellion, which the King endeavours with greater validity of Reasons to retort upon the Faction of some Members of both Houses.

Notwithstanding these Traverses hindered not our Auxiliaries to defeat the Irish, by fire, devastations, and slaughter, of some hundreds of thousands of the Natives, and to wilder that Kingdom far and near, which happened alike pernicious to our selves, when afterwards that the civil War in England was at the height, victuals, provision, cloaths, and pay, failing our Souldiers in Ireland, it is beyond the reach of expression, how miserably our Countrey-men suffered there, and the Parliaments help failing their daily Invocations for relief, the Privy Counsellours of that Kingdom, Commanders, and Souldiers, by petitionary Letters to the King, earnestly beg leave to depart, and to be

remanded any where else, save against such an Enemy as Hunger.

The King either for necessity or prudence (the Scots coming into the Parliament) he being thereby reduced to an inequality of fight here at home, makes a Cessation with the Irish, for a year onely, and so endeavours a peace to ensue, leaving sufficient Garisons behinde; the Souldiers return for the Kings assistance, whose part began to totter.

But the Scots party in Ulster refuse to be bound by the Cessation, and some English in Conaught and Ulster, of a like conniving Faction:

But the Lord Inchequin Commander in chief of the Munster Forces comes over with some thousands to the Kings aid, but not well resenting his entertainment, withdraws himself into Ireland, and gains all the Kings party of Cork and Munster to the Parliament, and to a detestation of the Cessation, they instantly sending him and the Scots Forces fresh aid of money and provisions.

Against whom appeared three several parties, though conjoyned in enmity to the English, the Popes Nuntio, Owen Roe, and the other under command of Preston and Taff; the last more moderate, endeavouring the compliance with the King, to confirm the Peace, yet were over-born by the Popes Bull against the Cessation and Peace, and so deterred their Souldiers from their fidelity and Colours. And so the War was mannaged by the cursed Irish, and also by the Parliamentaries Scots and English, against the Kings party, being commanded by his General the Marques of Ormond alone, to defend himself, which could not last over long; for the Kings Forces in England being defeated; and the Irish Rebells straitning Dublin with a Siege, thought it more honourable to surrender to the Parliaments Forces, that and what ere the King held in Ireland, than to suffer the Interest of the English and Protestants to fall under the power of the Irish, and so retires himself.

But after the Kings Imprisonment in the Isle of Wight, and no further address to him; Ormond goes over again with new Instructions, and dignified with the Title of the Lord Deputy of Ireland, with intent to make the best Peace he could, and so to associate the English, Scots, and Irish; to him many English and Irish conjoyn, and Inchequin also (upon the Kings Death) with Preston and Taff, and the mindes of others remaining in suspence, the Scots forbear hostility, giving good hopes to unite with Ormond.

To counterpoise these, the Governour of Dublin Colonel Jones for the Parliament, are dehrehended in the same Embraces with Owen Roe, the Rebells General, and so are associated together with their Forces, which Ormond not able to suppress, after many Encounters, yielded up all that he possessed for the King and his succeeding party after, and retired into foreign parts, where he now remains.

Thus in brief, the Particulars follow.

Anno
1641.

Irish Rebel-
lion pre sur-
mized.

Owen O Con-
ally discovers
the Conspira-
cy. 22. Octo-
ber 1641.

It is true that Sir *William Cole* upon bare apprehensions of something had writ a letter to the Lords Justices, the eleventh of *October*, of great resort to Sir *Phelem Oneal*, in the County of *Tirone*; as also to the Lord *Mac Guire* in the County of *Formanagho*, that *Mac-Guire* had often journeyed into the pale & was continually busied in Letters and dispatches. And then afterwards, Sir *William Cole* certified by Letters of the one and twentieth of *October*, of what was revealed to him by several *Irish*, viz. to seize upon the Castle of *Dublin*, to murder the Lords Justices and Council, and Protestants there and so over all the Kingdom. But these Letters never came to their hands, nor any warning till the Evening of the day of Rebellion.

When many of the Conspirators arrived at *Dublin* and the three and twentieth of *October* 1641. met at the Lion Tavern neer *Copper Alley*; *Owen O Conally* a Gentleman of a meer *Irish* family, but a true Protestant by long conversation with the *English* addressed himself to the Lord Justice, *Parsons*, about nine a clock that night, and made a broken relation of a great conspiracy to seize the Castle at *Dublin*, giving him the names of them now come expressly for that purpose and to attempt it the next morning, and that *Hugh mac Mahon* was one of them who had told him so much, with whom he had been drinking, and so distempered his Lordship gave the less belief. However he commanded him to return to *Mac mahan*, to get out more of the plot, and not faile to return back that night to his Lordship, who in the mean time with all possible speed and secrecie, ordered strong Guards in every corner. And about 10. a clock went to the Council with *Barlace* without the Town, and Sir *Thomas Rotheram*, and Sir *Robert Meridith* Chancellor of the Exchequer, where expecting the return of *Conally* he was seized by the watch ready to be carried to prison (to the hazzard of all, had not a servant of the Lord *Parsons* rescued him, and so was brought to the Council, and somewhat recovered of his former distemper told this Tale.

Conally exa-
mined.

That he being at *Monimore* in the County of *London Derrey* on *Tuesday*, he received a Letter from Colonel *Hugh Oge, Mac-mahan* to come to *Conaught* in the County of *Monaghan*, and to be with him on *Wednesday* last, whither he came accordingly, but *Hugh* being gon to *Dublin* he followed him hither and came about six a clock this Evening and forthwith went to his Lodging, found him there without the Town, and both together came to the Lodging of the Lord *Mac Guire*, but he not at home they two returned back again, *Hugh* telling him that this night great number of the *Irish* Noblemen Papists would arrive in Town, who with himself would take the Castle by-Morning, then to force the City by the Ordinance, and destroy all the Protestants, and so divers others were ordered in all parts of the Kingdom to seize and destroy all the *English* at an houre de-

Anno
1641.

designed viz. to morrow by ten a clock, and that all possible posting or speed could not prevent it. And *Conally* moved *Hugh* rather to discover it to the State to prevent the mischief, but he answered he could not help it yet, that they owed their Allegiance to the King and pay it to him, but what they did was against the tyrannical Government over them and to imitate *Scotland* who got their privilege by that course. And *Hugh* swore that they would not part but go together to the Castle, and if this matter were discovered some body should die for it, whereupon *Conally* fained some necessity for his easement to go out of the chamber, leaving his sword in pawn. *Hugh's* Man comming down with him into the yard, where in a trice he leaped over a wall and two pales and so came to the Lord Justice *Parson*. Examined the two and twentieth of *October* 1641.

Owen O Conally.

Hereupon, The Justices instantly sent and seized *Mac-Mahon* and his Man, who forthwith came to the Council and confessed all the plot. That on that very day all the forts and Castles of *Ireland* would be surprized. That he with the Lord *Mac Guire*, *Hugh Birn*, Captain *Brian Oneale* and others, were come to surprize *Dublin* Castle, and that twenty men of Each County were to meet here to joyn with them.

Mac Mahon
secured.

That all the Nobility and Gentry Papists, were confederates impossible to be prevented, and how ever they used him now in their power, his blood would be revenged.

Then *Mac Guire* and others were suddainly seized on, and the Town filling with strangers the Council removed into the Castle, and by this time a rumor of something gave Items to *Hugh Birn* and *Roger Moor* chief of the conspirators, who escaped over the River, and so did *Plunket* and *Fox*; but thirty others were taken, of the meanest quality, the chief Actors found friends enough in the Town to help their escape.

The next day, The Lords Justices Proclaimed the discovery of a Disloyal and detestable Conspiracy, intended by some evil affected *Irish* Papists against the lives of the Lords Justices and Council and others his Majesties faithful Subjects throughout this Kingdome &c. We therefore require all good Subjects to betake themselves to their own defence &c. And to advertise us with all speed of all occurents which may concern the peace of the Kingdome, and we require that care be taken that no levies be made of men for foreign service, nor any Man to March upon such pretence, the three and twentieth of *October*, and Copies sent abroad to all the Counties. And the same night the Lord *Blaney* arrived with the newes of the surprisal of his House, his wife and children by the Rebels of *Monaghan*.

The discovery
Proclaimed.

This Rebellion began first in the North in the Province of *Ulster*, so that every day and hour ill newes came posting like *Jobs* Messengers

Rebellion first
in *Ulster*.

Anno

1641.

The preparations of defence.

Letters sent to the King and Parliament.

sengers of fearful Massacres upon the *English*, which increased a fear of some Massacre in *Dublin* by the *Papists* there.

The Council began to consider of their own forces to defend, and were assured that the Money was in the Exchequer, the Kings revenues, and *English* Rents for that halfe year lodged in Tenants hands, a fit prey for the Rebels, which they seized: some Artillery, Arms for 10000. men, 1500. barrels of powder with Match and lead laid in by the last Earl of *Strafford*. By which List of his it appeared that the old standing Army in *Ireland* consisted only of 41. Companies of foot and 14. Troopes of Horse, The foot Officers 246. and of Souldiers 2051. In all 2297. The Horse Officers 42. and Horsemen 901. In all 943. These to disperied as not without difficulty to march; yet the Council sent their *Patents* to several Garisons to march to *Dublin*.

And Letters dispatched to the King in *Scotland* and to the Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland* not got out of London, of the Rebellion and ill State of the Kingdome depending on Gods assistance, the fidelity of the old *English* Pale, and aid out of *England*; that they intended to prorogue the Parliament and adjourn the Term. And that their present Army now subsisting contain but 2000. foot and 1000. Horse, the five and twentieth of *October* 1641. with a postscript, for recompense to *Conally* for his disservice, as may stand with the Mark of his Majesties bounty for that service, who had a present peece of money and a certain annuity during his life very considerable, who carried these Letters to the Lord Lieutenant.

Those to the King, were sent to Secretary *Vane* in *Scotland* and conveyed by sea by Sir *Henry Spotswood*: Other Letters were sent to the Earl of *Ormond* at Carick to repair with his forces to *Dublin*, and commissions were sent to the Lords Viscounts of *Clandeboys* and *Ardes* and to others for the raising of the *Scots* in the Northern parts into Arms, with power to destroy the Enemy or to receive them to Mercy, but all these dispatches were sent by sea, the whole Land passages stopt by the Rebels.

The Lords of the *English* pale repair to the Council, offering their faith and service: It is a large Circuit of Land possessed by the *English* from the first Conquest, being the Counties of *Dublin*, *Meth*, *Louth*, *Kildare*: Yet some of these Lords Popish, humbly offered their sense of the wars in the late Proclamation as to be misinterpreted viz. the Conspiracy of evil affected Irish *Papists*, as to reflect upon their persons, which were afterwards explained to please them and so Proclaimed.

And now the Rebels up in all places, they in *Ulster* had by the latter end of *October* possessed themselves of all the great part of the Province of *Ulster*, except the Cities of *Londonderry*, *Colraigue* and the Town and Castle of *Enickillen*, the chief Rebels were Sir *Philip Oneale*, *Turbick Oneale* his brother, *Rewry Mac Guire* brother to the Lord

All *Ulster* possessed by the Rebels.

Anno
1641.

Lord Mac Guire, Philip O Rely, Mulmere O Rely, Sir Connò Mac Gennes Call, Mac Ruian, Mac Mahon, these with others the chief of every Sept had (as at one instant) surprized the Castles and places of the most considerable strengths, and the *English* being lovingly intermixed with the *Irish* for a long time, made the Conspiracy more easily to be effected: Besides such of the *English* as had gotten into some places of strength able to indure a siege, yet upon good quarter rendered themselves, were sure to be butchered and murdered in cold blood, men women and children. And to keep of the Assistance of the *Scots*, they openly professed and really did spare them, the more easily afterwards to be swallowed up at a bit.

These were the first fruits of the Rebellion in all the Northern parts acted by Phelim O Neale the chief of that Sept and the onely remain of cruel alliance to the late Earl of Tirone: He was of very mean parts with courage or conduct: His education in *England* a Student of *Lincolns Inn* and a Protestant till of late, lived lasily of a mean estate untill now, that the Natives set him up for their General, and with such Numerous a rabble, that he marched down towards *Lisnagarvy* neer the *Scots*, and fell upon them now without mercy, and with other forces came up into the Pale and took in *Dondalk* about the beginning of *November*, then they marcht to the County of *Lowth* and incamped at *Ardee* a small Town within seven miles of *Tredagh* antiently called *Drohedagh* which they Besieged afterwards.

The Newes from *Dublin*, being instantly posted to the Town of *Tredagh*, was there encountred with the like mischievous tidings from the North, the treacherous surprisal of the Castles *Blainey*, *Carrick*, *Charlemont*, *Monahan* with others, came thick and three fold one upon another; and a rumour that *Dublin* was already taken, confirmed by numbers stripped and wounded that fled hither.

The first succour was the Lord Viscount Moor being then at *Mellifont*, ten miles off, who by the sad newes of his Sister the Lady *Blaney* and her children imprisoned, made speed to save himself, with some part of his Troop not more than sixty hither at Midnight, joyned in Counsel with the Major suddainly, to prevent the mischief by many vipers in their own Bowels; but of all the Muster not above fourty to be found, gave great suspition, the rest were not found. Instantly were drawn out many old peeces, scowred and planted at several Gates fower more were heaved out of a Merchants Ship in the *Harbour*, and some powder, the Lord Moor posts to *Dublin* offers to make up his own Troop and to raise one hundred foot with amunition which was speedily brought thither with him, with a Commission to Captain *Sea foule Gibson* to command these Men and instantly to take the watch, who was the first and last worthy of Record, for his faithful service, watching in his own per-

Phelim O
Neale the Ge-
neralismo Re-
bell his Char-
acter.

News sent to
Droghedagh.

Lord Moor
comes with
succour.

Anne
1641.

Townes surprized by the
Rebells.

Person for ten nights together, and continuing the war, became Colonel of a Regiment.

By this time the Rebels had taken *Dundalk* and *Dromiskin* and pillaged all the Protestants within five miles. The Papist Townsmen were discovered by their smiling countenance. All promised relief failing, Sir *Faithful Fortescue* being Governour posted to *Dublin*, where finding no hope of Assistance he quitted his charge not willing to loose himself and his honour to boote in an impossible undertaking. After a solemn fast, some forces sallied out upon the thickest of the Rebels, who fled and left much plundered goods and Cowes to comfort the Towns-people, two hundred Rebels and eighty brought in Prisoners, whereof six only were hanged, Many treacherous designs of the Town Papists failed, many Protestants fled to sea, and although Docter *Barnard* their chief Minister had the conveniency offered him to be gon, he would not desert his Congregation thin as they were, telling them as St. *Am-brose* said to *Justina*, *Non prodam lupis gregem mihi commissum; hic occide si libet.*

At this time comes a competent strength of one hundred horse and ten hundred foot under command of Sir *Henry Tichburn* appointed Governour of the Town the fourth of *November*; which the Catholiques resented coldly, upon whom the Protestants had just suspicion, and therefore wearied succours were faine to stand Guard that Night. And now it was time to name the Brat and call it a through Rebellion, which till now was favoured with the interpretation of an Act of discontented Gentlemen: Not long after the State added three companies of foot, so beside the Town Arms they were compleat 1500. foot and 160. horse.

Not many nights after there was dropt in the street a faire Declaration of the Catholiques of *Ireland* framed upon presumption that the design contrived had been effected, and by the way at each corner seems to have been fixed; and this the most authentick, that came to light.

The General
Declaration of
the Catho-
liques of Ire-
land.

Whereas we the Roman Catholiques of the Kingdom of Ireland have been continually loving and faithfull Subjects to his sacred Majesty, and notwithstanding the severall and heavy oppressions suffered by the subordinate Governments to the ruine of our lives honours and estates, yet having some liberty of our Religion from his Majesty out of the affluence of his Princely love to us; we weighing not corporal loss in respect of the great immunity of the soule are instantly resolved to infix our selves in an immutable and pure allegiance for ever to his royal Majesty and successors.

Now it is, That the Parliament of England maligning and envying any graces received from his Majesty by our Nation, and knowing none desired of us as that of Religion, and likewise perceiving his Majesty

to

ANNO
1641.

to be inclined to give us the liberty of the same, drew his Majesties Prerogative out of his hand, thereby largely pretending the general good of his Majesties Kingdoms. But we the sad Catholicks and loyal Subjects to his Majesty, do probably finde as well by some Acts to pass by them the said Parliament touching our Religion, in which the Catholicks of England and Scotland did suffer; as also by threat to send over the Scottish Army with the Sword and Bible in hand against us, That their whole and studied Plots, both was and is, not onely to extinguish Religion, (by which we onely live happily) but also likewise to supplant us, and raze the name of Catholicks and Irish out of the whole Kingdom. And seeing this surmise so dangerous, tending absolutely to the overthrow of the liberty of our consciences and Countrey, and also our gracious Kings power forced from him; in which, and in whose prudent care of us our sole quiet and comfort consisted, and without which the fear of our present Ruines did prescribe opinion, and premonish us to save our selves.

We therefore as well to regain his Majesties said Prerogative, being onely due to him and his Successours, and being the essence and life of Monarchy, hoping thereby to continue a strong and invincible unity, between his royal and ever happy love to us, and our faithfull Duty and Loyalty to his incomparable Majesty, have taken Arms, and possessed our selves of the best and strongest Forts of this Kingdom, to enable us to serve his Majesty, and to defend us from the tyrannous resolution of our Enemies.

This in our consciences, as we wish the peace of the same to our selves and our posterity, is the pretence and true cause of our raising Arms, by which we are resolved to perfect the advancement of truth and safety of our King and Countrey. Thus much we thought fit in general to publish to the world, to set forth our innocent and just cause, the particulars whereof shall be speedily declared.

God save the King.

Upon the fifth of November the Lords and Council of Ireland sent their second Dispatch from Dublin unto the King in Scotland, and several Letters also into England to the Parliament and Council and to the Earl of Leicester elect Lord Lieutenant, setting down the particular Narrative of the Rebellion, and so take together the success of both Dispatches.

Second Dispatch to the King in Scotland and to England.

The first Letters arrived at London the last of October, and that Even were delivered, and the next Morning the Upper House sent them down to the House of Commons by the Lord Keeper, Privy Seal, High Chamberlain, Admiral, Marshal, Chamberlain, the Earls of Bath, Dorset, Leicester, Holland, Berks, Bristol, Lord Mandevill, Say, Goring, Wilmot, who had Chairs to sit while the Letters were read, and so departed.

Anno

1641.

The House instantly resolved into a Committee, and order,
That fifty thousand pounds be forthwith provided.

That the Lords be moved, that Members of both Houses may declare to the City of *London* the present necessity to borrow fifty thousand pounds to be secured by Act of Parliament.

That a Committee of both Houses consider of the affairs of *Ireland*.

That *Owen O Conally* the Discoverer shall have five hundred pounds presently, and two hundred pounds *per annum* Pension till provision of Land of Inheritance of a greater value.

That the persons of all Papists of quality in *England* be secured.

That no persons (except Merchants) shall pass to *Ireland*, without Certificate from the said Committee.

To all which the Lords consented.

Then the House of Commons vote twenty thousand pounds for present supply.

A convenient number of Ships for guarding the Sea-coasts of *Ireland*.

That six thousand Foot, and two thousand Horse, be forthwith raised for *Ireland*, and Officers to be appointed over them.

That Magazines of Victual be forthwith sent to *Westchester*, to be sent to *Dublin*, as occasion shall require.

That the Magazines now at *Carlisle* be forthwith sent over to *Knockfergus* in *Ireland*.

That the Kings Council consider of a Pacification for Rewards to such as shall do service in *Ireland*, and for a Pardon to such Rebels as shall submit within a time, and of a Sum of Money for Rewards to bring in the Heads of the principal Rebels.

That Letters of Thanks be returned to the Lords Justices there.

That the Committee do consider how and in what manner to make use of *Scotland* here.

And a Bill to be prepared for pressing of Soldiers for *Ireland*.

An Ordinance passed for the Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland* to raise three thousand five hundred Foot, and six hundred Horse, and not to press our dear Brethren of *Scotland* any further than for one thousand Foot to pass from *Scotland* to the North of *Ireland*. And Arms to be delivered out by the Master of the Ordnance out of the store for *Ireland*, for eight thousand Foot and a thousand Horse.

Thus much was discoursed upon the first Letters.

And now upon the second Dispatch the Parliament voted two hundred thousand pounds, and make this Order.

The Lords and Commons, &c. having a due regard to the affections of the City of London, particularly for fifty thousand pounds lent for the

the Irish affairs, and fifty thousand pounds more lent to the Peers attending the King in the Northern parts before the beginning of this Parliament, which are not yet paid, shall be satisfied with Interest out of Moneys which are or shall be raised by Parliament, and an Act to be passed therefore with all expedition; Provided, not to prejudice any Payments formerly appointed to be paid to any Members of Parliament that have lent any Moneys heretofore, or before this Ordinance.

But to return to *Ireland*, the Lords, Justices, and Council, hastily provide for the victualling the Castle of *Dublin*, for safety of that City, and Commissions of Martial Law granted to several persons active men, though Papists, whom as yet they in prudence would not suspect, as it appears to the Lord of *Garmanston*, who after amongst the Popish Governours deserted their houses, and openly declared themselves in actual Rebellion, and found in his house, which was in effect:

*Dublin victu-
alled.*

That they had power to whom they were directed, *Not only to use Fire and Sword for the destruction of the Rebels and their Adherents, but also to preserve the lives of any of them, and to receive any of them into his Majesties mercy and favour: which shewed their Intentions to reduce a rebellious Nation with lenitives, which failing in the Cure, they were enforced to violent Medicines.*

Nay more, to these in general, now delivered Arms and Ammunition, as to the Lord *Garmonston* for five hundred men for the County of *Meath*, and so proportionable to others for all the Counties of the Pale, and others round about, arming the Enemy to cut the *English* throats; so that by the midst of *November* several other Counties declare for the Rebels in *Lemster* and other Provinces: and from all these places of Insurrection the poor miserable *English* that could fly were forced to come to *Dublin* for succour, where they miserably perished for want of Relief, that the publick burying places could not contain their Corps.

The Town of *Dublin* thus settled by Proclamation, they prohibited the access of strangers to the Town, and for loose people to depart.

Some Troops of Horse and Regiments of Foot were forthwith raised.

Sir *Charles Coot* had a Commission for a Regiment which he made up out of the poor wandering *English*, and so had the Lord *Lambert*.

The Earl of *Ormond* was now arrived at *Dublin* with his Troop, complete Curassers of an hundred men.

Sir *Thomas Lucas* with his Troop.

Captain *Armstrong* with his Troop.

Captain *Yarner* with his Troop.

Anno
1641.

Colonel *Crawford* a *Scotchman* came from thence recommended from the Prince *Elect*or now with the King in *Scotland*.

And Sir *Charls Coot* made Governour of *Dublin*.

In *August* before the Rebellion, the Parliament there had been adjourned to the seventeenth of *November*, but upon the Rebellion the three and twentieth of *October*, the Parliament was prorogued till to the four and twentieth of *February*, which offended the *Irish* Papiſts Members, as if ſo long time would be loſt, and no Grievances relieved. Hereupon the Parliament had leave to ſit one whole Day in caſe they would make a clear Proteſtation againſt the Rebels; ſo that on the ſeventeenth of *November* there met a very thin Parliament of both Houſes; but the Popiſh would not endure to ſtyle the Inſurrection a Rebellion: but that they had rebelliouſly and traiterouſly raiſed Arms, as the Proteſtation it ſelf ſet forth by Parliament expreſſeth in effect:

Proteſtation of
the Parliament
in Ireland a-
gainſt the Re-
bells.

Whereas the happy and peaceable eſtate of this Realm hath been of late, and ſtill is, interrupted by ſundry perſons ill-affected to the peace, &c. who have traiterouſly and rebelliouſly raiſed Arms, &c. The ſaid Lords and Commons in Parliament do deteſt and abhor their abominable actions, &c. and ſhall and will maintain the Rights of his Majeſties Crown, the Government, peace, and ſafety thereof againſt all oppoſers, &c. And if they ſhall not within a time limited lay down Arms, ſubmit and be ſuiters for grace and favour, then the Lords and Commons will take up Arms, and will with their lives and fortunes ſuppreſs them.

Phil. Perſival Cler. Parl.

The Parliam.
ſend to treat
with the Re-
bells.

The Parliament ſend Commiſſioners to treat with the Rebels in the North, who heightened with their late Victories, barbarouſly tore the Order of Parliament, and Letter ſent to them, and returned a moſt ſcornfull Answer.

Within a few days after, the Lord *Dillon* of *Coſtelo*, and the Lord *Taff* imbarqued for *England*, but by ſtorm were driven into *Scotland*, and ſo poſted towards *London*; and at the Town of *Ware* their Papers were ſeized, and their perſons committed by the Parliament of *England*, and one Maſter *Thomas Burk* there at that time when the King retired to *Yerk*, and the Breach began in *England*, where theſe Lords found means to ingratiate themſelves at Court, and ſo brought on the Ceſſation of Arms in *Ireland*, which followed.

Letters again
ſent into Eng-
land.

The twentieth of *November* the Lords Juſtices and Council ſent a more particular account of the affairs of *Ireland* to the Lord Lieutenant, who returns Answer, that he had acquainted the King at *Edinburgh* with all their Diſpatches, and that his Majeſty had referred the whole buſineſs of *Ireland* to the Parliament of *England*,
who

who had undertaken the charge and mannagement of the War, as appears by the Order of Parliament transmitted over to Dublin, where it was reprinted, *Novemb. 12. 1641.*

Anno
1641.

Order of Parliament in England concerning Ireland.

The Lords and Commons in this present Parliament being advertised of the dangerous Conspiracy and Rebellion in Ireland, &c. do intend to serve his Majesty with their Lives and Fortunes for the suppressing of this wicked Rebellion, as shall be thought most effectual by the wisdom and authority of Parliament. And have provided for a present supply of Money, and raising six thousand Foot, and two thousand Horse, to be sent from England, being the full proportion desired by the Lords Justices in that Kingdom, with a resolution to add such further succours, as the necessity of those affairs shall require. As also for Arms, Munition, and Victuals, and other necessaries, and have appointed three Ports, Bristol, Westchester, and one other in Cumberland, for Magazines and Store-houses. They resolve likewise to be suiters to his Majesty, for encouragement of such as shall upon their own charges raise Horse or Foot for this service, that they shall be honourably rewarded with Lands of Inheritance in Ireland. And for the better inducing the Rebels to repent, they do hereby commend it to the Lords Justices according to the power of Commission granted them, to bestow his Majesties Pardon to such as shall in a convenient time return to obedience, the greatest part whereof they conceive have been seduced upon false grounds. And likewise to bestow such Rewards as shall be thought fit upon such as shall bring the Heads of the principal Traitors, &c.

John Brown Cler. Parl.

The Earl of *Leicester* having thus long here retarded his service of Lieutenant of *Ireland*, commissioned the Earl of *Ormond* Lieutenant General of the Forces there, and presently after he received a confirmation of that charge from the King in *Scotland*, together with the sum of twenty thousand pounds in *Spanish* pieces of Eight, which passed there in *Ireland* for four pence more in each piece, which the Merchants had for assuring the Money thither, and all landed safe: when upon the one and twentieth of *November* News came that the Rebels were in March and in sight of *Tredagh*, which expected a present Siege, to whom some small Relief was sent *Novemb. 17.*

The Mill Mount in the Town of *Tredagh*, the most defensive for the Guard of *Meath* side, was fortified with four Guns.

The whole County of *Louth* (scarce a Gentleman that was not a Papist excepted) were drawn into this Conspiracy, so that they were beset on that side of the Town Northward with five thousand, or as their own List reported eight thousand.

The Infection spread over the Town.

One *Stanley* a Parliament Burgeis there, and created a Captain, and

Tredagh fortified.

Anno

1641.

and many others, nay the Sheriff of the County revolted, Knight of the Shire also, from us to Rebellion. He with *Stanley* were used Commissioners from them to the Town upon pretended Treaties; but to espy upon our Actions, who were received (not amiss) as to protract time. They pretended to Accommodation, in respect of their Estates in the Town, professing extraordinary affection to the Lord *Moor*, advising him to retreat to his house *Mellifont*, or any of their Castles, where his Father lived secure, during *Tyrone's* Rebellion; and proffered him to be their General of all *Meath* and *Louth*, and satisfaction forthwith to him and his Tenants for any Detriments; this they did to draw from the Protestants such a noble and right faithfull Commander. And so much cunning the Conspiratours used every where at the first, that the State had sent aid into several Counties even unto such as proved Enemies; which were understood by the Lord *Moor*, and prevented in their way above more than a thousand Arms.

The Lord *Gormonston* by petition procured five hundred Arms to his own house for securing of *Meath*, which the Enemy waited to surprize, but was discovered, and the Arms brought to *Tredagh* by the Lord *Mainman*, with a Fortnights pay for the Regiments, which served them for twenty Weeks after.

The Parliament now drawing on, the Lord *Moor* came to *Dublin*, making most noble offers to raise six hundred men, more Clothes and Pay till Supplies from *England*, conditional, that the four Companies in *Tredagh* not yet affixed to any Regiment might be added to his command there to make up a thousand; by which *Dundalk*, *Aberdy*, and the whole County of *Louth* might have been secured: but this not accepted, yet the very offer being publick, the Rebels thereat enraged took opportunity likewise of his absence, and plundered his Estate to the purpose. He was the onely Protestant Lord of the Pale, except the Earl of *Kildare* and the Lord *Hoath*.

It was of a *Sunday, November 21.* in the Morning, that *Mellifont* (three Miles off) was beset, and therefore two hundred Foot and a Troop of Horse was commanded out of *Tredagh*, to aid the Forces there already, when the Enemy marches down *Tallihascot* Hill with a thousand, which gave a stop, and the Men designed were staid, in expectation of the Enemy to fall upon the Town, which proved but to divert, whilst fifteen hundred from several parts were drawing towards *Mellifont*. The Forces there were but four and twenty Muskets, and fifteen Horse, some Servants, and two Scouts abroad, one of them cut off, the other pursued to the Gates, with a Note in writing from *Mac Mahon*, directed to the Warders of the House, to surrender upon Quarter, and withall a Bullet for a Token. The Quarter-master of the Troop boldly bid his Master do his worst, they would never yield to Traitours. The Enemy

was

Lord Moor's
house plunder-
ed.

was lodged on the top of the hill; their foot by marching over the Garden sides in multitudes, whom those few from the house forced to retreat four or five times, and ere long killed 140. and might have been made up to many hundreds had they not wanted powder, having but six shot a peece, cutting their bullets in haltes, and to make even with their powder rammed in five or six together and did great execution. Not a Man lost till all their powder was spent: At their entrance, the Serjeant did his best with his Halbert, thrust some through, others their braines broken out; Thee at last yielded upon quarter, whom yet they threw out of the window, the horse unable to hold out opened the Gates, made a desperate charge through the thickest and came safe to *Drogheda*. The Enemy slew in all thirteen. And one the next day being alive with fourty wounds, they hacked him to death with their skeens; An old Gentleman of eighty years, they seized, to shew them the house; who brought them into the wine cellar, and having well drunken they run him through, and so to another blind Man, they cut his throat, so enraged, they killed the dogs, plundered and defaced the house, to the loss of 2000. l. stripped the women and so departed, so did another ruder rabble of the Tenants devastating all in one night. And yet after all this the Lord *Moor* authorized by Parliament to treat with them, they proffered to him all assurances of satisfaction on his part if he would turn to their side, offered a Cessation till a Messenger might be sent to the King, but all their pretences were feigned, talking of the Kings prerogative; That the Lord *Deputy* might be of their own Nation; of their own pressures; to have freedom of Religion, which they alwaies confidently avouched; confessing that their Priests and Fryars instigated them to this Rebellion, as indeed was too true.

There was a rumour that *Orelies* having taken *Kebs*, *Abracen* and the Navan advanced from the County of *Cavan* towards *Tredagh*, whereupon the State sent supplies thither but miscarried.

The two and twentieth of *November* 600. foot and 50. horse set out of *Dublin* towards *Tredagh*, marching but six miles that night to *Smores*, and had advice to hasten thither the next day, accordingly the Governour issued out, with a sufficient force of foot and horse to meet them, but in a Mutiny the other souldiers would go no further than *Balradbury* six miles more; the next day, somewhat on this side the bridge of *Gillingstone* in a great stubble field they were met with 2000. of the Enemy and in a fog were within Musket shot ere discried. The Captain drew up, the Rebels making a stand did so also. And although his men seemed forward to fight, yet commanded a Counter march, in which compelled to take a ditch, the Enemy misjudging it a flight, began to shout, which so affrighted them into confusion, that they were charged and the most

English defeated at *Gillingstone* Bridge.

Anno
1641.

Surprise of
shipping.

slain. Two Captaines killed and the other (three in all) with one ensign escaped, the 50. horse of the Lord *Ormonds* Troop made their way through without loss of a man. A great loss to us and a greater gain to the Rebels, of Ammunition and monies, and now it appeared plain who were the Enemies in the Pale heretofore Neuters. The Governour of *Drogheda* upon our Scouts intelligence issued out with 600. foot and two Troopes of horse, but came too late and now it became certain that whilst the Commissioners were in the Treaty at the Town they themselves were of this Plot.

Not long after the Enemy took another advantage. The Master of a Chester Bark corrupted by some Popish Merchants abroad, he run her on ground at the Skerms in faire weather, rifling the *English* Passengers of store of money, and fraughted with powder and Ammunition designed for *Dublin*. At the which Landing of the *English* the Lord *Netherfield*, as in favour to them sent them to *Dublin* assuring them that he would take *Tredagh* the next morning, which was believed at *Dublin*; before the Account and evermore in these surprisals, the Enemy would boast of the special hand of Gods providence in their succesles, and likelyhood to deliver the Kingdom unto Catholiques.

The Lords and Gentlemen of the Pale, being secretly the first contrivers of the Rebellion, and had now drawn the Rebels down, from the North, into the Pale; and that presently after the defeat of the *English* at *Gelianston* bridge, the Lord *Germanston* a secret conspiratour summons the County at *Dulick*, and after to the Hill of Crofty to the number of 1000. persons, to whom came divers of the chief Leaders of the Northern Rebels, where they are associated to live and die in their quarrel. And a week after the like summons was to all the Lords and Gentry of the County of *Meath* to meet at the Hill of *Taragh* where multitudes assembled.

And now by reason the Northern Rebels had settled their Camp within the River of *Boyne*, besieging *Tredagh* between that and the City of *Dublin*, and all entercourse of the Pale interrupted, the passages stopt, so that the State were ignorant of what passed there. They therefore called a grand Council of the Lords within distance of *Dublin*, and so Letters were posted to them in effect.

Letters sum-
moning all
the Lords of
the Pale.

That the State had present occasion to confer with them concerning the present estate of the Kingdom, and the safety thereof. And pray and require to his Lordship to be at Dublin the eight day of this Moneth, at which time others of the Peers will be here.

From his Majesties Castle of Dublin the third of December 1641.

To our very good Lord
Georg Earl of Kildare.

Your very loving friends
William Parsons, John Buclaer &c.

And

The Reign of King Charls.

451

And the same day to other several persons, who neer about that time had made the publick Combination with the *Ulster* Rebels. And there they frame their General answer thus in effect.

Ando
1641.

May it please your Lordship.

We have heretofore presented our selves and freely offered our advice and furtherance which was by you neglected &c. Having received advertisement that Sir Charls Coot hath uttered at the Council board some speeches, tending to execute upon these of our Religion a general Massacre, by which we are deterred to waite on your Lordships, not having security for the safety of our lives, but rather to stand upon our Guard till we shall be secured from perills: Nevertheless we all protest to continue faithful advisers and furtherers of his Majesties service concerning the present state of this Kingdom and the safety thereof.

Their answer

Dec. 7. 1641.

Your Lordships humble servants,
Fingale, Germanston, Slame,
Dunsany, Neterville Oliver-
Lowth, Trimbleston.

To this Letter the State gives answer by Proclamation, with all satisfaction to the Lords to remove all misunderstandings and cleer Sir Charles Coot from any such pretended speeches or any intention thereto, and pray the Lords to attend the Board on the seventeenth day after.

But not prevailing Neterville and others of the Pale gather forces and quarter at *Swones* within six miles of *Dublin* and there encamped. To whom the State send their warrant, Immediately upon sight hereof to disband and separate, and that Neterville and six other principal persons amongst them do appear to morrow morning at ten a clock before the Council, upon their utmost perills.

Neterville is
Commanded
to disband.

Dec. 9. 1641.

Ormond Ossery &c.

To which they answer, That for the safety of their lives they were constrained to meet, and resolve so to continue till they might be assured of their lives.

His answer.

Hereupon by publique Proclamation the Earl of Ormond, Lieutenant General of the Army, hath warrant to suppress them, and to bring up such shipping and vessels to the new Crane at *Dublin*, and to destroy the rest the fourteenth of December.

The Rebels now declare Germanston general of their forces in the Pale, Hugh Birne Lieutenant General and the Earl of Fingale General of their Horse, and several Commissions to raise, forces and in a very seemly order and proportion frame an Army with all manner of provisions accordingly.

The sad condition of *Ireland* was very often recommended to

Anno
1641.

the King and Parliament of *England* with a Proposition, 10000. *Scots* to be sent over from *Scotland* with Letters, met the King at his return from thence to *London*. And Commissioners out of *Scotland* arrived at *London* to treat with the Parliament therein, they make offer of 10000. men; provided to receive forth an advance of 30000. l. of brotherly assistance to be afforded to them by the Kingdom of *England* to have shipping for their transport, and upon Landing in *Ireland* to have 100. horse joyn with each 1000. foot, but to receive order and to obey their *Scottish* General which was condescended unto, and great hopes of the effects, specially that the Parliament was so very often urged thereto by his Majesties several speeches, as that of the fourteenth of *December* 1641. More he could not say or offer to do in person therein. But ah las all was delaied and nothing performed, for the Parliament was more busied to quarrel their Priviledges with the King, and the House of Commons utterly refused to send any *English* forces which the Lords proposed to be 10000. foot, so that *Dublin* began to be neerly distressed. All the provinces of *Munster* likewise in Rebellion; The State therefore again send over Letters into *England*; That the Rebels were formidable 20000. in a Body, besides several other Brigadoes in divers Countries, and complain that of the 20000. l. lately sent to them they received but 16000. But in fine the last of *December* arrives Sir *Simon Harcourt* with his Regiment out of *England*.

Tredagh besieged.

Tredagh was now beset on all sides, by Sea and Land, all waies of entercourse to *Dublin* stopped, divers designs were devised for conveyance of intelligence thither. And now upon this grand confederacy of *Meath* and *Louth* they style themselves the Catholique Army. The Town increased their fortifications. Brest workes before each Gate; Platforms in convenient places where the walls were defective, Centinels put to their stands; Ordinances mounted; Aboundance of morning-stars (so called) terrible weapons on the walls, A world of *Crescets* for lights to the Town, An iron chain cross the River, warning to all Neighbours to draw in their Corn and hay, which was prevented, the Enemy at midnight firing the worth of 1000. l. yet some grain was with much hazzard brought in, and fired all our out houses from sheltering the Enemy.

Skirmish at
Greenhills.

At the beginning of *December* the first fruits of skirmish, at St. *Lawrence* Gate and west Gate; the Tovvn sallied out 350. foot and two Troops of horse for securing some carriages sent out for Corn from the Green hills vvithin half a mile, the Enemy having Intelligence from vvithin, and met in the middle vvay in a mighty fog standing in Batalia and numbred to be 3000. At their shout the *English* Officers advise to retreat, and no sooner said but the horse in the Reare ran back to the Gates, discouraging any supply to speed for their succour, yet the Governour *Titchburn* in this confusion the

the more resolute, alighted, and led the Foot forwards to the Succour, advanced the Shot to the Hill, and placed the Pikes in the narrow passage of the Lane to open for the Horse, and so soon made ready.

The Rebels by this time had charged twice, without doing hurt, but the Aid being come up, they charged then so full and effectual, that without standing to the shock, they fell back and fled, chased a Mile and more in sight of the Town Walls, with loss of two hundred, and not one of the *English* hurt.

Amongst the Dead were one Priest, and three Captains, one of them near a Kin to the Earl of *Tyrone*, with Pillage of some Money, Cloaths, and Arms, very usefull to the Assailants.

Such of them Prisoners were often ransomed; and if returned, were well fed, by their Town-sisters, and so fully supplied, as if they had been Martyrs.

Those of ours from them had been crouded in Dungeons, fed with Garbage and Offals, Dogs meat, without Salt or Fire, with Cabbage-stalks, or a Sheaf of Beans, and being returned almost starved, seldom recovered.

Such of the Town Souldiers that were Papists were so poysoned by the Priests, that they stole over the Walls at Mid-nights by Dozens. But after their usual manner, with affording us false Allarms; the Enemy sent an extraordinary Embassage by a Frier, one Father *Darcy*, lately a *Prior* of the *Dominicans* in that Town, his Companion was a Captain of his own name, beating a Parley, was admitted to the Captain of the Port, who received his Commission, in effect:

Message from
the Enemy.

That the General and Captains of the Catholick Army had sent Father Darcy with others to treat with the Governour and Captains of the Town of Drogheda, to whom they were to give credit, as in their Names; desiring safe Conduct and Return under the Governours hand, before they would enter; but ere it could be considered, the Frier upon the bare word of an Officer presents himself. By which he was told the safety of his life, yet being imputed to his inconsiderate Act, not skilled in Arms, he had Audience. And his Arrand no less, than the absolute surrender of the Town for his Majesties use and service, assuring them beside of such Projects and Forces by Land and Sea, as would confirm it impossible to be relieved.

The Governour and Council told him of their Commission from the King of such a Date, to defend it against them; but if theirs were of a later Date from his Majesty or the Lords Justices, they would submit. In the mean time they were better able to keep the Town, than the Countrey was to keep them. No such distress within, to admit of so mean a thought: were it by Sword or Famine to endure the most extremity. And

Anno

1641.

The Oath of
the Catholicks

And so having this Answer to his Arrand, he took leave, giving to the Governour a Copy of the Oath lately taken by the Lords of the Pale, and by the rest of the Catholicks.

I A. B. in the presence of Almighty God, and all the Angels and Saints in Heaven, promise, vow, swear and protest, to maintain and defend as far as I may, with my life, power and estate, the publick and free exercise of the true Catholick Roman Religion, against all persons that shall oppose the same.

I further swear, that I will bear faith and true Allegiance to our Sovereign Lord King Charls, his Heirs and Successours, and that I will defend him and them as far as I may, with my life, power and estate, against all such persons as shall attempt any thing against their royal Persons, Honours, Estates and Dignities, and against all such as shall directly or indirectly endeavour to suppress their royal Prerogatives, or do any Act or Acts contrary to royal Government; as also the power and Privileges of Parliament, the lawfull Right and Privileges of the Subject, and every person that makes that Vow, Oath, and Protestation, in whatsoever he shall do in the lawfull pursuance of the same.

And to my power as far as I may, I will oppose, and by all ways and means endeavour to bring to condign punishment, even to the loss of life, liberty and estate, all such as shall either by force or practise, Counsels, Plots, Conspiracies, or otherwise, do, or attempt any thing to the contrary of any Article, Clause, or any thing in this present Vow, Oath, and Protestation contained. So help me God.

Upon this the Governour and Council thought fit to draw up a Protestation and Oath, as followeth :

The Protestation.

The Protestants Oath.

Whereas we are beset with such who pretend their Attempts in taking of this Town to be for the advancement of his Majesties service, (which notwithstanding is but a pretext to delude the vulgar) we the Governour and Captains, for the further manifestation and approbation of our loyalty and faithfulness to his Majesty, by whose immediate command, we are charged for the defence of his royal Title in it, do likewise hereby unanimously make this following Protestation and Oath.

The Oath.

To defend this Town against all outward and inward Attempts whatsoever for his Majesties service.

And discover any Plot, Conspiracy, or Combination, which may or shall come to my knowledg, from without, or within, which may be any way intended to the prejudice of the whole Town, or Governours and Council.

Nor

The Reign of King Charls.

455

Nor consent that the Town shall be given up upon any pretence or cause whatsoever, without the consent of the Governour and Officers, or without the special command from his Majesty, or chief Governour or Governours of this Kingdom.

Anno
1641.

But Master Mayor and Aldermen, after time allowed for consideration, utterly refused this Oath, pretending, that thereby they might hazzard the favour of a fair Quarter: and two chief Officers papistical, yet having taken the Oath, and afterwards stealing over the Wall, the one brake his Back, the other his Neck; and sandry others, none escaped without Maims.

The Siege growing hot, yet the weather cold, about the end of December, friezing the River Boyne in one night, a boy was taken very early upon the Ice, and confessed that four Aldermens Wives sent him over to the Rebels, with assurance that they might come over the Ice that night, and for which service they had given him money, and promised him more; and confessed, that the Rebels Answer was, that they expected Intelligence from the men, whose judgments would more prevail: and fearing some Plot of the Governour, they desired a better Token and Assurance.

Several Enter-
prizes with
effect against
the Rebels.

On New-years day very early, four of the Town-companies with a Troop of Horse resolved to visit some Quarters Northward, but the Gates so frozen hindered the opening, onely Captain Martin with his Company getting over the Wall, killed fifteen and a Centinel, and returned; had the other got out, they might have made them up as many hundreds, so secure were the Enemy, and ever flying any Assault, left that Village and another to the fury of fire.

A Week after, three hundred Foot and eighty Horse passed out at Saint John's Port, killed an hundred, and forced an hundred into the River, and drowned them: amongst them one Art Ro Mac Moghon a great Commander: they took fifty Arms, Cows, and other Booty, burnt their Lodgings, and pursued the Run-aways two Miles, and not a Man of the *English* lost, and so retreated.

And now the Town-victual was scarce, confined to Herrings and Water, without any Bread at all; some Corn found stored up in Stacks was threshed and ground, but by Querns, not able to serve so many thousands, Souldiers and Inhabitants: the milch Cows killed and divided: Coals grew scarce, all firing of Wood whatsoever was spent: all Provision for Horse failed; which made them droop, and unfit for service: Sickness and Death raged every where, Famine increased.

The besieged
in distress.

It was the eleventh of *January* that Relief came in a Pinnace, a Frigot, a Gabbard, with two Shallops, and another small Vessel, all laden with Bisket and Munition, of both extremely wanting.

Relief to the
Town.

But the wonderfull showres of the Enemies shot from each side
the

Anno

1641.

The Enemies
Invasion.

the River, and the Town Ordnance playing upon whole Compaines, which did execution on them, but none of the *English* hurt; yet the Enemy had sunk a Bark in the Channel, to prevent Relief, which was carried into the Sea with the Frost, and chained the Channel, which succeeded not, coming in one Tide up the River to the Key, without casting Anchor, seldom seen before.

And in midst of the Towns jollity for this seasonable Blessing, the Enemy took opportunity to make Invasion upon them.

This nights mirth made the Souldiers drunk, Watches and all, invited by the false Brethren Aldermen to strong Ale freely, the Friers drawing in the Centinels from their Guards to be merry, and securely asleep, the Enemy at the early morning made a Breach in the Wall, and were entered five hundred of the chief Commanders an hour and more undescried by the help of a dark night; their Watch-word was *Klan Patrick*, Saint *Patrick's* Childe, and their own shout (being come to the Key) was the first Allarm, rather by them intended to rouse their secret Friends, being almost assured of their Design. The Governour instantly ran out unarmed, save with a Pistol in his hand, caused a Drum to beat, came to the Main Guard, his own Company, which his Ensign drew down to the Bridg, and so met the Enemy, whose Pikes being shorter by a yard, charged them home to a Retreat, after they had overturned a Drake. The Governour having gotten more strength came to the God-speed, and in the dark meets the Enemy, which he took to be his own, and by his tongue was known, so that a Rebelle lets fly at him, and hurt a Souldier beside him; all give fire so effectual, that the Enemy ran back: the Lord *Moor* was this instant come in with but fifteen Horse, which served the turn, to chase them up the Hill; others were lost in by-lanes and streets, but by the light were soon discovered, and paid dear for sculking, and two hundred slain, many of them principal Officers; for it was their work of Gallantry, and promised successfull.

It may be imagined what mistakes happened in the dark of each other, for but by their flight it was not discerned where the Breach opened for their entrance; an obscure place in an Orchard, directed thither no doubt, by intelligence from the Town-traitours; without the Town were thousands expecting the opening of some Port, which had been promised, which being apprehended, and to catch them in toils, the Town set up a Bag-piper of theirs upon one of the Gates, who merrily made them make more haste, as if all were wone; and upon other Gates they waved their Bonnets, as signs of mirth. It was some sport to see companies of straglers leaping Ditches for the nearer way, and out of breath to get in with the first, were buried and taken by Dozens, and brought in a Rope, till the Prisons were glutted. Nor would they be enlightened with the truth, till a Gun or two from the Mill Mount swept away thirty of them about the Walls.

Winde

Winde and Weather inviting, our Pinnace prepared for her Voyage to fetch more Provision; many a shot she escaped, but a Fisher-boat in the rear steered on ground, and was taken, with thirty pounds of Pouder, two Slings, and one Harquebush, and fourteen Prisoners, who were exchanged.

The Pinnace also at an Ebb lay dry, and was approached by an hundred men under shelter of Cart-loads of Furze, ran under her very Stern, with Pick-axes and Iron Crows, began to bulge her, but were beaten off by Captain *Sturfield* with Hand-granadoes, killing many, besides the execution of Musket and Cannon in their flight, to the number of threescore; the Pinnace by lightning her Ballast, and a change of Winde, got off safe into the Pool, and so the third day bid farewell.

In this time some hurt was done to the Lord *Moor's* Lands, firing his Tenements. Many Drum Parlies followed, with Letters, some so transcendent beyond all sense, others vaporous, and vanished into non-sense.

Two nights after there marched out fourty Musketiers under conduct of Lieutenant *Greenham*, and twenty Horse commanded by Cornet *Constable*, to fetch in some Stacks of Corn, discovered by the Scouts; these unexpectedly meet with five hundred in a Body, newly come from the North, and charge within half Musket-shot, fought well at the first, but shortly shogged, and were routed; threescore with a Lieutenant and an Ensign were killed, nine Prisoners and one Ensign, several Serjeants, and two Colours, marching home with this Triumph.

One of the Prisoners of quality was begirt with Saint *Francis's* Girdle, as a Benediction for his Soul, not for his Body, for it escaped not the Bullet through the devoted Knots, which was dyed from Grey to Bloud-red.

The next days Sally had better success, firing three Villages, took some Prisoners, the *English* feasting themselves with such countrey fare which their laden Backs could not bring home, and new-cloathed with such Apparell as heretofore had been taken from their Fellows at *Mellifont*.

February the fourteenth a fresh Encounter by Sally invited the hungry Souldier to fight, for some Horse and Foot fell upon a Convoy of eighty Cows, and two hundred Sheep, and carried the Spoil without loss of a man, to the extreme comfort of the hungry Souls within.

The next day thus fleshed, another Sally of an hundred Foot and one Troop for Corn, who met with fifteen hundred from several parts, but the *English* retired without loss through a part of their Body, killed nine, and returned; onely some twenty or thirty poor stragling people, Men and Women, were seized, barbarously and basely butchered, not affording any Quarter to the weakest.

Anno

1641.

A pinnace set out for Provision.

Several sallies.

Anno

1641.

O Neale re-
turned.

The Rebells General *O Neal* was now returned from the North, vv hither he marched vvith some Troops to fetch Artillery for Battery, and fresh Suppliees, but failing of his Design, he stole back in secret, lodging unknowvn at *Bewly*, tvvo Miles off, from vvhence he sent his Message to the Lord *Moor*.

That he had taken all the Towns of the North but two, which were at his pleasure. That the whole Kingdom was in the like case, and now wondered that Drogheda durst, or should be so singular, as to stand out, & to hope of deliverance from his hands. Yet caressing his Lordship with unfeigned affection, and offers of Honours, with satisfaction of all his Losses. If not to take warning, before such a Day, to prepare for his last, for he would then take the Town, and deny him Quarter.

Supply by sea.

But before the Day intended, even on *Sunday* morning, Nevvs comes into the Church, that tvvo Pinnaces, fix Gabbards, three Frigots, vvith a Shallop vv ere safely arrived from *Dublin* vvithin the Bar, laden vvith plentiful Relief for three Moneths, and vvith a Prize also, a Rebell Bark loaden vvith Herrings, sailing to their Confederates. Nay, see the goodness of God, to prevent Relief, the Rebells had sunk another Bark in the Channel, vv which the Winde and Tide drove into the Sea; and having also strongly chained together many Ship-masts with Timber, bound up with a great Cable, and supported by seven or eight great Boats crosse the Channel, the very day before the Relief burst in sunder of themselves, with many the remarkable passages of Gods great mercy at that time. A Bag of Poudre fired in one Gabbard, scorched the faces of a few, without more hurt: and though the Enemy plaid their Shot on both sides the River, not a man killed: and with this small Fleet the Town was strengthened, also with four Companies of fresh men, making up the Lord *Moor*'s Regiment complete. And the whole Force of the Town was novv sixteen hundred Foot, and an hundred and fifty Horse vvell furnished, to look the Enemy in the face.

O Neale
storms the
Town.

And their General *O Neal* that *Sunday* night making all the Force he could, about evening applied his Scaling Ladders to the Wall, and in special at one place, near Saint *Laurence* Gate, at a low private corner, many Ladders were brought, two of them presently fixed and mounted, the Centinel missing Fire, they advanced to the top, where the Centinel knockt them down with the But-end of his Musket, and called to the Gunner, who came conveniently to kill many, and to make them fly, and leave thirteen Ladders behind; the number of their Dead they dragged away, and so not to be accounted; but of the *English* not one.

With the Relief came a Proclamation from the State against those Rebells, and was published, wherein the Prizes for their Heads

vvas

was assured, for *O Neal's* a thousand pounds, *Rely* and others at eight hundred, the rest at four hundred pounds, which set the Souldiers in a heat to be at work for a Prize.

Then came several Messages and Letters from sundry Rebels of the North: one Packet to the Lord *Moor*, transcribed under his Sisters hand the Lady *Blany* their Prisoner, with their Children and Sisters: but no doubt of their inditing or correcting: the same was an offer either of all their Prisoners in *Ulster* for the Lord *Macquire* (now Prisoner at *Dublin*) or else the Lady *Blany*, with her Children and Sisters, and other Gentlemen in or near the Castle of *Moughan*, for two other of their Prisoners at *Dublin*; for the soliciting of which was inclosed the Lady *Blanies* Petition to the Lords Justices, with other private Letters from her to sundry of her Friends, the Lord *Moor* and her Kinsmen. All which after the reading of the Lord *Moor* were to be returned, from whence they came.

We may not omit the memories of some treacherous, base cruelties to their Prisoners, the butchery of the Lord *Calfield* at *O Neal's* own house, to which as in favour he was removed, and no sooner entered, but was shot through the Back by a base Fellow.

The sudden hanging of Master *Richard Blany*, for not going to Mass.

Another of note enforced by torture to hear Mass, and to receive their Sacrament, being now (they said) well prepared for God, bid him chuse his Engine, an Halter or a Wieth, by which they hanged him, and so of many more.

Their drowning of five hundred *English* at *Porta Down-bridg*, which for the stinck of the bodies is now called *Down-sink*.

Drowning others by hundreds, poor, miserable Women and Children.

At *Newry* they shipped two hundred packt into a rotten Vessel pretending to send them to *Drogheda*, and being on ship-board; took away Sails and Rudder, and sent them to Sea, to be cast away; when the poor *English* had sweat in their Drudgery even to Death, and done their Labour in hope of Mercy, for their Reward, had all their throats cut: nay, before their Death, the Villains would wager which of their Companions could hack the deepest in their flesh, and so killed them with wondrous wounds, for sport and recreation.

It would weary the Reader to have Relations of thousands of such, that no Heathen or *Turkish* stories can parallel.

But the Pinnaces unloaden of their welcome Burthens, are sent back again for more supply, when the Town issued out with two hundred and twenty Foot, and an hundred and twenty Horse, South-wards to *Beanbeck*, burnt that, and marched on to *Smiths-Town*, and met with five Companies, who instantly fled, and in pursuit were slain three hundred, two Colours taken by Major *For-*

Anno
1641.

Letters from
the Rebels in
the North.

Base butche-
ries by the Re-
bells.

Feb. 26. Fresh
Supply by Sea.

Anno

1641.

tescue, and Captain *Briar* an hundred and sixty Cows. The fight of thirty *English* Men and Women murdered in Ditches, enraged these to revenge.

In this Encounter Sir *Patrick Weyms* commanded the Earl of *Ormond's* Troop, and put *Preston* hard to it, who left his Baggage, good Booty, and fled. Amongst his Cloaths in a *Portmantue* were three Letters, whereby appeared, that the Lords *Germanston* and *Trimelston*, and divers others were now discovered to be Traitors.

The Lord *Moor* and the Governour went out, secured in much Corn by four Companies of Sir *Joh: Burlace*, met with two Companies of Rebels, against whom Captain *Billingsley* with eight Musketers routed a Lieutenant, with thirteen slain, a Captain of *O Neal's* taken Prisoner, the rest escaped into *Stanime*; the Castle of *Calpe* was taken, and four and twenty therein put to the Sword. Much Corn brought in daily, some fresh Provisions also from Sea, and good success in all the Sallies, made the Besiegers finde themselves besieged.

The Lord *Moor* would needs visit his own Rebell Tenants at *Tal-laghballon*, protected by *Callo Mac Brian*; he had but four hundred Foot, and eighty Horse; the Enemy were three for one, whom Colonel *Byron* with the Foot attached; but after the reply of the Rebels to three or four Ranks they fled; four hundred men with seven Captains were slain; *Moyle Mac Moghan*, (his Head valued in the Proclamation beyond his merit) was taken Prisoner, stripping himself naked, was taken among the Dead, sculking, perswading himself, that his Life should secure the Lady *Blany* and her Children; not one of the *English* slain.

And the next day the Governour marched, firing and pillaging round about, the Enemy not appearing.

For the Rebell *Generalissimo O Neal*, with all his Commanders were privately risen and gone, leaving the Countrey to mercy, and many of his secret Conspiratours in *Tredagh* to answer for all.

The Enemy now fled towards *Dundalk*, and this Town now set open Gates and Ports, for all the Countrey to come in with abundance of Provision to the refreshed Souldiers; the 20. of *March* ending this year, 1641. with News of their new Markets, Eggs fifteen a Penny, Hens two Pence a piece, a milch Cow five Shillings, twelve pence a good Horse, Wheat the finest of eight Shillings a Barrel.

As the Enemy marched and fled, they cut throats of all *English* Men, Women, and Children, at *Aberdee*, and *Slane*.

The Earl of *Ormond* (Lieutenant General) was marching to finde out an Enemy with three thousand Foot, and five hundred Horse, burning the County of *Meath*, and so visited *Drogheda*, which was now able to bid his Army welcome.

Here a Council of War was called, the Lord *Moor*, the Governour Sir *Tichburn*, Sir *Thomas Lucas*, Sir *Simon Harcourt*, Sir *Robert*

The Siege
raised *March*
20.

bert Ferrald, with other Colonels and Captains, resolved to pursue the Rebels, but the Lord *Ormond* was called back by the Lords Justices to *Dublin*, vvvhich gave heart to the Rebels to gather again at *Aberdee* and *Dundalk*, vvvhither thousands resorted from all parts of *Meath* and *Louth*.

To unkennel them, the Lord *Moor* marches out vvwith a thousand Foot, and tvvo hundred Horse tovwards *Aberdee*, about a Mile from thence the Enemy appears in tvvo Divisions of tvvelve hundred a piece, betveen vvvhom and the Tovvn a party of Horse gets, and another party besides them and a Bog, a Forlorn of an hundred scoured some Ditches, stumbled on an *Ambuscado*, beat them out, and fell upon their Body, vvwho fled, and four hundred slain; but if my Intelligence and Authours tell truth here, as in many the like Defeats, not a man of the *English* slain, sometimes for hundreds of the Rebels; and here as it is recorded, not one man lost, onely an Horse-man shot in the Heel, and an Horse in the Hoof. It may be supposed, that the Protestants are partial to themselves; but in assurance to the contrary, take this for truth, the Rebels naturally traiterous to their Sovereigns, treacherous to each other, their falsity brings them to covvardice, and fear makes them cruel vvwhere they prevail.

But on they go, the *English* burning all about, and marched tovwards *Dundalk*, the Receptacle of Magazine, and place of Protection for the County Provisions, vvvhich vvvas assaulted the next Day, fortified vvwith double Walls, double Ditches, Marshes on the one side, and the Sea on the other. The next morning all the poor Protestant Prisoners vvvere clapped up close, vvwith an intent to have hanged them all, if the Tovvn came to hazzard. The *English* approached about nine of the clock in the Morning, their Ordnance planted upon a small Hill not far from the Gate, vvvhich vvvere manned vvwith five hundred men; the Protestants Forlorn Hope of an hundred gave fire to the Gate, vvvere beaten avway, but came again; a Division of three hundred commanded by Lieutenant Colonel *Waiman* began to pick-ax the Wall, vvwho fired the Defendants, and entered the Breach, the Horse follovving upon the Spur, but made a Stand against three Brass Pieces maintained by five hundred men, and therefore the Assailants retired, but out of a small Castle they flevv ten of the *English*, and three Officers, and an Horse-man; and here also was Ensign *Fortescue*, eldest Son to Sir *Faithfull Fortescue*, slain, a hopefull Gentleman, and the first of that Rank lost in any Fight. But it was no time to delay, having won the out-Town, then fired all the houses about that Castle, carrying the smoak and fire to the very Tower and Castle, and so undescried got under the Walls to the very Gate, blew it open, and those within choaked and fired, leaped out at the Windows. A Serjeant with five men, by promise of Pillage, enter, and were Masters of the Castle,

Anno

1641.

file, and thirty good Musketiers manned the Streets, drew up Ordnance against the inner Gate, and with ten Wool-packs, (ready in the Castle) with which making a kinde Defence, the Enemy fled, leaving their Guns loaden.

Their *Generalissimo O Neal* now in the Town, stole away with others over the River. *Tichburn* enters, killing all before him, and sends to the Lord *Moor*, that the Town was deserted, who entered another way, and were Masters of all by seven a clock at night; above an hundred slain, and of the Assailants but fourteen.

But by this, *O Neal* had fled to *Bally Muscomilen*, a Castle of the Lord *Moor's*, and in revenge burnt it.

This Victory was the Break-neck of the Rebellion Northwards.

And the Lord *Moor* had Commission from the Lords Justices to be Governour thereof.

In this time Captain *Gibson* commanding the Garrison at *Bewby*, harraased the Countrey, killed many Straglers, so that the whole Countrey lay at the Protestants mercy.

And thus far we have proceeded in the intire story of the *Irish* Rebellion for this year. But we must look back to *England*, and see what they did here, from the Kings return out of *Scotland*, the latter end of *November*, 1641.

The King returns from *Scotland*, magnificently feasted by the City of *London*; and he at *Hampton Court* caresses them with a Banquet, and dubbed divers Aldermen into the honour of Knighthood; but how well they deserved, forthwith we shall finde their merit.

The King convenes both Houses, and the second of *December* tells them in effect:

The Kings
Speech to both
Houses.

That although he had staid longer than he expected, (four Moneths) yet he kept his word in making so much haste back again, as his Scottish affairs could any way permit. In which he hath had so good success, that he hath left that Nation a most peaceable and contented People; but he is assured, that his expectation is much deceived in the condition wherein he hoped to have business at his return; for since that before his going he had settled the Liberties of his Subjects, and gave the Laws their liberty, he expected to have his People reaping the fruit by quietness. But he findes them distracted with Fealousies and Allarms of Designs and Plots. That Guards have been set to defend both Houses. He cannot doubt of his Subjects affections, for he acknowledges the joyfull reception at his now entring into London. He bringing as perfect affections to his People as ever Prince did, or as good Subjects can possibly desire: and is as far from repenting any good that he hath done this Session, that he resolves to grant what else can be justly desired in point of Liberties, or in maintenance of the true Religion. Particularly he commends unto
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Anno
1641.

them the state of Ireland, the preparations going on but slowly, which is the cause that two Lords are arrived from Scotland, who come instructed from his Council there, to answer that demand which both Houses made by Petition, that met him at Barwick; and which the Duke of Richmond did send back (by the Kings command) to his Scottish Council. Therefore desires the Houses to appoint a Committee to end the business with these two Lords.

Then because no Jealousie should arise concerning Religion, he settles his Command for obedience to the Laws ordained for that purpose, and Proclaimes the tenth of December, That Divine service be performed in England and Wales according to the Laws and Statutes, and that obedience be given by all people to the same. And that all Ministers, Ecclesiastical and Temporal do put the said Acts of Parliament in due execution against all contemners and disturbers of Divine service, and that no Persons Vicars or Curates introduce any Rite or Ceremony other then these established by the Laws of this Land.

Proclamation
for obedience
to the Laws
concerning
Rebellion.

And two daies after he publishes his Proclamation, That all the Members of both Houses repair to the Parliament at or before the twelfth of January next for continuance thereof &c. And being come He salutes them thus; the fourteenth of December. Because they delayed the consideration of the most important business Ireland, he reminds them that at his last presence, He recommended to them the lamentable condition of the affaires of Ireland, and the miserable condition of the Protestants there. That he will not wast time to tell them the detestation he bears to Rebellion in General, and of this in particular, but knowing that Deeds and not Declarations must suppress this great insolencie, therefore he offers his paines, power and industry, to contribute to this necessary work of reducing the Irish to obedience, That for the Bill for pressing of Souldiers lodged with the Lords, but if it come to him he promiseth to pass it. And because some had started the question into a dispute concerning the bounds of the Kings prerogative herein, He offers to avoide such debate that the Bill shall pass with a Salvo Jure both for King and People, and concludes; Conjuring them by all that is or can be dear to them or him, to hasten with speed the business of Ireland.

The Kings
speech to the
Houses.

No sooner said, but they Petitioned Him with what they had in readines for priviledge of Parliaments, being their Birth rights. Declaring with all duty and reverence, That the King ought not to take notice of any matter in agitation and debate in either Houses, but by their Information; Nor ought not to propound any Condition Provision or limitation to any Bill, or Act in debate or preparation, or to manifest or declare his consent or discent, approbation or dislike before it be presented in course; Nor ought to be displeased with any debate of Parliament, they being Judges of their own errors and offences in debating matters depending. That these priviledges have been broken of late, in
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The Parlia-
ment peti-
tion for privi-
ledge.

Anno
1641.

the speech of his Majesty on Thursday last the fourteenth of December, particularly in mentioning the Bill for Impres; offering also a Provisional clause by a Salvo Jure before it was presented, and with all they take notice of his Majesties displeasure against such as moved a question concerning the same. And they desire to know the names of such persons as reduced his Majesty to that Item, that he may be punished as they his great Council shall advise his Majesty.

The King seeing them settled in this posture, and to doe nothing till the Kings answer satisfactory to their Petition. He with some regret withdrawes to *Hampton Court*, hoping that his absence might take off the occasion of presenting him with such Exceptions.

But the next day they apoint a Committee to follow him thither, having had time enough in their recess and the Kings being in *Scotland* to form matter enough to perplex him, for now they speak plain, all the whole frame of Government is out of tune, which they Remonstrate as the *State of the Kingdome*, which they accompany with a Petition;

But there fell out an Accident in *Scotland* whilst the King was there, concerning the two Marquesses *Hamilton* and *Arguile*, upon some information that their Persons were in danger, they both withdrew from the Parliament of *Scotland*, and for some daies removed out of *Edenburgh*: the suggestions were examined in that Parliament where they had power enough, yet nothing was apparent to their prejudice, and the examinations upon the whole matter sent hither by the King to the Parliament in *England*, such strange glosses and interpretations were made upon that accident, reflecting upon the King, and his honour, as if at the same time there had been such a design to have been acted here as they had fancied there. And a suddain resolution was taken here, first by the Committee during the recess, after by the Houses, to have a Guard for the defence of *London* and *Westminster* and both the Houses of Parliament, which made some impression in the minds of the best Subjects, in a time when they were newly freed from the fears of Two Armies, to be now again awakened with the apprehension of dangers, of which seeing no ground they were to expect no end.

But matters thus stated and all possible cunning used by a faction, and their Emiffaries the Ministers, (at this time when the clamour was raised of the unlawfulness that the Clergy should meddle in temporal affaires) were their chief Agents employed to derive their seditious directions to the people. And were for a week together attending the doores of both Houses to be sent in their errands, to inforce the most desperate feares in the minds of all men that could be imagined, and to be sure that the memory of former bitterness might not slacken: They therefore provide for the Kings Intertainment against his return to *London* a Remonstrance of the state of the

A plot in
Scotland.

Faction at
home.

The Kingdome herein laying before the King all the mistakes, all the misfortunes which had happened since his first coming to the Crown, and before to that houre forgetting the blessed condition (notwithstanding the unhappy mixture) which all the Subjects had enjoyed by peace and plenty under this King to the envy of Christendome. Objecting to the King therein, the actions of some, nay the thoughts of others, and reproaching him with things which he, (after professes) never entred into his Imaginations, not to his knowledge into the thoughts of any other, therein reviling the King to the people, and complaining of the House of Peers (whose authority, interest and priviledges was now as much slighted and despised as the King was after, and as the Lords fell towards themselves, (in after successes) easily passing over those former singular Acts of grace passed by him (already) in this Parliament, or else ascribing them to their own wisdoms in the procurement, and conclude against a Malignant party, that they have no hope of settling the distractions of this Kingdom for want of a concurrence with the House of Lords, into which number all these Lords were cast, who presumed to dissent from any Propositions made by the House of Commons. But not to hold you in suspense, the business was thus

When this engine Remonstrance was prepared for the people, by the prime Leaders, It was presented to the house of Commons; and the greatest art imaginable to procure consent to have it passed there. And after the longest debate that hath been observed from three a clock afternoon till ten a clock the next morning, when many through weakness and weariness left the House, So that it looked (as it was sawcely said) *like the verdict of a starved Fury* and carried onely by eleven voyces. And shortly after that the King had been received with all possible expressions of loyal affection by the City of *London*, against which it was murmured, and the chief advancers of that duty discountenanced, and their Loyalty envied at. And when it was publicquely said in the House of Commons (upon some dispute of a pretended breach of the order of the House) *That their Discipline ought to be severe for the Enemy was now in view*, meaning the King returned, then (I say) was the Petition and Remonstrance presented to his Majesty at *Hampton Court*. I could wish you had it at length, as it was printed, but this History growes big, with necessary abbreviations, suppose these, what the wit and malice of man could rake together to make a Sovereign suspected of his Subjects. Their Petition thus in effect.

Most gracious Sovereign.

Your Majesties most humble and faithfull Subjects the Commoners in this present Parliament, doe with joy acknowledge this favour of God for his safe return into England, when the dangers and distempers of the State,

O o o

have

Parliament
Petition.

Anno
1641.

have caused them to desire his presence and authority to his Parliament for preventing of eminent ruine and destruction to his Kingdome of England and Scotland, fomented by a Malignant party for alteration of Religion and Government, the increase of Popery by the practice of Jesuits and other Engineers and factors for Rome, corrupting the Bishops and Privy Council. They being the cause of the late Scottish war and the Irish Rebellion, now for prevention they pray that his Majesty would concur with his Parliament; deprive the Bishops of their Votes; To take away oppressions in Religion, Church Government and Discipline; To purge his Councils of such as are promotors of these corruptions; and not to alienate any escheated Lands in Ireland by reason of the Rebellion. And these being granted they will make him happy.

To this, the body of their Remonstrance was annexed very particular and large, which they draw down from the beginning of the Kings Reign pretending to discover the Malignant party and their designs, and consequently the miseries thereby to the State. And this they intitle *A Remonstrance of the Kingdom.*

Die Mercurii December 15. 1641.

and remon-
strance.

In brief to set it down from these Heads.

1. *The Root and the growth of these mischievous Designs.*
2. *The maturity and ripeness to which they have attained before the beginning of this Parliament.*
3. *The effectual means which hath been used for the extirpations of these dangers, evils, and progress that hath been made therein by the Kings goodness and the wisdom of Parliament.*
4. *The waies of obstruction and opposition, by which the Progress hath been interrupted.*
5. *The courses to be taken for removing those obstacles and for the accomplishing of their amiful and faithful intentions, and endeavours of restoring, and establishing their ancient honour, greatness and security of this Crown and Nation. The Root of all this mischief they finde to be a Malignant and pernicious Design of subverting the fundamental Laws and Principles of Government upon which the Religion and Justice of the Kingdome are firmly established. The Actors and Promoters hereof have been.*

1. *The Jesuited Papists who hate the Laws as the Obstacles of that change and subversion of Religion which they so much long for.*
2. *The Bishops and the corrupt part of the Clergy who cherish formalities and superstitions, as the natural effects, and more probable supports of their own Ecclesiastical Tyranny and usurpation.*
3. *Such Councillors and Courtiers as for private ends have engaged themselves to further the Interest of some foreign Princes or states to the prejudice of the King and State at home.*

And

And to make it more credible the Remonstrance moulds out some common Principles, by which they pretend all the Malignant Councils and actions were governed, and these are branched in four particulars, in effect.

That the Malignant party maintained continual differences and discontents betwixt the King and the people upon questions of Perogative and privilege that so they might have (say they) the advantage of siding with him, and under the notions of Men addicted to his service gain to themselves and their parties the places of greatest trust and power in the Kingdome.

They suppressed the purity and power of Religion and such as we asserted to it, as being contrary to their own ends, and the greatest impediment to that charge which they thought to introduce.

Then to conjoyn these parts of the Kingdome which were most propitious to their own ends, and to divide those who went most opposite, which consisted in many particular observations; to cherish the Arminian part in those points wherein they agree with the Papists, to multiply and enlarge the differences between the Protestant and those which they call Puritans, to introduce and countenance such opinions and Ceremonies as are fittest for accommodation with Popery, to increase and maintain ignorance, looseness and prophaneess in the people, that if these three parties, Papists, Arminians and Libertines, they might compose a body fit to act such Councils and resolutions as were most conduceable to their ends.

And politickly, they disaffected the King to the Parliament, by slanders and false imputations and by putting him upon other waies of supply, which in shew and appearance were fuller of advantage than the ordinary course of subsidies, though in truth they brought more loss than gain, both to King and People, and have caused the distractions under which we suffer.

Then the Remonstrance comes to particular charges against this Malignant party.

Remonstrance
of the Parli-
ament.

1. *The dissolution of the Parliament at Oxford, two subsidies being given, and no grievance relieved.*
2. *The loss of the Rochel fleete by our shipping, delivered over to the French, to the loss of that Town and the Protestant Religion in France.*
3. *The diverting of his Majesties course of wars from the west Indies, the onely facile way to prevail against the Spainard, to an expenceful successles attempt upon Cales.*
4. *The precipitate breach with France, taking their goods and ships without recompense to the English, whose goods were confiscate in that Kingdom.*
5. *The peace with Spain without consent of Parliament, the deserting the Palsgraves cause, mannaged by his Enemies.*

Anno
1641.

6. *The charging of this Kingdom with billeted Souldiers; with the Design of German Horse, to enslave this Nation to Arbitrary Contributions.*
7. *The dissolving of the Parliament 2 Caroli, and the exacting of the proportion of five Subsidies after the Parliament was dissolved, by Commission of Loan, and such as refused imprisoned, some to Death; great Sums of Money required by Privy Seals, Excise; the Petition of Right blasted.*
8. *The Parliament dissolved 4 Caroli, imprisoning some Members, fining them and others; Sir Francis Barington died in Prison, whose blood still cries for vengeance of those Ministers of State.*

The publishing of false and scandalous Declarations against the Parliament. And afterwards Injustice, Oppression, and Violence broke in. The enlargements of Forests, contrary to Charta de Foresta; Coat and Conduct Money, &c.

And then the Remonstrance ravel into all the particular pretended Designs, corrupt Councils, and the effects of what ever happened, or usually doth happen in any Nation of Government, even to Clerks of the Market, and Commissions of Sewers, Brass Farthings, Projects, Monopolies, &c.

Then upon all the mis-actions of Courts of Judicature, Council-Table, and all.

And principally against Bishops and their Proceeding, by all their subordinate Officers, their Writings, Preachings, Opinions, in conjunction with Papists and Protestants in Doctrine, Discipline, and Ceremony. And endeavouring to reduce Scotland thereto, and an Army was raised against them by Contribution of Clergy and Papists; the Scots enforced to raise an Army for their Defence, but concluded in Pacification, and throughout excusing the Scots, palliating all their Insurrections, as necessitated to defend themselves against malignant Councils and Counsellours, calling them Scots Rebels, and the English War Bellum Episcopale.

Then to make a progress into Reformation, the Remonstrance tells us, what they have done by their care, wisdoms, and circumspection, removed some Malignants, suppressed Monopolies, and all the aforesaid Disorders in an instant, taking away High Commission and Star-Chamber Courts, &c. Procuring Bills of Triennial Parliament, and continuance of this; which two Laws (they say) are more advantageous than all the other Statutes enforce. And in a word, what ere the King hath done amiss, they are not sparing to publish it: what gracious favours he hath afforded by several Bills, the Parliament ascribe to their own wisdoms, and promise to the King and whole Kingdom more honour and happiness than ever was enjoyed by any his Predecessours.

And

The Reign of King Charls.

469

And this the Parliament instantly printed and published contrary to the Kings desire, though his Answer was speedy to the Petition and Remonstrance, thus in effect.

Anno
1641.

That having received a long Petition consisting of many Desires of great moment, together with a Declaration of a very unusual nature, being confident that their own reason and regard to him, as well as his express Intimation by his Controller to that purpose would have restrained them from publishing of it, untill his convenient time of answer; and tells them how sensible he is of this their disrespect.

The Kings
Answer to the
Petition.

To the Preamble of the Petition, he professes he understands not, [*of a wicked and malignant party, admitted to his Council, and Employment of Trust; of endeavouring to sow amongst the People false Scandals to blemish and disgrace the Parliament, &c.*] All or any of which did he know of, he would be as ready to punish, as they are to complain.

To their Petition, the first part concerning Religion, and consisting of several Branches; as for that of Popish Designs, he hath and will concur with all the just Desires of his People in a Parliamentary way, [To the depriving of the Bishops of their Votes in Parliament] their Right is grounded upon the Fundamental Laws of the Kingdom, and Constitutions of Parliament.

[For the abridging of the inordinate power of the Clergy] *The taking away of the High Commission Court moderates that; and if there continue Usurpations in their Jurisdictions, he neither hath nor will protect them.*

And as to the clause of [Corruptions in Religion, Church-government and Discipline, &c.] That for any Innovations he will willingly concur for the removal, if any be, by a National Synod; but he is sorry to hear of such terms [Corruptions] since he is perswaded, that no Church can be found upon Earth professing the true Religion, with more purity of Doctrine, than the Church of England doth, which by the grace of God he will maintain, not onely against all Invasions of Popery, but also from the Irreverence of those many Schismatics and Separatists wherewith of late this Kingdom and this City abounds.

To the second prayer of the Petition, concerning [the Removal and choice of Counsellours] that by these which he hath exposed to Trial; there is none so near to him in place and affection, whom he will not leave to the Law, and to their particular charge, and sufficient proof.

That [for their choice of his Counsellours and Ministers of State] that were to debar him the natural liberty which all Free-men have, being besides the undoubted Right of his Crown, to call to
his

Anno
1641.

his Council whom he pleaseth, being carefull to elect persons of ability and integrity.

To the third prayer concerning Ireland, [Not to alienate the Forfeited Lands thereof] he concurs with them, but then, whether it be now seasonable to resolve before the Event of War be seen, that he much doubts of; but thanks them for their chearfull Ingagement for their suppression of that Rebellion upon which so many hazards do depend.

And for their Conclusion, and promise to apply themselves, [for support of his royal Estate, &c.] he doubts not thereof, from their Loyalties, to which he will add his assistance.

The Kings Declaration to all his loving Subjects.

The Kings
Declaration in
answer to the
Parliaments
Remonstrance

Although he doth not believe that the House of Commons intended by their Remonstrance to put him to any Apology for his past or present Actions, yet since they have thought it so very necessary to publish the same, he thinks it not below his Kingly Dignity to compose and settle the affections of his meanest Subjects.

He shall in few words pass over the narrative part, wherein the Misfortunes of this Kingdom from the first entring to the Crown to the beginning of this Parliament, are remembred in so sensible expressions.

And that other which acknowledgeth those many good Laws passed this Parliament. To which he saith, that as he hath not refused any Bill for redress of Grievances mentioned in their Remonstrance, so he hath not had a greater Motive thereto than his own Resolution to free his Subjects for the future. And possibly they may confess, that they have enjoyed a greater measure of happiness these last sixteen years, both in peace and plenty, comparatively, in respect of their Neighbours, but even of those times which were justly accounted Fortunate.

Their Fears and Jealousies, he supposes may be either for Religion, or Liberty, and their civil Interests; the Fears for Religion, to be invaded by the Romish party, by any favour or inclination to them; he professes, that as he hath been bred up and practised the Religion now here established, and as he believes, he can maintain the same by unanswerable Reasons, so he is ready, if need be, to seal with his blood. Having always been as much to the evidence of his care and duty herein as he could tell possibly how to express.

And for matters indifferent, in reference to tender consciences, he will comply with the advice in Parliament, being to be pursued with temper and submission, not with bold licence of scandalous Pamphlets, and seditious Sermons against him and his Government, a fit Prologue to Confusion, upon the very profession of this Religion in England.

Con-

Concerning the civil Liberties and Interests of Subjects. His Princely care of the Subjects this Parliament in passing Laws so large and ample, that many sober men can wish for no better.

He understood well the Right and pretences of Right, which he parted from in the Bill Triennial, for continuance also of this Parliament, Bill of Tannage and Poundage, taking away High Commission and Star Chamber Courts; and in a word, all Doubts secured by the Triennial Parliament: but he had rather his grace and favours might be valued in the hearts of his people, than in any mention of his own.

If these Resolutions be the effects of his present Councils (as he takes God to witness they are) no ill Design can follow, why should he and they suffer under Misunderstandings. If he hath or shall be mistaken in his Election of them, the particular shall be no sooner discovered to him, than he will leave them to justice.

But if any shall under colour of this, endeavour to lessen his Reputation and Interest, and to weaken his lawfull power and Authority with his good Subjects, and to loosen the Bonds of Governments, and so all Disorder and Confusion break in upon us, he doubts not, that God in his due time will discover them.

If his Intentions be thus clear, and his part to be fully performed, and that the peoples quiet depends upon themselves, and as he will observe the Laws himself, so he will maintain them against any opposition, though with the hazard of his own being.

And he hopes, not onely their Loyalty and good affection will concur with him, in preserving a good understanding between him and his people, but at this time the bleeding condition of Ireland will invite them to unity for Relief of that unhappy Kingdom, to which he hath lately offered to raise ten thousand English Volunteers for that Service, though it hath been most falsely whispered, the want of alacrity in him, which he acknowledges a high crime to Almighty God, if he should be guilty thereof.

And conjures all his good Subjects (of what degree soever) by the Bonds of Love, Duty, Obedience, to remove all Doubts and Fears, and then (if the sins of this Nation have not prepared an inevitable Judgment for us all) God will yet make him a glorious King over a free and happy People.

During this time, the loose people of the City and the Mecha-
nical sort of Prentices were encouraged by the Ministers & Lecturers
and other incendiaries in tumultuary manner to come down to West-
minster, and by the way at Whitehal to be insolent in words and acti-
ons, which caused the King, to command the Major to call a com-
mon Council to receive his Majesties pleasure, which was then
brought by the Chancellor of the Duchy. To signifie to them the
late riotous assembly of people about his Palaces of Whitehal and
West-

Mutiny of the
City.

Anno
1641.

Message con-
cerning Ire-
land.

Westminster, and commands their care to prevent the like, especially these ensuing holidays, or that by the late loyal affections of the City to him he cannot understand it of them, to have any share therein, but only the unruly people of the suburbs, and as he is confident of their affections, so he bids them be assured of his care and protection not to be disturbed by jealousies and fears.

Hereupon a double watch and guard kept the rabble in some Order.

And though the Houses kept Christmas at *Westminster* having much business and doing very little to the Kings desires. He again sends a Message to the Lords House, by the Lord Chamberlaine the eight and twentieth of *December*. That being sensible of the miseries of *Ireland*, and yet the succours so slow, he will as he hath offered, raise 10000. Voluntiers if the Commons will undertake to pay them.

And to express his detestation of that Rebellioun and the care that he hath of suppressing their Insolencies, He publishes this Manifesto the first of *January*.

By the King.

Proclamation
of the Rebel-
lion of Ire-
land.

Whereas divers lewd and wicked persons have of late risen in Rebellion in our Kingdome of Ireland in surprizing our Forts, Garisons, Arms and Munition, disposessed many good Subjects of the British Nations and Protestants, of their Houses, Lands, and goods, Massacred multitudes of them, &c. we do therefore declare our just indignation thereof, and denounce them Rebels, and Traitors with all such as adhere and abet them, Commanding them immediately to lay down their Arms.

Having authorized his Justices of Ireland, and other his Governour, Governours, General or Lieutenant General of his Army there, to prosecute them with fire and sword, and to be countenanced and supported by him and his powerful succours assisted by his good Subjects of England, and this his royal pleasure he commands his Justices and other his Officers, there to proclaim throughout the Kingdom of Ireland.

The Lord
Kimbolton
and 5. Mem-
bers are ques-
tioned.

The King having intelligence of some high misdemeanours of sundry of the Members of the Commons House, and setting a narrow watch and spies upon their private meetings, found that a Junto of them had designed a correspondence with the *Scots*, and countenanced these late Tumults from the City. He commanded Sir William Killebrew and Sir William Fleming by warrant to repair unto the Lodgings of several persons, Members of the House of Commons, to seale up their Trunks Studies and Chambers, by name, the Lord Kimbolton, John Pym, John Hamden, Denzil Hollis, Sir Arthur Hasserig and William Strode, but whether that they had timely notice, their persons were not to be met with, but their
Trunks

Truncks and papers were seized, and whilst a doing the House hears of it, and instantly vote. *Die Lune Fannary 3. 1641.*

That if any person whatsoever shall come to the Lodgings of any Member of this House, and then offer to seale the Truncks doores or papers of either of them, or seize upon their persons, such Members shall require the aid of the Constable, to keep such persons in safe custody, till This House do give further Order. And, that if any person whatsoever shall offer to arrest or detain the person of any Member without first acquainting this House, That it is lawful for such Member, or any person to assist him, and to stand upon his or their guard of defence, and to make a resistance according to the Protestation taken to defend the priviledges of Parliament.

The King being put to it, hastens Articles of High Treason and other misdemeanours against those five Members.

1. *That they have trayterously indeavoured to subvert the fundamental Laws and Government of this Kingdom, and deprive the King of his legal power, and to place on Subjects an Arbitrary and tyrannical power.*
2. *That they have endeavoured by many foul Aspersions upon his Majesty and his Government, to alienate the affections of his people, and to make his Majesty odious unto them.*
3. *That they have indeavoured to draw his Majesties late Army to disobedience to his Majesties command, and to side with them in their trayterous designs.*
4. *That they have trayterously invited and encouraged a foreign power to invade his Majesties Kingdom of England.*
5. *That they have trayterously indeavoured to subvert the very rights and being of Parliament.*
6. *That for the compleating of their trayterous design they have endeavoured as far as in them lay, by force and terrour to compel the Parliament to joyn with them in their trayterous designs, and to that end have actually raised and countenanced Tumults against the King and Parliament.*
7. *That they have trayterously conspired to levy, and actually have levyed war against the King.*

Articles against the 5. Members.

And being told of the vote of the Commons, against the seizure or arrest of their persons by any of his Officers, he the next day in the morning repaires to the house himself, with his guard of Pensioners and such of his Courtiers at hand, intending to seize the persons of the five Members sitting in Parliament. The door no sooner opened at his hasty knock, but he enters, commanding his guard to attend without. This suddain assault upon the House amazed the whole body, but the five Members having timely warning, were fled into London.

The King goes to the House of Commons to arrest the 5. Members.

Anno
1641.

The *Speaker* arises with all humility whilst the King views the House round, and then sits down, and tells them the fourth of *January*.

Gentlemen.

I am sorry for this occasion for coming unto you; Yesterday I sent a Serjeant at Arms upon a very important occasion to apprehend some that upon my command were accused of High Treason, whereunto I did expect obedience, and not a message. And I must declare unto you here,

That albeit that no King that ever was in England, shall be more careful of the Priviledges, to maintain them to the uttermost of his power, than I shall bee; Yet you must know that in cases of Treason no person hath a priviledge. And therefore I am come to know if any of those persons that I have accused (for no slight crime but for Treason) are here.

I cannot expect that this House can be in the right way that I do heartily wish it.

Therefore I am come to tell you, that I must have them wheresoever I find them.

(and with that he casts his eye again round about.)

Well sithence (saies he) I see all the birds are flowne, I do expect from you that you shall send them to me, as soon as they return hither; But I assure you in the word of a King I never did intend any force, but shall prosecute against them in a legal and faire way, for I never meant any other.

And now sithence I see I cannot do what I came for, I thinke this no unfit occasion to repeat what I have said formerly, that whatsoever I have don in favour and to the good of my Subjects, I do mean to maintain it.

I will trouble you no more but tell you, I do expect as soon as they come to the House you will send them to me, otherwise I must take my own course to find them.

The King no sooner gon out, but the House was in an uproar, that the King might hear them, Priviledge, Priviledge, never such an unparelled action of a King, to the breach of all freedom, not only in the accusation of their Members former ransacking and searching of their studies and papers, and intentionally their persons, but now in an hostile way for the King to threaten the whole body, they resolve and the next day vote this solemn Ordinance.

Die Mercurii, the fifth of *January*.

Whereas his Majesty in his royal person yesterday did come to the House of Commons, attended with a great Multitude of Men armed in warlike manner, with Halberts, Swords, and Pistols, who came up to the very Door of the House, and placed themselves there, and in other places and passages near to the House, to the great terror and disturbance of
the

Voted a
breach of
their Privi-
lege.

the Members thereof then sitting, and according to their Duty in a peaceable and orderly manner, treating of the affairs of both Kingdoms of England and Ireland. And his Majesty having placed himself in the Speakers Chair, did demand the persons of divers Members of the House to be delivered unto him.

It is this Day declared, &c. that the same is the high Breach of the Privileges of Parliament, and inconsistent to the liberty and freedom thereof.

And therefore this House doth conceive, they cannot with the safety of their own persons, or the indemnity of the Rights and Privileges of Parliament, sit here any longer without a full vindication of so high a Breach, and a sufficient Guard, wherein they may confide; for which both Houses joyntly, and this House by it self, have been humble Suiters to his Majesty, and cannot as yet obtain.

Notwithstanding which, this House being very sensible of the greatest trust reposed in them, and especially at this time, the manifold Distractions of this Kingdom, and the lamentable and distracted condition of the Kingdom of Ireland, doth order that this House shall be adjourned untill Tuesday next at one of the clock in the afternoon, and that a Committee be named by this House, and all that will come shall have Voices, which shall sit in the Guild-hall in the City of London to morrow morning at nine of the clock, and shall have power to consider and resolve of all things that may concern the good and safety of the City and Kingdom, and particularly how our Privileges may be vindicated, and our persons secured; and to consider of the affairs of the Kingdom of Ireland; and shall have power to consult and advise with any person or persons touching the premises; and shall have power to send for parties, witnesses, papers and Records.

And it is further ordered, that the Committees for the Irish affairs shall meet at the Guild-hall aforesaid, at what time they shall think fit, and consult and do touching the affairs of Ireland, according to the power formerly given them by this House. And both the said Committees shall report the results of their consideration and resolution to this House.

Nor would this Preparation towards their Vindication serve their turn, unless they do publish to the World the late high Contempt against their House and Privileges, and the Vindication also of divers Members thereof in this Declaration.

Whereupon we declare, that if any person shall arrest either of them, or any Member of Parliament, by any Warrant from the King onely, is guilty of the Breach of the Privileges of Parliament.

And whereas by several Examinations taken the seventh of this instant January, before the Committee in London, it did appear that many Souldiers and Papists, to the number of five hundred, armed, came

Anno

1641.

with his Majesty on Tuesday last the fourth of this present to the House, &c.

We do declare, that it was a traiterous Design against the King and Parliament.

And whereas they the said Members did with approbation of the House absent themselves, since which time a printed Paper in the form of a Proclamation dated the sixth of this instant issued out for their apprehending and Imprisonment,

We do declare, that the said Paper is false, scandalous, and illegal, and that notwithstanding they may and ought to attend the service of the House.

And we do declare, that the publishing of several Articles of High Treason against them was a high Breach of the Privileges of Parliament, a Scandal to his Majesty, and Dishonour to the said Members, which cannot be sufficiently vindicated, unless his Majesty discover the Names of such persons who advised him thereto, that they may receive condign punishment.

This House declaring, that all such persons, &c. are declared publick Enemies to the State, &c.

Tumults against the Bishops, who petition and protest.

During these passages a tumultuous Number of common persons came to Westminster out of the City, offering violence upon the persons of sundry Bishops going and coming out of the House of Peers, which extremely deterred them from their future attendance there, whereupon they petition the King, and protest.

That whereas the Petitioners were called up by Writ to attend in Parliament, and have a clear and indubitable Right to vote in Bills and other matters debated, and ought to be protected.

They protest before God, that they are most willing to do their Duties there accordingly.

That they abominate all Actions or Opinions tending to Popery, all Propensions or Inclinations to any Malignant party, or any other partie, to which their Consciences shall not move them to adhere.

That they have been many times menaced, affronted and assaulted by Multitudes of people in their coming to do their service to the Parliament, and lastly chased away, in danger of their Lives without any redress of their Complaints to both Houses, &c.

They do therefore in all Duty and Humility protest before your Majesty and the Peers in Parliament, against all Laws, Orders, Votes, Resolutions and Determinations, as in themselves null and of none effect, which in their absence since the seven and twentieth of December, have already passed, as likewise against such as shall hereafter pass in that most honourable House, during the time of this their forced and violent ab-

absence, &c. and humbly beseech his Majesty, to command the Clerk of that House of Peers, to enter this their Petition and Protestation.

Anno
1641.

Signed John Ebor. Thomas Duresm. Robert Covent. & Lich.
Jos: Norwich. John Alaphan. Gul. Ba. & Wells.
Geo: Hereford. Rob: Oxon. Mat: Ely. Godfr. Glouc.
Jo: Peterburgh. Mar: Landaff.

This fell out as many would have it, a leading case to their confusion, wherefore the Lords on the thirtieth of *December* desire a Conference, touching matters of high and dangerous consequence, where the Lord Keeper told them.

That this Petition and Protestation of the twelve Bishops is extending to the deep entrenching upon the Fundamental Privileges and being of Parliaments.

Bishops ac-
cused of high
Treason.

And therefore it was resolved hereupon to accuse them of high Treason, and Master *Glyn* sent of the Arrand to the Lords, and to sequester them from Parliament, and to be put in safe custody, to make good their Answer to the Commons charge; and so they were instantly by the Black Rod to be apprehended, and were all by eight a clock at night brought on their Knees to the Lords Bar; and ten of them committed to the Tower, and two of them in regard of their age, (and the worthy parts of one of them, the learned Bishop of *Durham*) were committed to the Black Rod.

Then the Houle of Commons pretending hazzard to their persons upon the late Assault of the King and his Retinue, they sent a Message to the King for a Guard.

The House of
Commons pe-
tition for a
Guard.

To present to his Majesty the just Fears of Designs and Practises to destroy them by a Malignant party in the Face and at the Doors of the Parliament, and at your Majesties own Gates, &c.

They humbly desire therefore to have a Guard out of the City of London, commanded by the Earl of Essex, Chamberlain of your Majesties Household. And to this end they humbly desire a gracious and speedy Answer; because theirs and the Kingdoms safety depends upon it, and will not admit of any Delay.

The King gives Answer.

That with great grief of heart, after their twelve Moneths sitting, wherein they have obtained those things for their security and happiness, as no Age can equal; they should now be disturbed with Felousies, Distrusts, and Fears: protesting before God, that had he any knowledg or belief of the least Design in any of violence against them, he would pursue

Anno

1641.

pursue them to condign punishment with the same severity as the greatest Attempt upon his Crown. Engaging solemnly the Word of a King, that their security from violence shall ever be his care as the Preservation of Himself and Children. And if this general Assurance shall not suffice, He shall command such a Guard to wait upon them, as he shall be responsible for to God, who hath encharged him with the Protection of his Subjects.

There the City taking heart and hands with the House of Commons, summon a Common Council, where they debate the Jealousies and Fears possessing them, and draw up a Petition.

The City in
fear petition
the King.

To the Kings most Excellent Majesty,

Wherein they represent their Dangers and Distractions, by the bloody Rebellion in Ireland, fomented and acted by Papists, and of their Designs, foreign and at home, tending to the ruine of the Protestant Religion. The putting out of persons of honour from being Constable of the Tower, and the preparations there made, the fortifying of White-hall, the late Discovery of divers Fire works in the hands of a Papist. His Majesties late manner in the House of Commons.

The effects of which just Fears overthrow the Trade of this City, to the utter ruine of the Protestant Religion, and the Lives and Liberties of the Subject.

And pray, that by the Parliaments advice the Protestants in Ireland may be relieved, the Tower be put in the hands of persons of trust, a Guard appointed for the safety of the Parliament, and that the late five Members may not be restrained nor proceeded against, but by the Privileges of Parliament.

The King wondring at the wisdom of the City, to be lead into the conceit of Fears and Jealousies upon such slender devised Grounds, having but three Days before at Guild-hall satisfied most of these Particulars: yet he was pleased to return them an Answer.

Answered.

That he cannot possibly express a greater sense of Ireland than he hath done, and hopes by assistance of the Parliament, may be effected, to which he will contribute all his power.

And he hath removed a Servant of good trust and reputation from the charge of the Tower, onely to satisfie the Cities Fears, whose safety is as his own.

And for the fortifying of White-hall, they must needs know of the Tumult there and at Westminster; his own person endangered; and if any Citizens were wounded, it happened by their own corrupt Demeanours.

That his going to the House of Commons with his Attendance onely, nor otherwise armed but as Gentlemen with Swords, was to apprehend those

At no.
1641.

those five Members for Treason, to which the Privileges of Parliament can extend, nor to Felony, nor Breach of the Peace, against whom his Majesty intends lawfully to proceed with justice and favour. And is confident that this his extraordinary way of satisfying a Petition of so unusual a nature will appear to be the greatest Instance of his clear Intentions to the Citie, &c.

And because the proceedings against the five Members, as they are numbered (besides Kimbolton) begat much Dispute; and willing the King was to retrieve his former Actings therein; is now pleased (by Message to both Houses) to wave his former proceedings in reference to the Privileges of Parliament; and all Doubts being thereby settled, when the mindes of men are composed; he will proceed thereupon in an unquestionable way, and upon all occasions be carefull of their Privileges, as of his Life or Crown.

12 Jan.

But the House was hot upon it to dispatch the business to some issue; and to that end the County of Bucks petition the King for John Hambden their Knight of the Shire, against whom and other Members in the manner of their Impeachment of Treason, they conceive it to oppugn the Rights of Parliament, being rather by the malice of their Enemies, than their Deserts, the Petitioners and others being (through their sides) wounded in their judgment and care, by whose choice they were presented.

County of
Bucks Petition.

And pray that Master Hambden and the rest that ly under the burden or Accusation, may enjoy their just Privileges.

But such increase and Numbers of ordinary people flocked tumultuously about White-hall and Westminster, that the King, Queen, Prince, and Duke of York, were forced, for security of their persons, to retire to Hampton Court, being necessitated to consider of sufficient Forces about his Court as a Guard.

The King
with-draws
to Hampton
Court.

To whose aid came divers of the Gentry, giving some cause of suspicion to increase into a Number, which the Parliament jealously considered.

And therefore now the King being in better leisure, takes some time before he gives Answer to the Buckingham Petition, concerning the five Members, who were guarded to Westminster by Water with hundreds of Boats, Barges, Flags of Triumph, by the Seamen, and a Rabble of such other by Land, braving and threatening, as they passed by Whitehall.

Hereupon, occasion is given to offer to the view of the World, what were the Kings Reasons to retire from Westminster, by his own Relation.

With what willingness (says the King) I with-drew from Westminster let them judg, who, unprovided of tackling and victual, are forced to

Eikon B. f. c. 6.

to

Anno
1641.

Upon the
Kings retire-
ment from
Westminster.

to Sea by Storm; yet better do so, than venture splitting or sinking on a Lee-shore.

I staid at White-hall, till I was driven away by shame more than fear; to see the barbarous rudeness of those Tumults, who resolved they would take the boldness to demand anie thing, and not leave either my self, or the Members of Parliament, the libertie of our Reason and Conscience to denie them anie thing.

Nor was this intolerable oppression my case alone, (though chiefly mine) for the Lords and Commons might be content to be over-voted by the major part of their Houses, when they had used each their own freedom.

Whose agreeing Votes were not by anie Law or Reason conclusive to my Judgment; nor can they include, or carrie with them my consent, whom they represent not in anie kinde: Nor am I further bound to agree with the Votes of both Houses, than I see them agree with the will of God, with my just Rights, as a King, and the general good of my People. I see that as many men they are seldom of one minde; and I may oft see, that the major part of them are not in the right.

I had formerly declared to sober and moderate mindes; how desirous I was to give all just content, when I agreed to so many Bills, which had been enough to secure and satisfie all; If some mens Hydropick insatiableness had not learned to thirst the more by how much the more they drank; whom no fountain of royal bountie was able to overcome; so resolved they seemed, either utterly to exhaust it, or barbarously to obstruct it.

Sure it ceases to be Counsel, when not Reason is used, as to men, to perswade; but force and terrour, as to beasts, to drive and compell men to assent to whatever tumultuarie patrons shall project. He deserves to be a slave without pittie or redemption, that is content to have the rational Sovereigntie of his Soul, and Libertie of his Will and Words so captivated.

Nor do I think my Kingdoms so considerable as to preserve them with the forfeiture of that freedom; which cannot be denied me as a King, because it belongs to me as a Man, and a Christian; owning the Dictates of none, but God, to be above me, as obliging me to consent. Better for me to die enjoying this Empire of my Soul, which subjects me onely to God, so far as by Reason or Religion he directs me, than live with the Title of a King, if it should carrie such a Vassallage with it, as not to suffer me to use my Reason and Conscience, in what I declare as a King, to like or dislike.

So far am I from thinking the Majestie of the Crown of England to be bound by anie Coronation-Oath, in a blinde and brutish formalitie, to consent to whatever its subjects in Parliament shall require, as some men will needs infer; while, denying me anie power of a Negative Voice as King, they are not ashamed to seek to deprive me of the Libertie of using my Reason with a good Conscience, which themselves, and all the Com-
mons

mens of England enioie proportionable to their influence on the Publick; who would take it verie ill to be urged, not to denie, whatever my self, as King, or the House of Peers with me, should not so much desire, as enjoin them to pass. I think my Oath fully discharged in that point by my Governing onely by such Laws, as my People, with the House of Peers, have chosen, and my self have consented to. I shall never think my self conscienciously tied to go as oft against my Conscience, as I should consent to such new Proposals, which my Reason, in Justice, Honour, and Religion, bids me denie.

Yet sotrander I see some men are of their being subject to Arbitrarie Government, (that is, the Law of anothers will, to which themselves give no consent) that they care not with how much Dishonour and Absurditie they make the King the onely man that must be subject to the will of others, without having power left him, to use his own Reason, either in person, or by anie Representation.

And if my Dissentings at anie time were (as some have suspected, and uncharitably avowed) out of error, opinionativeness, weakness, or wilfulness, and what they call Obstinacie in me, (which not true judgment of things, but some vehement prejudice or passion hath fixed on my minde;) yet can no man think it other than the Badg and Method of Slaverie, by savage rudeness, and importunate obtrusions of violence, to have the mist of his error and passion dispelled, which is a shadow of Reason, and must serve those that are destitute of the substance. Sure that man cannot be blameable to God or Man, who seriously endeavours to see the best reason of things, and faithfully follows what he takes for Reason: The uprightness of his intentions will excuse the possible failings of his understanding: If a Pilot at Sea cannot see the Pole star, it can be no fault in him to steer his course by such Stars as do best appear to him. It argues rather those men to be conscious of their Defects of Reason, and convincing Arguments, who call in the assistance of meer force to carrie on the weakness of their Counsels and Proposals. I may, in the truth and uprightness of my heart, protest before God and Men, that I never wilfully opposed, or denied anie thing, that was in a fair way, after full and free Debates, propounded to me by the two Houses, further than I thought, in good Reason, I might and was bound to do.

Nor did anie thing ever please me more, than when my Judgment so concurred with theirs; that I might with good Conscience consent to them: yea, in many thing where not absolute and moral necessitie of Reason, but temporarie convenience in point of Honour was to be considered, I chose rather to denie my self, than them: as preferring that which they thought necessarie for my Peoples good, before what I saw but convenient for my self.

For I can be content to recede much from mine own Interests and personal Rights, of which I conceive my self to be Master; but in what concerns Truth, Justice, the Rights of the Church, and my Crown, toge-

Anno
1641.

ther with the general good of my Kingdoms; (which I am bound to preserve as much as morally lies in me) here I am, and ever shall be fixt and resolute, nor shall any man gain my consent to that, wherein my Heart gives my Tongue or Hand the Lie; nor will I be brought to affirm that to men, which in my Conscience I denie before God. I will rather chuse to wear a Crown of Thorns with my Saviour, than to exchange that of Gold (which is due to me) for one of Lead, whose embased flexibility shall be forced to bend and complie to the various, and oft-contrarie Dictates of anie Factions; when, in stead of Reason and publick concernments, they obtrude nothing but what makes for the Interest of parties, and flows from the partialities of private Wills and Passions.

I know no Resolutions more worthie a Christian King, than to prefer his Conscience before his Kingdoms.

And now the King is pleased to give the like Answer to the *Buckingham* Petition, as was his late Message to the Parliament, (to which he refers them) and therein so to proceed against the five Members, as that it shall appear he had sufficient cause to question: however, he conceives that their Crimes cannot reflect upon those good Subjects that elected Master *Hambden* or the others to serve in Parliament.

But the Parliament in some doubt of the issue and effect of the Kings Design at *Windsor*, and not willing to trust him in Arms, before they might be as ready to encounter, upon information of Troops of Horse to be gathered by the Lord *Digby* and Colonel *Lunsford* at *Kingston*, where the County Magazine is lodged,

They order, that the Sheriffs of the several Counties of *England* and *Wales*, with the assistance of the Justices of Peace, and the Trained Bands shall suppress all unlawfull Assemblies, and that they take care to secure the Counties and their Magazines in them; and to be published in all Market-towns, *June 14.*

And *Lunsford* was seized and sent to the *Tower*, but *Digby* escaped beyond Seas.

All that the King could do, to appease the wrath of the Parliament, concerning the impeached Members, by waving all Proceedings, and no doubt quite declining away further prosecution.

This not satisfying to their spirits, and the Court removed to *Roiston*, the Commons fall upon the Attourney General, Sir *Edward Herbert*, being summoned to appear at the Lords Bar, he is interrogated by a Committe of Commons.

Question.

Whether he did contrive, frame, or advise the said seven Articles against the impeached Members?

Answer.

Attourney General questioned about the five Members.

Answer.

He did not in any of the three, or all.

Anno
1641.

Question.

Do you know the truth of these Articles, or anie of them, or by Information ?

Answer.

He knows nothing of the truth, nor was informed, but by his Master the King.

Question.

Will you make good these Articles, if required by course of Law ?

Answer.

He cannot otherwise, than the King shall command, and enable him.

Question.

From whom had you these Articles ? and by whose advice did you exhibit them ?

Answer.

It was the Kings expresse command, from whose hand he received them.

Question.

Whether had you any Testimonie or Proof of these Article before the exhibiting of them ?

Answer.

For the exhibiting, he had the Kings command.

To which Answer Serjeant Wilde replied.

The House of Commons desires to know whether you had any Proof or Testimonie, or any Information of any Proof of them ?

Answer.

To this he desired time to consider, in regard of a Trust between a Master and Servant.

This not yet satisfactory, because so general, the House of Commons resolve,

That he hath broken the Privilege of Parliament, in preferring the Articles, illegal, and he is criminous, and that a Charge be sent up to the Lords against him for satisfaction of this great Scandal, unless by Thursday next he prove the Articles against any of them, Jan. 15.

Anno
1641.

The Parliament finding the King in good earnest, and resolving to hasten the business to an issue, and therefore both Houses petition him to give end to their humble Desires, either to discharge the accused Members, or to proceed judicially against them, according to the Privilege and use of Parliament, in such Cases observed; and this was posted to him by the Earl of Newport and the Lord Seymer, Jan. 21.

The King by Letter returns Answer.

That finding his first mistake in the way of his proceeding; which hath caused some Delaies, for to be informed in what order to put the same, and till then, he thinks not fit to discover his Proofs; and therefore to avoid more Mistakes, that it be resolved, whether his Majestie be bound in respect of Privileges, to proceed by Impeachment in Parliament, or be at libertie to proffer an Inditement at the Common Law, or to have his choice in either; thereupon he will speedily give Direction to proceed to the business, Jan. 24.

The Attourney General in fear to be grinded between these Disputes, and finding his the hardest bargain, supplicates the King for his Authority to take him off; which he did by his Letter to the Lord Keeper, from Roiston the fourth of March.

The Kings
Letter concerning the
Attourney
General.

Certifying, That the third of January last he did deliver to the Attourney General certain Articles of Accusation ingrossed in Paper, (the Copie being inclosed) and commanded him to acquaint the house of Peers, That divers great and treasonable Designs against Us and the State had come to the Kings knowledg, of which he was commanded to accuse those six Persons of high Treason, by delivering the Paper to them, and to desire to have it read; and that a Committee of Lords might examine such Witnesses as the King would produce, and they to be under a command of secrecie, and for the King to add or alter, if there be cause. And declares the Attourney General clear, as to his Answer. And had he refused the Kings command herein, he would have questioned him for Breach of Oath, Dutie, and Trust, to which he was obliged.

This as to the truth, and the Attourneys defence; but being weary of the business, and finding no relief to be expected, nor leave to proceed in his way against them; he adds a clause to the Letter.

But having declared, that we finde cause wholly to desist from proceeding against the Persons accused; we have commanded our Attourney General to proceed no further there, nor to produce, nor discover any Proof concerning the same.

And

And so this Breach between the King and Parliament was stitched up, but the Seam not well sewed, the Rent grew the wider; and either party more nicely concerning Prerogative and Privileges.

And because this Action of the Kings was often taken up, as a Breach of Privilege unpardonable, we may examine the Kings Reasons from his own Relation in his *Eikon Basilike*, cap. 3.

My going to the House of Commons (says the King) to demand Justice upon the five Members, was an act which mine Enemies loaded with all the obloquies and exasperations they could.

I filled indifferent men with great Jealousies and Fears; yea, and manie of my Friends resented it as a motion rising rather from Passion than from Reason, and not guided with such Discretion, as the touchiness of those Times required.

But these men knew not the just Motives, and pregnant Grounds, with which I thought my self so furnished, that there needed nothing to such Evidence, as I could have produced against those I charged, save onely a free and legal Trial, which was all I desired.

Nor had I anie temptation of Displeasure, or Revenge against those mens Persons, further than I had discovered those (as I thought) unlawfull correspondencies they had used, and engagements they had made, to embroil my Kingdoms: of all which I missed but little to have produced Writings under some mens own hands, who were the chief Contrivers of the following Innovations.

Providence would not have it so; yet I wanted not such Probabilitie as were sufficient to raise Jealousies in anie Kings heart, who is not wholly stupid and neglective of the publick Peace, which to preserve by calling in question half a Dozen men, in a fair and legal way (which God knows was all my Design) could have amounted to no worse effect, had it succeeded, than either to do me and my Kingdoms right, in case they had been found guiltie; or else to have cleared their Innocencie, and removed my suspicion: which, as they were not raised out of any malice, so neither were they in Reason to be smothered.

What Flames of Discontent this spark (though I sought by all speedie and possible means to quench it) soon kindled, all the World is witness: The aspersion which some men cast upon that Action, as if I had designed by force to assault the House of Commons, and invade their Privilege, is so false, that, as God best knows, I had no such intent: so none that attended could justly gather from anie thing I then said, or did, the least intimation of anie such thoughts.

That I went attended with some Gentlemen, as it was no unwonted thing for the Majestie and safetie of a King so to be attended, especially in discontented times; so were my Followers at that time short of mine ordinarie Guard, and no waie proportionable to hazard a tumultuarie Conflict. Nor were they more scared at my coming, than I was unassured of not having some Affronts cast upon me, if I had none with me to pre-

Upon the
Kings coming
to the Houle
of Commons.

Anno
1641.

preserve a reverence to me; for many people had (at that time) learned to think those hard thoughts, which they have since abundantly vented against me, both by Words and Deeds.

The Sum of that Business was this:

Those men and their Adherents were then looked upon, by the affrighted Vulgar, as greater Protectours of their Laws and Liberties, than my self, and worthier of their protection. I leave them to God, and their own Consciences, who, if guiltie of evil machinations, no present impunitie, or popular vindications of them will be subterfuge sufficient to rescue them from those exact Tribunals.

To which, in the obstructions of Justice among men, we must religiously appeal, as being an Argument to us Christians of that after-unavoidable Judgment, which shall rejudg, what among men is but corruptly decided, or not at all.

I endeavoured to have prevented, if God had seen fit, those future Commotions, which I fore-saw, would in all likelihood follow some mens activitie, (if not restrained) and so now hath done to the undoing of many thousands; the more is the pitie:

But to over-aw the freedom of the Houses, or to weaken their just Authoritie by anie violent impressions upon them, was not at all my Design: I thought I had so much Justice and Reason on my side, as should not have needed so rough assistance: and I was resolved rather to bear the Repulse with patience, than to use such hazzardous Extremities.

The King evermore very sensible of the necessity of State, proposeth unto them to consider of all those particulars necessary for his Majesties just Right and regal Authority, and for settling of his Revenue.

And as for the settlement of their Privileges, free enjoyment of their Estates, the liberties of their persons, the security of Religion, and the settling of Ceremonies in the Church, as may take away all just offence, which when they shall have digested, it shall then appear what his Majesty shall do, protesting his innocency from intending any Design to cause their Fears or Jealousies; and how ready he will be to exceed the greatest Examples of the most indulgent Princes to their People; and calls Heaven and Earth, God and Man to witness, that he shall not fail on his part, Jan. 20.

Overtures for
relief of Ire-
land.

It is true, that the misery of Ireland cried out for Relief, and as often the King enforced the consideration, offering Propositions very probable, which the Parliament always declined. But the Scots having a fair Interest there in their British Plantations, and a Committee being a foot to that purpose, the Scots seeming very forward to do somewhat, and to involve their Propositions together with their general Proposals of the Treaty of Peace, make these Offers, to transport two thousand and five hundred Scots into

Ire-

*Ireland, (meaning thereby to hasten the end of their Treaty.)
But upon these Articles,*

*That Provisions of Victuals be presently sent to Carrickfergus to be
sold to the Scots Souldiers, answerable to their Pay.*

*They to have the command of that Castle and Town, to remain there,
or to enlarge their own Quarters into the Countrey.*

*That Match, Poulder, and Ball be sent from hence; but what Arms,
Ammunition, or Artillery shall go from Scotland with their
Forces, the same shall be supplied into Scotland out of England.*

*That a part of the brotherly Assistance (thirty thousand pounds) be
advanced to them presently, which though in proportion came but
to seven thousand and five hundred pounds, yet they crave ten
thousand pounds for their encouragement.*

*That their Pay which was condescended to commence from the
eight of December last may be advanced to the eighth of Febru-
ary next, when they hoped to march.*

To have Ships of Convoy.

And that all this may be done without prejudice to their Treatie.

Jan. 24.

The two Houses having swallowed these Propositions, the Kings consent was desired, but excepts very sparingly against the third Article, as somewhat prejudicial to the Crown of *England*; and desires conference with the *Scots* Commissioners there, which being long disputed, and the strength of the Kings Argument implying too great a trust for Auxiliary Forces in them.

To which they reply, that they hoped that his Majesty being their native, would not shew less trust in them than in the Neighbour Nation, seeing his two Houses had consented; yet although the Reason bore little force, as the Kings condition now stood, yet to take away all Delays of Dispute he condescended.

And the *Scots* Commissioners following the King out of *Scotland* interpose Mediation between the King and Parliament in several private Addresses, and in some Propositions in writing, so effectually to the Parliaments purpose, and their Designing, that Mr. *Pym* is sent specially to give them Thanks on *Saturday* the twenty second of *January*.

My Lords,

*We are commanded to present to you their affectionate Thanks for your
wise Counsels and faithfull advice given to his Sacred Majestie, for the
appeasing and removing of the present Distraction and Distempers of
this State.*

My

Anno
1641.

My Lords,

The House of Commons are very sensible, and do tenderly and affectionately consider, that this your dutifull and faithfull advice is a large testimonie of your fidelitie to the King, affection to this State, and of wisdom, for honour, securitie and peace of his Majestie, and both Kingdoms, and not onely very acceptable to this House, but likewise of great advantage to both Nations.

They clearly perceive, you rightly understand the causes of our Distempers, and your carefull endeavours to complie with them in the quieting and removing of the same: that the brotherly Communion lately confirmed by both Parliaments of England and Scotland, binde them both to maintain the peace and liberties of one another, being highly concerned equally therein, as the assured means of the safetie and preservation of both, and being so united, the Disturbance of the one must needs disquiet and distemper the peace of the other, as hath been often acknowledged by them both. They are likewise sensible that those waies which you advise are the onely means to settle peace and unitie in this Kingdom, viz.

First, to endeavour a right understanding between his Majestie and his People, by which he may truly see the real causes of these Disturbances, and their Authours, who are his faithfull and loyal Subjects, his faithfull and dutifull Counsellours, and who not, by which means the brotherly affection betwixt the two Nations, shall be confirmed to the glorie of God, and peace of the Church and State of both Kingdoms, their unitie advanced, and all mistakes and jealousies betwixt his Majestie and this Kingdom, removed, and the establishment of the affairs settled in perpetual peace and tranquillitie; the Liberties and Privileges of his Subjects freely enjoyed under his royal Scepter, which is the most assured Foundation of his Majesties honour and greatness of the securitie of his royal Person, Crown and Dignitie.

Secondly, the removal and prevention of all such plots and practises, entertained by the Papists, Prelates, and their Adherents, whose aim in all these Troubles hath been to prevent all further Reformation, and to subvert the puritie and truth of Religion, their constant endeavours have been to stir up Division betwixt his Majestie and his People, by their questioning the Authoritie of Parliaments, and the lawfull Liberties of the Subjects, and really weakening his Majesties power and authoritie royal, upon pretence of defending the same, which mischievous Counsels, Conspiracies and Attempts, have produced these Distempers in his Majesties Kingdoms of England and Ireland.

Thirdly, that his Majestie would be pleased to have recourse onely, to the faithfull advise of his Parliament, and to depend thereupon as the happie means to establish the prosperitie and quiet of this Kingdom, and in his royal wisdom to consider and prevent these Apprehensions of fear, which may possess the hearts of his Majesties Subjects in his other Kingdoms, if they shall conceive the Authoritie of Parliaments, and the

Rights

Rights and Liberties of the Subjects to be here called in question.

My Lords, these your faithfull and loyal Propositions is the greatest Demonstration of your affectiones faithfully united and devoted to the securitie of his Majestie, and your heartie Wishes and Desires of the peace and prosperitie, as well of his Majesties Kingdom of England, as Scotland and Ireland; these Propositions have been the onely endeavours and intentions of his Majesties high Court of Parliament, to effect and make manifest to all men; and in any other means whatsoever that shall by you be conceived necessary to the composing and settling of these present Distractions, they declare themselves desirous to have the same communicated unto them, and they shall be right joyfull and thankfull therefore, and will willingly and chearfully joyn with you in the same.

Anno
1641.

The House of Commons having an itching desire of power, had moved the Upper House to joyn with them for obtaining the command of the Tower, and mannagement of the Militia, and being refused therein, yet they will not be beaten off, but singly of themselves petition the King for them both, and other principal Forts of the Kingdom, and pray for his gracious and speedy Answer, Jan. 26.

The House of
Commons
petition for
the Militia.

That his Majestie having preferred to the Lieutenancie of the Tower, a person of a known Fortune and unquestionable Reputation, wonders that he should be pressed to remove him without any particular Charge objected against him; and therefore untill some just Exception be, he is obliged to preserve his own work, lest his favour and good opinion become a misfortune to his Servants.

The Kings
Answer.

As for his Forts and Castles of this Kingdom, they shall alwaies remain in such hands as the Parliament may confide in, which being the inseparable Flowers of the Crown vested in him, derivative from his Ancestours, by the Fundamental Laws of the Kingdom, he will reserve to himself, and to bestow them as their Eminencie shall not be disproved by his Parliament.

For the Militia, which by Law is subject to no command but his own, when any particular course shall be digested by them for ordering the same, in reference to his honour and safetie of the Kingdom, He will then return to them a satisfactorie Answer therein.

And that he having granted to them more than ever any King hath done, they will not ask more than ever any Subjects have desired.

And therefore conjures them by all the Acts of Dutie and Favour, which they have received, by their hopes of future happines, by their love of Religion, and peace of the Kingdom, in which, that of Ireland cannot be forgotten, That they will not be transported by unnecessarie Fealousies and Fears, but that they will speedily pursue the proposed way by his former Messages to compose the Distractions of this Kingdom.

Anno
1641.

Nor was this satisfactory, but that again they petition for the same, and for his Majesties speedy and gracious Answer.

To which the King not over-hasty to resolve, or rather not to alter from his former Resolutions therein, The old way of Petitions are set on work from all Counties.

From the County of *Suffolk* to the number of 1500. against the Votes of Popish Lords and Bishops in the House of Peers, *Jan. 31.* and were answered, approving their care and endeavour for the publick good, with promise that the House of Commons will use their endeavour for their Desires. Another Petition of 2000. Mechanics, Tradesmen about *London*, to the same effect. And were answered, that the House of Commons were just now in consideration thereof. The People were taught to reply, that they doubted not the care of the Commons House, but they were told, that all their Distrust was in the House of Lords, where the Popish Lords and Bishops had the greatest power, and there it stuck, whose Names they desired to know, and were so earnest, that unwillingly they would withdraw, whilst it was debated. And afterwards had this Answer. *That the House of Commons had already endeavoured Relief from the Lords in their Requests, and shall so continue, till Redress be obtained.*

And at the tail of these the City Dames accompanied a Petition to the like effects, and were heartily treated for their care of the common good.

The second of *February* the House of Commons sent for Sir *Edward Dearing* one of their Members, and examined him concerning his Book of all his Speeches this Parliament, and some intended to be spoken, in which some Particulars therein tended to the dishonour of that House and their Privileges, for which he was excluded the House, and his Book to be burnt at *Westminster, Cheapside, and Smithfield*, and he committed to the Tower during pleasure.

The Committee met at *Merchant-tailors Hall*, upon the Bill for raising four hundred thousand pounds for *Ireland*, which was afterwards effected, but very little thereof sent to their succour.

A Message was sent from the Lords to the Commons that they had passed the Bill for disabling all persons in holy Orders to have any Place or Vote in Parliament, or to exercise any temporal Jurisdiction, which receiving some Amendments, voted in the House of Commons, the Bills were carried up by Sir *Robert Harley* to the Lords, with high expressions of the Commons joy for the even Agreement, and their Desire to the Lords to hasten the Bill for the King to pass.

But not to let him take breath for his second Answer hereto, and being sensible that their five Members are lodged under the obloquy of Delinquency, and under the Charge of high Treason, both Houses once again petition, that they may be informed with-

in

Petition to the
King concern-
ing the five
Members.

in two Days; what proof there is against them, that they may be called to a legal Trial, it being their undoubted Right, that no Member of Parliament can be proceeded against without the consent of Parliament, *Febr. 2.*

And to these two Petitions presented both in a Day, they receive this Answer.

That to the first of them, when he shall know the extent of power which is extended to be established in those persons to be Commanders of the Forts and Militia, and to what time limited, no power shall be limited, no power shall be executed by his Majestie alone without advice of Parliament, so that they declare them such by Names, whom he shall have just cause to refuse.

And to the other Petition, *That as he once conceived, he had ground enough to accuse them, so now he findes as good cause wholly to desert any prosecution of them. And lest some of his Subjects may be involved in some unknowing and unwilling Errours, he is ready to grant such a free and general pardon as his Parliament shall think convenient.*

And now the Parliament considers the Kings Resolution in both those Petitions, not to intrust the power of the Militia out of himself, nor otherwise to clear *Kimbolton* and the five Members, but in-clusive by a general Pardon, which they utterly refuse.

These two Demands of the Parliament necessarily depending each of the other, the breach of Privileges giving them just cause of Fears and Jealousies, to what excess the Kings will to do, and power to execute, might increase.

In these two, therefore, they as violently resolve, to binde his hands, and never left him till he was forced to take his leave of them, which so daily follows.

But to prepare his affairs to his own intentions, he resolves to send the Queen out of the Danger, who was lately scared with a Report, that the Parliament had an intent to accuse her of high Treason, and that Articles were drawn up to that purpose, which the Parliament excuse as a publick Scandal upon them.

The Queen
sent into Hol-
land with the
Princes of
Orange.

To which she mildly makes answer. *That there was a general Report thereof, but she never saw any Articles in writing, and having no certain Authour for either, she gave little credit thereto: nor will she believe that they would lay any Aspersions upon her, who hath ever been very unapt to mis-conster the Actions of any one person, and much more the proceedings of Parliament; and shall at all times wish an happy understanding between the King and his People.*

Anno

1641.

In truth there had not been onely a Rumour abroad, but a dangerous conceit, that the Queen had so much power with the King, as to mis-advise him; and had she not resolved to be gone aside, they did intend to drive her away, or to have made the Court too hot for her. And therefore the King acquaints the Houses, that he was pressed by the States Ambassadour, to send the Princess *Maria* immediately into *Holland* to her late betrothed Husband, the young Prince of *Orange*, and upon the Queens earnest Desire, to give her Majesty leave to accompany her.

And with her were conveyed all the King and Queens Jewels, not leaving behinde any of those entailed to the Crown by his Predecessors, with which and the Prince of *Orange's* assistance, the King doubted not to raise his party considerable to oppose the Parliament. But no doubt nothing could work more for the Parliaments advantage; and although they were informed of the Purloin which might have been prevented, and seized, yet they suffered so much Treasure to be transported, to be rid of all together.

We have time to consider to what miserable solitude the King was brought; his dearest Consort the Queen, and his eldest Daughter the Princess, with the honour of her Court, to be enforced to fly beyond Seas; himself desolate, enforced to withdraw from his Parliament, his Privy Council, from his usual residence at *White-hall*, and from the strength and support of the City of *London*, so wonderfully obliged to him for his grace and favour. But all this appears by his own princely consideration, which he expresseth thus.

Eikon Bas. c. 7.

Although I have much cause (says the King) to be troubled at my Wifes Departure from me, and out of my Dominions; yet not her absence so much, as the Scandal of that necessitie, which drives her away, doth afflict me. That she should be compelled by mine own Subjects, and those pretending to be Protestants, to withdraw for her safetie: This being the first Example of any Protestant Subjects, that have taken up Arms against their King, a Protestant: for I look upon this now done in England, as another Act of the same Tragedie which was lately begun in Scotland; the Brands of that Fire being ill quenched, have kindled the like Flames here. I fear such Motions (so little to the adorning of the Protestant Profession, may occasion a farther alienation of minde, and Divorce of affections in her, from that Religion, which is the onely thing wherein we differ.

Which yet God can, and, I pray, he would in time take away; and not suffer these practises to be any obstruction to her judgment; since it is the motion of those men, (for the most part) who are yet to seek and settle their Religion for Doctrine, Government, and good manners, and so not to be imputed to the true English Protestants; who continue firm to their former settled Principles and Laws.

I am

I am sorrie my Relation to so deserving a Ladie should be any occasion of her Danger and Affliction; whose Merits would have served her for a protection among the savage Indians; while their rudeness and barbaritie knows not so perfectly to hate all Virtues, as some mens subtiltie doth; among whom I yet think few are so malicious as to hate her for her self. The fault is, that she is my Wife.

All Justice then as well as Affection commands me to studie her Securitie, who is onely in Danger for my sake; I am content to be tossed, weather-beaten, and shipwrackt, so as she may be in a safe Harbour.

This comfort I shall enjoy by her safetie in the midst of my personal Dangers, that I can perish but half, if she be preserved: in whose memorie and hopefull Posteritie, I may yet survive the malice of mine Enemies, although they should be satiated with my Bloud.

I must leave her and them, to the Love and Loyaltie of my good Subjects; and to his protection, who is able to punish the Faults of Princes, and no less severely to revenge the Injuries done to them, by those, who in all Dutie and Allegiance, ought to have made good that safetie, which the Laws chiefly provide for Princes.

But common civilitie is in vain expected from those that dispute their Loyaltie: nor can it be safe (for any Relation) to a King, to tarrie among them who are shaking hands with their Allegiance, under pretence of laying faster hold on their Religion.

'Tis pitie so noble and peacefull a Soul should see, much more suffer, the rudeness of those who must make up their want of Justice, with inhumanitie and impudence.

Her sympathie with me in my afflictions, will make her Virtues shine with greater lustre, as Stars in the darkest Nights; and assure the envious World, that she loves me, not my Fortunes.

Neither of us but can easily forgive, since we do not much blame the unkindness of the Generalitie, and Vulgar; for we see God is pleased to trie both our patience, by the most self-punishing sin, the ingratitude of those, who having eaten of our Bread, and being enriched with our Bountie, have scornfully lift up themselves against us; and those of our own Household are become our Enemies. I pray God lay not their sin to their charge; who think to satisfie all obligations to Dutie, by their Corban of Religion; and can less endure to see, than to sin against their Benefactours as well as their Sovereigns.

But even that policie of mine Enemies is so far venial, as it was necessarie to their Designs, by scandalous Articles, and all irreverend Deemeanour, to seek to drive her out of my Kingdoms; lest by the influence of her Example, eminent for Love as a Wife, and Loyaltie as a Subject, she should have converted to, or retained in their Love and Loyaltie, all those whom they had a purpose to pervert.

The less I may be blest with her companie, the more I will retire to God, and mine own Heart, whence no malice can banish her. Mine Enemies may envie, but they can never deprive me of the enjoyment of her Virtues, while I enjoy my self.

Anno

1641.

It was mightily enforced then, and the scandalous suspicion continues to this Day, That at the Kings late being in *Scotland*, when the *Irish* Rebellion then brake out, the Plot and contrivance was there hatched: Not so horrid as it fell out to be, a monstrous Massacre of all the Protestants; but it was surmised, that a Mutiny or shew of Insurrection there, might be an occasion of raising Forces here, for to subdue them, and so to be made usefull in reducing the Parliament to Reason.

And to increase that opinion, it hath been objected, that how earnestly the King was fain to urge the Parliament for that Relief very often to reminde them of the Misery, which they could not but deeply resent, yet never was too hasty, nor at all willing to intrust any power of Arms to the Kings dispose, much less for him in person to be their General, as he often offered.

To add to all, it had been considered in Parliament, how generally the Papists flocked over to *Ireland*, and though the Houses had ordered a strict Examination for prevention thereof, yet it was complained of by Master *Pym* at a Conference, and printed by their Order, *That since the stop upon the Ports against all Irish Papists, many of the chief Commanders now in the Head of the Rebels have been licensed to pass thither by his Majesties immediate Warrant.*

His Majesty therefore having used all possible ways to prevent it, he would be resolved, if this Speech were so delivered by Master *Pym*, that they review upon what information it was grounded, and so to be found false, and the King injured; or the King to be assured by whose means his Authority has been so highly abused, as to be made to conduce to the assistance of that abhorred Rebellion; and so to see himself vindicated, *Febr. 7.*

To this Message they justify the Authour Master *Pym*, what he said, to be *the sense of the House*, and ordered to be printed: and that they are so advertised, *had your Majesties Warrant*; and that some others have been staid, and are yet in safe custody, and named these to be the Lord *Delvin*, and four others in his company, and one supposed to be a Priest, Colonel *Butler* Brother to the Lord *Minard*, now in Rebellion, and Sir *George Hamilton*, all Papists, and another the Son of the Lord *Nettersfield*, whose Father and Brother are now in Rebellion. And are sorry that his Majesties extreme caution therein hath been so ill seconded by his Ministers, of which they beseech him to prevent the future dishonour to his Majesty, and mischief to the Kingdom, *Febr. 10.*

To this the King replies. Whether such a general Advertising be ground enough for Master *Pym's* Speech and their positive Affirmation, and challenges them to name any so warranted, which he is assured that they cannot, and bids them lay it to heart, how this their Authority may trench upon his Honour in the affections
of

of his good people; as if not sensible enough of that Rebellion, so horrid and odious to all good *Christians*, by which in this Distracti-
on, what Danger may possibly ensue to his person and estate;
and therefore expects their Declaration to vindicate his Inno-
cency and Honour.

And as for the Persons named, *Butler* and *Nettersfield* had their
Passes of his Majesty in *Scotland*, long before any Restraint here;
being assured of *Butler's* loyal affection to his service, and Uncle to
the Earl of *Ormond*, approved faithfull, and both Protestants; and
of *Nettersfield*, there never had been any the least suspicion.

Nor did the King know of their Order of Restraint till *Hamilton's* stay, who was the last that had any Licence.

And if any had been Papists, yet of known integrity; they may
remember that the Lords Justices of *Ireland* declared in their Let-
ters, that they were so far from owning a publick Jealousie of all
Papists, that they had armed divers Noble-men of the Pale that
were Papists; and therefore expects their Declaration for his Vin-
dication, as in Duty and Justice they ought to do.

This he required, but that they would not do, and the King must
sit down by the loss, and rest so satisfied. Nay, they never left cla-
mouring, till he had turned out Sir *John Byron*, and put in Sir *John*
Coniers at their Nomination to be Lieutenant of the Tower of
London.

And then they proceed to their Nomination of several fit
persons for Trust of the *Militia* in their respective Counties.

And passes an Act for disabling all persons in Holy Orders to
exercise any Temporal Jurisdiction or Authority; as if no men of
Religion were fit to do Justice.

He tells them by Message, that to satisfy and compose all Dis-
tempers, he will by Proclamation require all Statutes concerning
Recusants to be put in execution.

That the seven condemned Priests shall be banished, and all *Ro-
mish* Priests within twenty Days to depart the Kingdom.

That he refers the consideration of the Government and Litu-
rgie of the Church wholly to the Houses.

And offers himself in person to the *Irish* War.

Again the Parliament are at their five Members, and Lords and
Commons petition, that *though your Majestie finde cause to desert
their Prosecution*, yet in their Charge the whole Parliament is
imputed; and therefore desire the King to send the Informers against
the said Members with their suggestions to the Parliament, to be
proceeded, as in 37, 38 *Edward* 3.

Thus forward they are, and the Parliament begin to ordain the
power

Petition for
the five Mem-
bers.

Anno
1641.

Petition to
settle the *Mi-*
litia.

Lord Digby's
Letters inter-
cepted.

Propositions
for Ireland.

power of the *Militia*, for safeguard of the Parliament, Tower, and City of *London*, under the Command of Serjeant Major General *Skippon*, approving all his Orders and Commands already therein by former Directions; and now they establish him therein, declaring, that if any person shall arrest or trouble him for so doing, he doth break the Privileges of Parliament, violate the Liberty of the Subject, and is thereby declared an Enemy to the Common-wealth. (No more mention of King or Kingdom.)

And they petition him to settle the *Militia* according to their Nomination of particular persons in Trust therein for all the several Counties.

To which the King respites till his Return, being now to conduct the Queen and the Princess *Mary* to *Dover*, for their Voyage into *Holland*.

Which they answer, is as unsatisfactory as an absolute Denial, pretending that the *Irish* endeavour to invade *England*, with assistance of the Papists here; *Febr. 22*.

The Lord *Digby* for some passages heretofore, to prevent the Censure of the Parliament, was fled beyond Seas, and had written three Letters, one to the Queen, and two others to Secretary *Nicholas* and Sir *Lewis Dives*, which the Parliament intercepting and opening, very maliciously fomenting the Jealousie between the King and his People; therefore upon the Desire of the King for that Letter to the Queen, they send him all three, with their prayers for the King, to perswade her Majesty not to correspond with him, or any other Fugitive or Traitours, who depend on the Examination and Judgment of Parliament.

The King now returned from *Dover*, from whence the Queen and the Princess *Mary* voyaged to *Holland*, where she was to negotiate Forreign Aid and Assistance for the Kings Designs, being too hot for him to remain at *London*, sends to *Hampton Court* for the Prince to meet him at *Greenwich*, wherein the Parliament were surpris'd, as now doubting the effect; and therefore send a Message, that the Prince his Removal may be a cause to promote Jealousies and Fears, which they conceive very necessary to avoid, but could not prevail to prevent it.

The Parliament having now the *Militia*, the security of the Tower and City of *London*, Trained Bands of the Kingdom, and all the Forces out of the Kings hands; they begin to think upon Propositions of themselves for reducing the Rebels of *Ireland*, and order;

That two Millions and an half of those Acres to be confiscate of Rebels Lands in four Provinces, may be allotted to such persons as will disburse Moneys for manning that War, *viz.*

For each Adventure of

Two hundred pounds, one thousand Acres in *Ulster*.

Three hundred pounds, one thousand Acres in *Connaught*.

Four hundred and fifty pounds, one thousand Acres in *Munster*.

Six hundred pounds, one thousand Acres in *Lemster*.

All *English* Measure, Meadow, Arable and profitable Pasture, (Bogs, Woods, and barren Mountains cast in over and above) in free and common Soccage of the King, as of his Castle of *Dublin*.

Secondly, that out of those Acres a constant Rent to be reserved to the Crown of *England* in this proportion :

Out of each Acre thereof in

Ulster, one penny.

Connaught, one penny half penny.

Munster, two pence farthing.

Lemster, three pence.

Thirdly, that for erecting Mannours, creating Corporations, regulating of Plantations, Commissioners shall be impowred by Parliament.

Fourthly, all Undertakers to subscribe before several Days prefixed in reference to the distance of abode from *London*.

Fifthly, their Moneys to be paid into the Chamber of *London* at four payments, viz. a fourth part in ten Days after subsigning, and the third payment at thrice three Moneths.

Sixthly, at subsigning to pay down the twentieth part of his total Sum, and if he fail of his residue of the first fourth part within ten Days, he shall forfeit the twentieth part of the total deposited ; and so much more of his fourth payment to be added thereto, as shall make up the one Moiety of the said first payment. And if he fail in any other of the three payments, he shall then forfeit his entire first fourth part, and all his Subscription to accrue to the common benefit of the rest of the Undertakers, which the King confirms, *Febr. 26*.

Anno
1641.

And the Committee of Members issue out their Warrants.

We (the Committee appointed to receive the Moneys given by the Members of the House of Commons, for the Relief of the distressed that are come out of Ireland) require you to send a Certificate of what Sums of Money are collected in your Parish, and the Moneys to us who are appointed to receive the same.

It is marvellous what Contributions were gleaned from the people, by the prevailing Incitements of the Ministers, such whining for the distressed Brethren of *Ireland*, what vast Sums collected at every Church-doors, and paid, and how disposed, is yet very doubtful: but how much or little the Members themselves did contribute, mine eyes were never witness, nor could I ever learn.

The Parliament thus forward in power, press the King to confirm the Ordinance of the *Militia*.

To which (the King now returned to *Greenwich*) sends this Answer, commanding the Lord Keeper *Littleton* to see it read to the House of Peers, *Febr. 28*.

The Kings
Answer con-
cerning the
Militia.

He first findes great cause to except against the Preface, which confesseth a most dangerous Design upon the House of Commons, supposed to be an effect of the bloody counsels of Papists, which some may understand by their printed Papers, to be his coming in person the fourth of *January* to demand the five Members.

In which he had no other Design than to require them to justice, without any intent of violation upon any person, nor was there any provocation by any of his Train.

As for the *Militia*, he is contented to allow the persons named for the Counties; but concerning the City of *London*, and other Corporations, it can not stand with justice or policy to alter their Government in that particular, but will grant to them such Commissions as he hath done this Parliament to other Lieutenants, or otherwise he shall do it, than to have it first by some Law invested in him with power to transfer it to others, and to be digested into an Act of Parliament, rather than an Ordinance, lest there be a latitude for his good Subjects to suffer under any arbitrary power whatsoever.

As to the time for continuance of that power, he cannot consent to divest himself of the power which God and the Laws have placed in him, to put it into the hands of others, for an indefinite time.

And since the ground of their Designs refers to their Jealousies and Fears, he hopeth that his grace to them since the former Exceptions is sufficient to expell any fear from former suspicions.

And since, he is willing to condescend to all their Proposals con-
cerning

Anno
1641.

cerning the County *Militia*, onely excepting that of *London*, and other Corporations, which will be more satisfactory, if the Parliament weigh it well, than their own Proposals by an Ordinance, to which (for these Reasons) he cannot content.

And because he perceives that in some places some persons begin to intermeddle of themselves with the *Militia*, he expecteth that his Parliament should examine the particulars thereof, being of great concernment and consequence, and to be proceeded against according to Law.

And now it working very high, the King takes leave of these parts, and progresseth to *Theobalds*, declining this place and his Parliament. Nor are they willing to stay him, being that his absence would contribute to their intentions, yet thither they follow him with a Petition, rather to put him forward, than to recall him.

Therein protesting, that if his Majesty persist in the Denial of the *Militia*, the Dangers are such as will endure no longer Delay, but to dispose of it by Authority of Parliament, and resolve so to do, as it hath been by them propounded.

Parliament
petition per-
emptorily for
the *Militia*.

And that for the safety of his person and people, in much Jealousie and Fear, he will be pleased to continue his abode near *London* and the Parliament, and to continue the Prince at *Saint James's*, or any other Houses near *London*, to prevent the Jealousies and Fears of the people.

That by the Laws of the Realm, the power of the *Militia*, of raising, ordering and disposing thereof, in any place, cannot be granted to any Corporation, by Charter, or otherwise, without consent of Parliament: and that those parts of the Kingdom that have put themselves in a posture of Defence, have done it by Declaration and Direction of Parliament, *March 1*.

The King so much confounded with the former pressing Petitions, and this so peremptory, to which no Answers have appeared satisfactory, in much regret he suddenly replies, under his own hand.

The Kings
Answer.

That he is so amazed at this Message, he knows not what to answer:

You speak of Jealousies and Fears, (says he) lay your hands to your hearts, and ask your selves, whether I may not in earnest be disturbed with Fears and Jealousies?

And if so, I will assure you, this your Message hath nothing lessened them.

For the Militia, I thought as much before my last Answer, being agreeable to what in Justice or Reason you can ask, or I in honour grant, which I shall not alter in any point.

Anno
1641.

I wish my Residence near you might be so safe and honourable, that I had no cause to absent my self from White-hall. Ask your selves whether I have not?

I shall take that care of my Son which shall justify me to God, as a Father, and to my Dominions as a King.

I assure you upon mine honour, I have no thoughts but of Peace and Justice to my People, which I shall by all fair means seek to preserve, relying upon the goodness of God, for the preservation of my self and Rights.

This in such a style of Resolution, they quickly proceed to Voiting of all the particulars of their former Petitions, and the Kings Answers unsatisfactory.

And that the Kingdom be put into a posture of Defence, in such a way as is agreed upon by Parliament, and a Committee to prepare a publick Declaration from these two Heads.

1. *The just causes of the Fears and Fealousies given to the Parliament, and to clear them from any Fealousies conceived against them.*
2. *To consider of all matters arising from his Majesties Message, and what is fit to be done.*

A man would wonder upon what grounds they should arm by Sea and Land, specially so hastily resolved, as the next day, March 2.

Advertisements (they say) of extraordinary preparations by the neighbouring Princes both by Land and Sea, the intentions whereof are so represented, as to raise a just apprehension of sudden Danger to the King and his Kingdoms unless the wisdom of Parliament prevent it.

And therefore the Earl of Northumberland Admiral of England is commanded with all speed to order the Rigging of the Kings Ships, and fit them immediately for the Sea.

And to frighten us into fear, all Masters and Owners of Ships are perswaded to do the like, for the emergent occasions of publick Defence.

In order to these, the Beacons were new made up, Sea-marks set up, such riding, posting with Pacquets, whispering and Tales telling, as put the people in fear of they knew not what; wise men onely told the Truth, discovering the Enemy wholly at home.

I have been as brief as may be in the business of this year: and yet to satisfy the curious, I cannot omit all the occasions of this miserable Eruption, which follows; presuming yet that this Declaration designed may be spared the recording; for certainly, no new matter can be invented, and what hitherto hath been the cause, the Reader has leave to judg.

But

The Reign of King Charls.

501

Anno
1641.

Parliaments
Declaration to
the King of
all his faults.

But not to amuse your imaginations, it self must satisfie; the Declaration was born to Roiston by the Earls of *Pembroke* and *Holland*. He who read it to the King, this Lord being raised and created to become his most secret Counsellour, the most intimate in affection, the first of his Bed-chamber, his constant companion in all his sports and recreations, even in that place, and to this hour.

At the sight of him, the Kings countenance (me thought) mixed into compassion and disdain, as who should, as *Cæsar* did, *Et in mi fili*.

But on he went, to this effect, *March 9.*

The manifold Attempts to provoke your Majesties late Armie, and the Scots Armie, and to raise a Faction in London, and other parts, the Actours having their dependance, countenance, and encouragement from the Court; witness Jermin's Treason, who was transported beyond Sea by your Majesties Warrant; and that dangerous Petition delivered to Captain Leg by your Majesties own Hand, with a Direction signed C. R.

The false and scandalous Accusation against the Lord Kimbolton, and the five Members. Plotting and designing a Guard about your person, labouring to infuse into the people an ill opinion of the Parliament, as if to raise Arms for a Civil War: in which Combustion Ireland would be lost.

That the Lord Digby was sent to Sir John Pennington to be landed beyond Sea, to vent his traitorous conceptions for the King to retire to some place of strength; offering to correspond by cyphers with the Queen, as if to procure some foreign Forces to assist your Majestie, answerable to your remove with the Prince as in a readines for the acting of it.

Manifold Advertisements which they have from *Rome, Venice, Paris*, and other parts, expecting the effects of the Kings Design, to alter Religion, and ruine the Parliament.

That the Popes Nuntio hath solicited the Kings of *France* and *Spain*, to lend his Majesty four thousand Men a piece to help to maintain his Royalty against the Parliament.

And this foreign Force, the most pernicious and malignant Design of all the rest, so they hope it is from his thoughts. *Because no man will easily believe you will give up your People and Kingdom to be spoiled by strangers, if you did not likewise intend to change both your own profession in Religion, and the publick profession of the Kingdom, that so you might be more assured of these foreign States of the Popish Religion for the future support and defence.*

They beseech his Majesty to consider how fair a way he hath to happiness, honour, greatness, plenty, security, if he would but joyn with his Parliament and people in defence of the Religion and Kingdom.

This

Anno

1641.

This is all they expect from him, and for which they shall return their Lives, Fortunes, and utmost Endeavours to support him and Sovereignty. And for the present, have but onely this to desire, *To turn away his wicked Counsellours, and put his trust in Parliament.*

At the reading of that part which mentioned Master *Fermin's* transportation by his Majesties Warrant, the King interrupted him, and said, *That's false.*

And at the business of Captain *Leg*, he told him, *'Tis a Lie.*

And at the end of all, he said, *He was confident the Parliament had worse information than he had Councils.*

What have I denied you?

The Militia: said *Holland.*

That's no Bill.

The other replied, *It was necessary.*

Which I have not denied, but in the manner.

His Lordship would perswade the King, to come near the Parliament.

Have you given me cause? (said the King) *This Declaration is not the way to it; and in all Aristotle's Rhetoricks there is no such Argument of perswasion.*

Pembroke that he might say something said it over again, The Parliament prays him to come to them.

The King told him, *Words were not sufficient.*

What would you have Sir? said he.

The King replied, *To whip a Boy in Westminster Schoole that could not tell that by my Answer.*

Then the Lord asked him, to grant the Militia for a time.

Not an hour; this was never asked of any King, with which I will not trust my Wife and Children.

But his Majesties Answer to all was this, *That to their Fears and Jealousies, he would take time to satisfy all the World, hoping that God would in his good time discover the secrets and bottoms of all Plots and Treasons, to set him upright with his people.*

For his Fears and Doubts are not trivial, while so many scandalous Pamphlets, seditious Sermons, sundry Tumults publick are winked into and unpunished. He must confess his Fears, calling God to witness, they are the greater, for the Religion, for his people, and for their Laws, than for his own Right or safety of himself, and yet he tells them, none of these are free from Danger.

What would you have? said he.

Have I violated your Laws?

Have I denied any one Bill?

What have ye done for me?

Have my people been transported with Fears and Apprehensions?

I have.

I offer

I offer a free pardon as your selves can devise.

There is a Judgment from Heaven upon this Nation if these Distractions continue.

God so deal with me and mine, as all my thoughts and intentions are right for the maintenance of the true Protestant profession, the observation and preservation of the Laws of this Land.

God blefs and assist the Laws for my preservation.

But his complete Answer to all comes in a Declaration to the Parliament, and to the people. Having little encouragement to Replies of this nature, when he is told of how little value his words are with them, though accompanied with love and justice. He disavows the having any evil Counsellours about him, but leaves such to their censure where they shall finde them: in the mean time, they ought not to wound his Honour, under the common style of Evil Counsellours.

He hath formerly declared his faithfull affection to the Protestant profession, his whole life answerable in practise, which should rather be acknowledged by them, than to declare any Design of his to alter it in this Kingdom. Imprecating God to be witness, and that the Judgments of Heaven may be manifested upon those that have or had any such Design.

As for the *Scots* Troubles, these unhappy Differences are wrapt up in perpetual silence by the Act of Oblivion passed in Parliaments of both Kingdoms, which stays him from any further Reply to revive the memory of these Evils.

He thinks himself highly and causlessly injured in his royal Reputation to have any Declaration, Action, or Expression of the *Irish* Rebels, or any Letters or strange Speeches to be uttered by such in reference to beget any mis-apprehension in the people, of his justice, piety, and affection, an evident advantage to the Rebels, by raising Fears to us here, and security to them there. Concerning this sense of his good Subjects in *Ireland*, what hath he not done in his Messages to both Houses, offering his own person ready to adventure for their Redemption, being to give an account to God for his Interest in them.

He calls God to witness, he never had thought of any Resolution with his late Army to raise a Faction in *London*, or to force his Parliament.

That Captain *Leg* was then lately come from the Army to *White-hall*, with a Petition from the Officers, desiring the Parliament might have no interruption in the Reformation of the Church and State to the modell of *Queen Elizabeths* days; and for confirmation to Sir *Jacob Ashley* of my opinion therein I writ C. R. The Petition will satisfie, if you shew it.

Master *Fermin* was gone from *White-hall* before the Restraint, nor had he the Kings Warrant after that time, for the Lord *Kimbolton*

Anno

1641.

Anno
1641.

bolton and the five Members; it hath been rubbed over so oft, that but looking to his former Answer, they will appear abundantly satisfied.

He had great reason to raise a Guard at *White-ball*, to secure his own person, and to receive the dutifull tender of his good Subjects service, which was all he did to the Gentlemen of the Inns of Court.

And assures them in the word of a King, that the Lord *Digby* had left the Court with Warrant to pass the Seas, before the Vote of the House of Commons, or that his absence could be excepted against.

As for the wilde Advertisements from *Rome, Venice, Paris*, the Popes Nuntio, the Kings of *France and Spain*, which he is confident no sober man in all the Kingdom can believe, that the King is so desperate, so senseless, to entertain such Designs, to bring the Kingdom in destruction, and bury his Name and Posterity in perpetual infamy.

And having done with his Answer, somewhat he says besides: interrogates them, *Can there yet want evidence on his part to joyn with his Parliament?*

Hath he given no earnest but words?

Bids them look back upon their own Remonstrance in November last of the State of the Kingdom, which valued his Acts of Grace and Justice at so high a Rate, that it declared the Kingdom a Gainer, though it should charge it self by Subsidies and Poll-money six Millions of Pounds; besides the contracting the Scots Demands of two hundred and twenty thousand pounds.

Nay more, hath he not passed these Bills, for the Triennial Parliament, for relinquishing his Title to impose upon Merchants Goods, and his power of pressing of Souldiers, for suppressing the Courts of Star-chamber, High Commisison, regulating the Council-table, Are these but words? The Bills for the Forests, the Stannerie Courts, the Clerk of the Markets, the taking away the Votes of the Bishops, nothing but words? What greater earnest can he give, than the Bill for the continuance of this Parliament, the length of which he wishes may never alter the nature of Parliaments? and for a perfect reconciliation with his people, he offers a free Pardon. Nor doth he repent, but will meet them to add more, with alacritie and kindness, for the peace, honour, and prosperitie of this Nation.

We have heard what he hath done, and his promise to do more, which the common man (and of the wiser sort also) conceived very satisfactory.

I remember Master *Hambden's* Answer to an honest Member, who demanded, *what they could desire more?*

He

He answered, *To part with his power, and to trust it to us.* And to that end they went on.

First, by resolving (or absolving) the Oath of Allegiance no whit prejudiced by the Ordinance of the defence of the Kingdom. That the Kings Commissions of Lieutenancy over the respective Counties are illegal and void: But that their Ordinance for the *Militia* is to be obeyed as the Fundamental Laws of this Kingdom. And that these shall be the Heads of another Declaration.

The King removes on his way Northward, evermore looks back with a Heart earning after his People and Kingdom, and at *Huntington, March 15.* sends them this Message.

That he means to make his Residence at York, desires them to expedite the business of Ireland, and if calamities increase upon that People, he shall wash his hands before all the World from imputation unto him.

He expects, that as he hath been forward to retract any Act of his entrenching upon them, so he expects an equal tenderness in them towards him, in an unquestionable Privilege and fundamental. His Subjects not to be obliged to obey any Act, Order, or Injunction, to which his Majestie hath not given consent; And therefore he requires that they presume not upon any pretence of Order or Ordinance (to which his Majestie is not a partie) of the Militia, or any other thing, to do or execute against the Laws; he being to keep the Laws himself, and his Subjects to obey them: and commends unto them his Message of Jan. 20.

To this they give no other Answer, but resolve their former Vote of the *Militia*.

That to have their Votes questioned or contradicted is an high Breach of Privilege of Parliament; and a Committee appointed to examine where and by whom this Message was counselled, being suspected therefore Favourers of the Rebellion in *Ireland*; and return Message to the King, justifying their last Declaration in every particular.

And lest the Parliaments late proceedings should work in the people any Jealousie of the Kings inclination to favour Popery; He proclames for putting the Laws in due execution against Papists Recusants at *Stamford, March 16.*

At *York* he proclames, that by the last Act of this Parliament concerning Tunnage and Poundage, It is there provided, that no penalty in that Act, or in 1 *Fac.* shall ensue to any person, unless they refuse to compound for any Goods imported or exported, after notice given of the same by Proclamation, where the said Goods are to be entered. And now declares, that they pay the said Tunnage and Poundage as by the said Acts are expressed, &c. at *York, March 24.* with which we end our *English* affairs for this year.

Anno
1641.
Parliament
denude the
King of all
power and al-
legiance.

Proclamation
at *York* con-
cerning Tun-
nage and
Poundage.

Anno

1642.

Sir John Pennington Com-
mander of the
Fleet.

The County
of York peti-
tion the King.

The Earl of *Northumberland* being Admiral, and indisposed, the King had commanded Sir *John Pennington* Vice-admiral, to take the charge of this Summer Fleet for the Narrow Seas; and the Parliament as earnestly recommend the Earl of *Warwick* for that service, inclosing their Message in a piece of Paper, within a Letter to the Lord Keeper *Littleton*, of the 28. of *March*, neither by way of Petition, Declaration, or Letter; it being also the first time that ever they took upon them the nomination or recommendation of the chief Sea-commanders; and it adds to the wonder, being that Sir *John Pennington* was already appointed by the King for that service, and indeed by mediation of the Admirals infirmity, without any fault of exception. And although he were not appointed, nor (through some accident) might not be able to perform that service, yet others of the same profession are so well known to the King, that the recommendations of that kinde would not be acceptable, and so was the Earl of *Warwick* absolutely refused.

The Assizes holden at *York*, and the Gentry, Ministers, and Freeholders being assembled, they most humbly shew to the Kings most excellent Majesty their souls piercing anguish, proceeding from the general Distractions of this Kingdom, somewhat eased by the comfort of his presence, and gracious confidence in the affections of this County. Yet the fellow-feeling of the passionate sorrow of the other parts of this Kingdom, do inforce them (after the tender of their Lives and Fortunes for the safety of his Person, Crown, and Sovereignty) to follow that sacrifice of duty with their Prayer and Petition, which shall not cry for help of particular Distractions, (*naming all they could reckon up*) since his own Declaration in those particulars renders it an unpardonable crime in them to suspect his words, sacred before God and man. But emboldened by the Oracle of Truth, that *a divided Kingdom cannot stand*: and his Majesty best acquainted with the means of prevention of danger, that he will please to declare the Expedients, which may take away all misunderstandings betwixt him and his great Council, to whom they will also address their endeavours to beget in the King a confidence in their Councils and blessed union, necessary to this perplexed Kingdom. *April 5.*

His Answer.

To this so humble and hearty Address the King could not hold off their Expectations, but suddenly told Mr. Sheriff and the Gentlemen, *that he believed they expected not a present Answer, onely in the general, and upon the sudden he sees, he is not mistaken in the confidence of their affections, nor will he deceive their expectation from him.*

He observes their Petition modest, not for themselves in particular, and therefore he puts them in minde of three things for their good.

1. He

1. He will reduce their Trained Bands into a lesser number, as they shall shew him the way.

2. To advise him to complie with the engagements for to pay them their Arrears for Billet-money, and had the Water gone to the right Mill, they had not wanted it now.

3. For the Court-judicature of York, of which he assures them he knows no legal dissolution thereof, nothing as yet appears to him directly or indirectly, so that it is but shaken, not dissolved; and if they shall advise the way of settlement thereof for the Northern parts, they shall not blame him if they fail, and refers them to a day or two for a full answer to all. And assured them,

That as to the Praier of their Petition which included the rest, the onely way of good understandings is, for the Parliament to consider of his Message the twentieth of January last; that the Militia be settled by Act of Parliament, explained in his Answer to their Petition of the six and twentieth of March last, and wishes them in those, to applie to the Parliament for the good of all, &c. April 7.

The King most intent to reduce Ireland, by his Message to the Houses, offers his own person with these Propositions.

His offers concerning Ireland.

That he intends to raise his Guard by Commissions out of the Counties near Chester, two thousand Foot, and two hundred Horse, to be there armed from his Magazine at Hull, and those to take the Oath of Supremacie and Allegiance. The charge of raising and paying them shall be added to the Parliaments undertakings for that War, which if too great, the King will sell, or pawn his Land, or Houses.

Towards which as he hath already writ to Scotland, to quicken their Levies for Ulster, so he wishes the Parliament to hasten theirs for Munster and Connaught. And hath prepared a Bill by his Attorney concerning the Militia, for the good of all, if received; if refused, he calls God and the World to judg between them.

To this the Parliament never returned answer.

But before the ninth of April some Members of the Commons House had subscribed in pursuance of the Act of Parliament, for the reducing the Rebels of Ireland, and subsigned unto sixty thousand four hundred and fifty pounds, but how, or when paid, I do not finde.

The County of Bucks lend freely six thousand pounds upon the said Act for Ireland, with great thanks to that County, and with promise of very high acceptation, if other Counties will part with their moneys so freely, which shall be repaid them out of the Bill of four hundred thousand pounds to be raised for that service, but how, or when repaid, I finde not.

The Parliament apprehending the Kings desire to lay hold on the Magazine at Hull, pretend great necessity of Arms and Ammunition.

Hull and its Magazine desired by the Parliament.

Anno
1642.

tion at the Tower of *London*, being much diminished from thence by Supplies to *Ireland*, and desire to have it lodged here in more safety than *Hull*, and with easier transport for *Ireland*.

And to sweeten it to the peoples apprehension, this Petition is accompanied with a charitable Prayer, that the Reprieve of six Priests in *New-gate* may be taken off, and they executed.

This Design concerning *Hull* prefiged the cause of much mischief, the ground of war, and the first eminent effects of their power in the *Militia*; and therefore the King returns to them a sharp Answer.

Rather to have an Account from them, why a Carison was placed there, without his consent, and Souldiers billeted without Law, and express words of the Petition of Right, than to be moved to remove his Magazine without reason or judgment. He would know, why his own inclination (on the general rumour of Papists) was not as sufficient for him to put the command upon a person of unquestionable sufficiencie into a Town, and Fort, and Magazine of his own; and yet they to be so bold as to commit it without his consent to Sir John Hotham: but is confident it shall be rendered to him, when he is pleased to require it; and so to dispose of the Magazine as shall be fitting in some proportion, not altogether: and hopes that they will not do here as they have done in the Militia, petition him, and make themselves the Carvers: and tells them, that if they shall attempt any thing herein without his consent, he will hold it as an act of violence against him, and so declare it to all the world.

And for the six Priests Reprieve, (the time being out) he leaves them to the execution of the Law. And refers them to Mr. Pym's Speech against the Earl of Strafford, for preservation of the Law, which he wishes them to peruse, and not to infringe it themselves.

The Parliament seeing the King bent to his personal Voyage into *Ireland*, and to dispose of affairs accordingly, to put him off from that Design, they petition him with Reasons not to enterprize such a Journey, for the hazzard of his person, and interruption of the proceedings of the Parliament here. And conclude, that they cannot consent to any Levies, but such as they shall advise and direct; if otherwise raised, they must interpret it to the terrour of the people, and suppress it, and to refuse to submit to any Commissioners which the King shall chuse, but to govern in his absence by consent of Parliament: so praying him to desist from any such Design; in the end of all they counsel him to come home to them, &c.

It was sufficient, they discovered themselves each to other; for it was not likely the Parliament would trust the King with an Army; that might be no boldness in them to dissuade; but to tell him

Parliament
dissuade the
King from
going into
Ireland.

him how they would govern themselves and his people, not to submit to any Commissioners in his absence, that was strange indeed.

To which the King replies, *That he looks upon them as his great Council with great regard; but yet upon himself as not deprived of his understanding, or divested of any right he had before the Parliament sate: he called them by his Writ and Authoritie, to give him counsel, but did not resign his interest and freedom, nor will subject himself to their determinations, nor hath he dissented at anytime without his Reasons given with candour and conscience: and however a major part may binde them in matter of opinion, yet he holds himself free to dissent from them.*

And as that part of their Petition which pretends to carry reason, doth not satisfie; so the other part (rather reprehension and menace, than advice) cannot stagger him, who is content to expect the event of their undertaking and care therein. And for many other expressions in the Petition he forbears to take notice, or to answer, lest being tempted in a just indignation, to express a greater passion, than he is willing to put on.

But indeed so forward he was in the Design, that the Lords, Justices, and Council in *Ireland*, having a hint of his desire, return his Majesty an Answer to his of the thirteenth of *April*, inclosing his Message to his Parliament there, which Letters and Message being instantly printed, (as it was commanded) they all cast themselves at his feet for this high addition to all former gracious favours, in not sparing the hazzarding of his sacred person for suppression of this hideous Rebellion, rejoycing even in the midst of those calamities, to receive assurance of his princely purpose therein, and hold it agreeable to his resolution and their duty, to acquaint him with the estate of his affairs there, by Letters to Mr. Secretary *Nichols*, *That so he may appear there in that majestie which is sutable to the greatness and wisdom of a mightie King, as God hath appointed him, who blefs him with glorie, honour, and eternal happines.*

Dublin,
April 23. 1642.

Signed *Will. Parsons, Jo. Burlace*, Justices;
and all the Council there.

This was welcome to the King, and sutablely they subscribe, *Your Majesties humble and obedient, loyal and faithfull Subjects*; which was published here in Parliament, and canvased too: not with over much thanks to the *Irish* Commissioners and Council there: who finding the Earl of *Leicester* their designed Deputy to be so long loitering, and held so here, against the Kings desire, they promoted this his Majesties royal undertaking with all possible instances of advantage to those *Irish* affairs. But it must not be; and so the King declining it, the
Par-

Anno

1642.

Queries concerning the Militia concluded.

Parliament were put forward to their own proceedings therein, which went on but lamely for a long time; being retarded untill the Parliament should be better assured of the right to the *Militia*.

To which purpose a Question was started, *How Laws are to be understood and obeyed?*

Which were answered and printed to the Parliaments advantage.

Whether the claim of the Kings disposing of the Militia be in him?

It was answered, *Rebus sic & nolente Rege, it is in the Parliament.*

And the Reasons were these, *In Law an equitable and literal sense, The King intrusted with the Militia for the people against a foreign invasion or domestick rebellion, never to intrust him against themselves, so that when there is an appearance of the letter against the equitie (publick good) then the commander is to be disobeyed by the commanded. For the Law, abstract, from reason and end, is as a bodie without a soul, and the execution accordingly is the spirit that gives life; the letter kills. Instanced in the trust of Militia of an Armie to a General, not to turn the Cannon against his own Souldiers, (though not so conditioned) and they may disobey, not binding them to cut their own throats, or their companies. If otherwise, the legal and mixt Monarchie is the greatest Tyrannie, as conferred legally; when the other that rules by will, and not by law, are Tyrants by force, and so justifie an arbitrarie tyrannie, legal, not assumed. Herein the instance of a General is the Argument: but how reasonable and justifiable may it be, when an Armie mutinie, the Commander may and ought to suppress by force of Cannon no doubt: and so unquestionably may a Monarch, if the established Laws be disobeyed, he may reduce them by force. All Laws may be laid aside, if such seditious and treasonable distinctions to withdraw the Subjects obedience be suffered.*

Indeed the Doctrines of this nature were then frequent discourse in Pulpits and Prints, *That humane Laws do not binde the conscience.* There needs no more to dissolve all civil Government and peace of a Kingdom. And therefore the King in much regret requires the House of Peers to use all possible diligence to have the Authour found out and punished; but nothing was done, being there fomented, *April 22.*

The Magazine of Hull under Sir John Hotham's command, by authority of Parliament, and like enough now to be out of the Kings aim for the present, but to be hazzarded in the future, if the Parliament do not remove it to London, which was their Design. Therefore the County of York petition the King that the Magazine may still remain, in respect of securing the Northern parts, espe-

Magazine of Hull denied, or entrance of the King.

especially where his person does reside, being like *David's, the Light of Israel, more worth than ten thousand besides.*

The best assurance to give them sufficient answer was, to seize it himself into his own hands, or rather to take view of what might be fitting to remain there, or to remove it for *Ireland*: and taking onely a Guard for his person of his Domesticks and neighbour Gentry, went in person the three and twentieth of *April*, but contrary to his expectation, the Gates were shut upon him, the Bridges drawn up, and from the Walls appears Sir *John*, flatly denies him entrance, his Reason, without Breach of Trust to his Parliament, and so seditiously put his Treason upon them, to which the King demanded, if they had so directed him, to shew their Order.

And after a reasonable time of parley, *Hotham* having a thousand in Garison, excepted against the greatness of the Kings Train, at length against him and twenty Horse, and at last against any at all, unless by condition, which the King disdainning, *Hotham* was there to his face proclaimed Traitour. And there being in the Town the Duke of *York* and the Prince Electour, having gone there the day before to visit the place, with much ado and long consultation ere they could be let out to the King. And for this Treason his Majesty demands justice of his Parliament against Sir *John*, *April 24.*

This act apprehended to be high Treason against the Kings person, 25 Ed. 3. & 11 H. 7. It was so certified by Letter to the Mayor and Fraternity of *Kingston upon Hull*, as a warning to them and the Garison, not to adhere to *Hotham*, and declare their allegiance, but to lay down their Arms, and admit of the King, and requiring them all not to permit any part of the Magazine to be removed without the Kings assent, being more willing to enlarge their immunities, than by any occasion to question their Charter, *April 25.*

And not being able to endure this affront, he again sends to the Parliament, that the Town and Magazine be immediately delivered up to him, and exemplary justice upon *Hotham*, and tells them till this be done he will intend no other business whatsoever, *for to be worse in condition than the meanest Subject, not to enjoy his own, 'tis time to examine how he lost them, and to trie all possible waies by help of God, the Law, and his good Subjects, to recover them, and vindicate himself:* And concludes, *if we shall miscarrie herein, we shall be the first Prince of this Kingdom that hath done so, and God so deal with us, as we continue in these resolutions.*

To which Messages having no return, Scouts are laid to intercept Letters or Messengers between *Hull* and the Houses; which they vote to be such a Breach of Parliament, as to defend it with all their lives and fortunes: and order, *That the Sheriffs and Justices of the*

Anno
1642.

Bill for the
Militia.

the peace of the Countiees of York and Lincoln suppress all Forces that shall be raised or gathered together against the Town of Hull, or to disturb the peace.

The Bill of the *Militia*, as the King designed it to be drawn by his Council, was declined by the Parliament, and a new one fitted by themselves, and presented to the King, which he refused, being the first, which he cannot, ought not, must not pass, for these Reasons he resolved upon, against which they never gave one Argument to satisfy his judgment, they having put the power in the persons nominated by them for two years, excluding the Kings, in disposing or executing any thing together with them, without limitation or circumstance; which he offered not to do, neither, without their advice; and in his absence in *Ireland*, or other place, to be soly in them, and that for a year.

It was strange for them to press the King herein for the power in particular persons, what to expect from an exorbitant legal power, when *Hotham's* late insolency by a power not warranted by Law, dares venture upon a treasonable disobedience. Besides they had put Names out and in, altering the former Ordinance, with especial provision against such as would obey no Guide but the Law of the Land, as in particular the good Lord Mayor of *London*, *Gurney*, a person now in their disfavour, in whose behalf the King told them, *His demeanour hath been such, as might be example to the Citie and the whole Kingdom.*

Hotham's act
at *Hull* avowed.

This being thus refused, they take to heart *Hull* and *Hotham's* cause, by Declaration, votes and orders therein, *That the desperate Designs of Papists occasioned the Parliament to intrust Hull to Sir John Hotham a Member of theirs, of the same Countie, of considerable fortune, and unquestionable approved integritie, (who not long after turned Traitour to them) and the rather there, because of former intercepted Letters of the Lord Digby to the Queen, and Sir Lewis Dives. And that Captain Leg should have surprized the Town, the Earl of New-castle coming thither suspiciously, and then the Kings coming with force to surprize the Garison, and to deprive Sir John of his life, (which the Parliament reserv'd for the Gallows.) All which being by the King a high Breach of the Privilege and violation of Parliament, they think fit to clear, by voting it and Hotham justified: and send a Committee of Lords and Commons to reside there, for the better securing Hull and him.* April 28.

It was no boot for the King to dispute these proceedings, how unreasonable, how unjust, yet he does in an Answer to theirs, advise the Subject to peruse the Statute 11 H.7. cap.1. and concludes with Mr. *Pym's* words in one of his Speeches, *If the Prerogative of the*
King

King overwhelm the Libertie of the People, it will be turned into Tyrannie. If Libertie undermine the Prerogative it will grow into Anarchie. And the King adds of his own, We say, into confusion.

Anno
1642.

Nay to add to the Kings anger, *Hotham* is authorized to issue out his Warrants to raise divers of the Trained Bands in the County of *York*, and to march with their Arms into *Hull*, where being come, he disarms them, and turns them home again. This the King signifies to the High Sheriff, and that it cannot be done legally, but by the Kings Warrant, or Writ, or the Lords Lieutenants, or Deputies by Commission. And there being now no Lord Lieutenant, and the former Commission to Colonels, Captains, and other Officers of Trained Bands (derived from him) being void. And therefore commands him to signifie to all the late Colonels and Officers, and to all Controllors, upon their Allegiance, not to muster, or train, or march with any Trained Bands without the Kings immediate command or Writ; and if they refuse obedience, then to command *Posse Comitatus* to suppress them, and to be published in all Churches, &c. May 5.

And the Parliament finding no other way to encounter the King but by putting the people into a posture of War, do require all persons in authority, by virtue of their late Ordinance of the *Militia*, to put the same in execution, which by the Kings answer declares to be no legal power in any of the Houses, and commands no Subject whatsoever to obey it. And forthwith summons the Gentry of the County to *York*, to whom he complains of all these illegal proceedings of the Parliament to the danger of his person, and tells them his intent to have a Guard onely to secure his person, in which he desires their assistance, and the rather, because the Members that came with the last Message to the King, return not back, but reside at *York*, in whose presence all these passages were performed, yet staid they here as a Committee, to out-face the Kings actions, keeping themselves in a double capacity, as a Committee of Parliament, and Free-holders of the County, as they were all.

Parliament in
a posture of
War.

What Counsellours the King had at this time I finde not, onely the Secretary *Nicholas*, for as yet his affairs were but hatching at *York*, the Parliament having spun out their business with humble and specious shews, which amazed most men into some hopes of good effects: those that could more narrowly pry into their actions, and but *Neuters*, were soon seized, and presently questioned, especially if he appeared a publick person of estate or interest. Amongst whom Sir *Thomas Gardner* Recorder of *London* for six years last past, was now impeached upon Articles drawn from Anno 1638.

Anno
1642.

For advising the Mayor Sir Maurice Abbot, and Common Council, to pay the Tax of Ship-money, and to levie the Loan-money, for raising three thousand of the Trained Bands for the Kings service in his Expedition then against his good Subjects of Scotland.

That in 1639. he advised the Mayor Sir Henry Garraway, and Common Council, to impress, Clothe and Conduēt, two hundred Citizens to serve in the said War against Scotland.

That he prevented the Citie Petition to the King against certain illegal Taxes and Levies.

That in May 1640. he perswaded them to lend to the King ten thousand pounds for that War against his good Subjects of Scotland.

And prevented sundry intendments of thousands of the Citie (in December last) to petition the House of Commons not to be diverted in their just way of proceedings.

That in January last, he crossed the Order of the Commons House, and the Citie election of the Committee for the Militia. And advised two scandalous Petitions from the Citie to the King, and to the Parliament, viz. that the ordering of the Citie Arms was annexed to the Majoraltie, and if otherwise conferred upon others, it would reflect upon this Custome, which every Free-man was bound to maintain.

And these were the high crimes, for which they endeavour to hang him, but he was carefull therein, and got to the King, May 5.

Upon several Summons the County of York had meetings, the Parliament Committee being there, over-counselling the Freeholders in private, prevailed with some of them by Protestation, to oppose the Knights and Gentry, who were willing to raise a Guard for the King.

And the Parliament declaring, *that it is against the Laws that any of his Subjects should attend him at his pleasure, but such as are bound to it by special service; and that such as do, are disturbers of the peace; and command the Sheriff to oppose any such with the power of the Countie, and all people whatsoever to assise them herein,* May 17.

In what miserable condition the people of the Kingdom were reduced unto; no publick Officer knew how to command, or Subject how or whom to obey, so differing were their duties, depending on several authorities; thus distinct onely, those for the King directly in love and duty; for the other, in fear or gain; and so wrought upon, gave the advantage on the Parliaments part; whereas the the Kings assistance was purchased out of the fire of faithfull affections: yet all ways and means of Prerogative were used, as now, for the King to adjourn the next Term to York, which the Parliament vote illegal, and order that the Lord Keeper Littleton issue out no Writs, or seal any Proclamations to that end, May 17.

And

And now Designs being ripened into action, the people are called upon, and invited to a belief of the Parliaments just proceedings, and the Kings mis-actions, being guided by a malignant party, summed up into a very large Declaration of the nineteenth of May, ripping up all their former complaints and grievances from the first day of this Parliament to the date hereof, in effect the very Exceptions and Repetitions formerly mentioned and controverted between the King and them; even from the first dispute for the *Militia*, the misprision of *Kimbolton* and the five Members, *Remembering the intended War against Scotland, being a Design* (they say) *to alter Religion by those wicked Councils of the King, from which God did deliver us, never to be forgotten.* That the Rebellion in *Ireland* hath been countenanced by evil counsel about the King. The Proclamation whereby they were declared Traitors was so long withheld, as to the second of *January*, though the Rebellion brake forth in *October* before, and then but forty Copies appointed to be printed, nor any of them to be published without the Kings pleasure signified, and so but a few onely could take notice thereof; but the proceedings against the *Scots* were quick and sharp, forthwith by Proclamations dispersed throughout all the Kingdom, with publick Prayers and Execrations.

But to repeat the particulars, they are but the same said over again.

The King calls it a *Book*, and so for the bulk it may well be intitled: and to answer each particular must needs be very tedious, as himself professes.

His small malignant Junto Council (as the Parliament calls them) *to reple to their numbers of several Committees in these proceedings.*

But the King being never weary of any pains to undeceive his people of these mischievous infusions, daily instilled to corrupt their loyalty, gives them answer the next day after, the twentieth of May, in effect what he had said as before recited in their due time and place.

The Parliaments complaints were always forced. The Kings answers more ingenious and natural in the opinion of indifferent observers. The Parliaments onely to amuze the people, and to steal away their allegiance and duty to themselves; and otherwise it had been but loss of time and business to answer or to reply. And at length, though penned on both sides with wit and art, the wiser sort of the Subjects, whom it most concerned, were astonished at the reading of either.

But indeed, as to the *Kings connivence at, or want of zeal against the Rebellion of Ireland*, so often hinted, and now put home upon the Kings score. He answers, *That he then being in Scotland, immediately recommended the care of the business to the Parliament here, after he had fitted Supplies thither from Scotland, and after his return hither, he*

Anno

1642.

observed such forms for that service, as his Council in Ireland did advise, they desiring the Proclamation no sooner, nor so many by twenty, to be by him signed, which he did, and printed them for haste, and sent them over, which divers of the Members of both Houses here well knew; who are the more to blame, to suffer such an envious aspersion upon the King, when themselves could satisfie the action. And wishes, that they could with as good a conscience call God to witness, that all their counsels and endeavours have been free from private aims, personal respects, or passions whatsoever, as he hath done and does.

Scotland interposeth.

And was it not time for our Brethren of Scotland to put in their Sickle into our Harvest? besides their being invited, their late entertainment of Fiddlers have in England set their wheel a going.

The King had written a Letter to his Scottish privy Council there, of the State of his affairs here;

The Kings Letter to the Council of Scotland.

Declaring and clearing such imputations, which the Parliament endeavoured to fix upon him and his mis-governing; together, with the indignities and intrenchments upon his person and honour, which he is assured will be tender in their natural affection, rather to be kindled than extinguished by his distress, to which their Covenant binds them by Oath and Subscription: and clears the calumny, to be popishly affected, to be guilty of the bloodshed in Ireland, to bring in foreign Forces; Wherein he calls God to witness, he is falsely aspersed. And who ever hereafter shall distrust this his Declaration, the fault is in the malignitie of their rebellious humours, and no ways deserved by him.

This so wrought upon the hearts of the Scots for that time, that (I know not how) such a Petition was framed by the Nobility and people of the whole Nation, and presented to the Council, as more could not be required from the most faithfull and indulgent Subject, humbly shewing in effect;

The Scots answer.

That to call in question the Kings royal zeal and resolution of preserving the Religion, Laws, and Liberties of these his Kingdoms, is so undoubted, as (after so many reiterated asseverations, emitted in his Declarations and Answers, and so many evidences of his justice and wisdom) cannot be conserved in any, but an unchristian distrust. And therefore justly challenges from them all due respect to his sacred Majesty, by so many ties and titles, so much professed and promised by them, in their solemn Oath and national Covenant, and Oath at his Coronation, to defend and maintain the person, greatness, and authority of our dread Sovereign, as by the Act of General Assemblies, we have all sworn and signed: and therefore are bound to represent to their Lordships their humble desires to be assured and known to his Majesty of their loyalty and resolution. And that some course may be taken to the view of the world,

The Reign of King Charls.

517

Anno
1642.

world, that they intend the brotherly and blessed conjunction of both Nations happily united in loyaltie and subjection to our Sovereign; tending nor intending (as they attest God the Searcher of all hearts) for any other end, but performance of their humble dutie to their dread Sovereign, to which they are bound by all ties of Nature, Christianitie, and Gratitude, and to which they crave their Lordships to contribute their wisdoms and and speedie answer hereto, May 20.

A man would be amazed to finde other effects hereafter, of this most serious Protestation, which in a word came to this end, they fold this their dread Sovereign Lord and King to the death and execution, for a piece of money.

The Parliament hear of this, and turn the Scale; for eight days after, the *Scots* Council do declare their earnest desires both to King and Parliament, to joyn in a perfect union, imbracing his Majesties expressions to them, of his religious care of the Liberties and Laws of both Kingdomes.

Scots Council
declare.

And do in like manner with brotherly reciprocal affections, acknowledge the care and zeal of the Parliament of *England*, to keep a right understanding betwixt the two Nations, as both the Parliaments have avowed to each other. And, although they neither will nor should meddle with publick actions of any other Kingdom, (*but as they are called*) yet since the Parliament of *England* have drawn the former practices of the Parliament of *Scotland* into example of Declaration, they humbly desire the King to hearken to his greatest, his best, and most unparalleld Council. And utterly dissuade the King from any personal journey into *Ireland*, and that a Mediation may be at home, ere the wound be wider, or the breach deeper. To which end they have sent with this Message, the *E. London* Chancellour of *Scotland*, who will give a more full declaration of their minde and desires; which in fine came out to be *A large Manifestation of their true and heartie affection to the Parliament of England*, protesting to do nothing contrary to them in their Privileges, May 28.

Nay after all this, the old accustomed Rabble meet at *Edinburgh*, and hearing of the late Letters from the King, with the petitionary Answer, and the late Message from the Council to the King by the Lord *Loudon*, and finding the affairs of *England* likely to bring Grist to their Mill, these Multitudes (I say) being as they style themselves, *The intire bodie of the Kingdom*, petition, or rather threaten the Kings privy Council there, *not to meddle with any verbal or real ingagement for the King against the Parliament of England*.

And so from that time forward we finde them covenanting to the destructive conclusion, as hereafter follows.

Upon all these *Scotish* passages, the Parliament of *England* do protest,

Parliament of
England's
Protestation.

Anno
1642.

Protest, That those sufferings, expressed in those Papers betwixt his Majestie and the Parliament, cannot be imputed to any actions of ours, who endeavoured with all fidelitie, the happines of his Majestie, labouring to take the blame from the King, and to lay it on his evil Councils. And as touching the Petition, we, with much contentment and thankfulness, observe the faithfulness and good affection of our dear Brethren of Scotland, to prevent all Fealousies so timely expressed to the Lords of the Council; and we shall never cease to answer their great care with the like diligent endeavours, to promote the honour, wealth, and happines of that Nation, and to preserve the unitie so strongly fortified by mutual interest and affections on both sides. And desire the English Commissioners to assure the Scots Commissioners, how heartily and joyfully we imbrace their kindness manifested in that Petition; Hoping that this constant and inviolable amitie between us and them, will prove very usefull for the advantage and securitie of both; which it did for a time, and ruine to both hereafter.

In what a miserable condition is the Kingdom, when King and Parliament are so divided; What not one wise man amongst them? Yes truly, the Earl of Bristol had a large sense thereof, and in this strait he moves for an Accommodation; and states the case to the Lords:

Earl of Bristol's Speech
for Accommodation.

The King offers (says he) to concur with the Parliament in the settling of our Liberties, is willing to hearken unto all our Propositions, and for establishing the Protestant Religion, he moves us to it.

That the Rule of his Government shall be the Laws of the Kingdom, and offers a more large and general Pardon, than by any his Predecessours. And truly (my Lords) this is all that ever was pretended unto by us.

We on the other side profess, to make his Majestie a glorious King, to endeavour to support his Dignitie, and to pay unto him dutie and obedience, which we by our Allegiance, several Oaths, and late Protestation owe unto him, and to maintain all his just Regalities and Prerogatives, which may be conceived is as much as his Majestie will expect from us. What then is wanting to give to either mutual satisfaction?

The greatest difficultie may be, how that which shall be agreed upon may be secured. It is commonly the last point in Treaties betwixt Princes, and of the greatest niceness, much more between a King and his Subjects, the chiefest difficultie of Accommodation; for it is much easier to compose Differences arising from Reasons, (yea from wrongs) than it is to satisfy Fealousies, which arising out of diffidence and distrust, grow, and are varied upon every occasion; nay, already increased to that height, and the mutual replies to those direct terms of opposition, that if we make not a present stop, it is to be feared, speedily to pass beyond verbal contestation.

In some Answers, it is spoken, as in fear of a Civil War; a word of horror to such as have seen those unexpressible calamities, witness Germany, the most flourishing Countrey in Europe, now reduced to monstrous miserie.

Of which we had lately a costly Example; for in these unhappy troubles betwixt us and Scotland, after there was a stop from acts of hostility, a desire of peace, and the Articles propounded, yet the keeping of those Armies, whilst the Treatie was on foot at Rippon, and after at London, cost this Kingdom no less than a million of pounds.

Then he proposes the way.

A select Committee of Parliament, truly to state the matters in difference, with the most probable ways of reconciling them.

Secondly, to descend into the particulars, which may be expected, either in point of supporting the King, or relieving his people.

And lastly, how these conditions agreed upon may be secured.

Then he sums up the present unhappy estate, which needs relief and remedy.

The deplorable estate of Ireland, the Debts and Necessities of the Crown, the Distractions likely to produce Confusion of Religion, most dangerous and destructive to a State.

Besides those publick Calamities, to consider the distracted condition of every one of us, under the different commands of the King, and of the Parliament; no caution can promise any safetie inconsistent to obedience. The Parliament command all persons to obey their Ordinance, as the Fundamental Laws: The King declares it to be contrary, and commands us upon our Allegiance not to obey it, and unto contrary commands Conformitie cannot be submitted, but by Fasting and Prayer, to reduce both parties to Reason.

But for what was done at York in reference to a Guard of Horse for the Kings person, the Parliament vote as a preparation for War against the Parliament, a Breach of the Trust reposed in him by his people, contrary to his Oath, and tending to the dissolution of his Government, and all such as serve him there are Traitors to the Laws of the Kingdom, 11 Rich. 2. & 1 H. 4.

Then comes out another larger Declaration or third Remonstrance of all the Kings mis-actions, wherein for themselves they allege these following, as infallible Positions.

Parliament
Declaration
observed.

1. *That they have an absolute power of declaring the Law, and that whatsoever they declare to be so, ought not to be questioned by the King or any Subject.*

So then in consequence, all right and safety of the King and his people, must depend upon their pleasure.

2. *That*

Anno
1642.

2. *That no Presidents can be Limits to bound their proceedings. Then may they do what they please.*

3. *That a Parliament may dispose of any thing wherein the King or Subject hath a Right for the publick good. That they without the King are this Parliament, and Judg of this publick good, and that his consent is not necessary.*

Then the Life and Liberties of the Subject, and all the good Laws made for the security of them, may be disposed of, and repealed by the major part of both Houses at any time present, and by any ways or means procured so to be, and the King hath no power to protect the people.

4. *That no Member of either House ought to be troubled or meddled with for Treason, Felonie, or any other Crime, without the cause first brought before the Parliament, that they may judg of the Fact, and their leave obtained to proceed.*

5. *That the sovereign power resides in both Houses, and that the King hath no Negative Voice.*

Then the King must be subject to their commands.

6. *That the levying of Forces against the personal commands of the King (though accompanied with his presence) is not levying War against the King.*

But the levying of War against his Laws and Authority (which they have power onely to declare and signifie) though not against his person, is levying of War against the King.

7. *That Treason cannot be committed against his person, otherwise than as he is intrusted with the Kingdom, and discharging that trust, and that they have a power to judg whether he have discharged this trust or no.*

8. *That they may dispose of the King when they will, and are not to blame for so doing.*

Certainly the Duke of Venice is of more power than such a Monarch.

But as large as that was, it was not long ere the King returns his Answer to this Book, and we may be excused for the length thereof, which necessarily is required to their particulars. And to which I must refer the Reader; being on both parts as much, and no more, than the Reader may finde in the daily Transactions observed in this History, heretofore set down, and which hereafter follow. But to this Answer of the King, we meet with no Reply untill the second

Anno
1642.

cond of November next following, which the Authour styles *A Treatise* (or rather a Tome) and that he doubts not, but he shall therein give ample satisfaction to the Reader. By which we suspect it *Apocrypha*. To which the King never vouchsafed any Rejoinder.

But the Parliament, in reference to their power and authority, ordain, That all High Sheriffs, Justices, &c. within an hundred and fifty miles of the Citie of York to make stay of all Arms and Ammunition carrying to York, and the persons so conveying to be apprehended, &c.

Another also they ordain, That all Sheriffs within the Kingdom of England, and the Dominion of Wales, shall, by the power of the Counties, suppress all Forces of Horse and Foot, coming together by the Kings Commission or Warrant, and all people of what rank soever, are to be aiding to their suppression; and these to be published in all Market Towns and Churches, May 28.

The King proclames as much against the Parliament, Forbidding all his people belonging to the Trained Bands or Militia of the Kingdom, to obey any Order or Ordinance of any of the Houses, according to a Statute 7 Ed. 1.

And the same day requires all the Ministers, Free-holders, Farmers, and substantial Copy-holders of the Countie of York, to meet at Heyworth Moor, near York, upon Friday Whitfun week, by nine in the morning. To the Sheriff of the Countie of York, May 28.

Which the Parliament declare to be against Law, and of none effect, and command all people to disobey it, for so doing the Parliament will protect them.

And because divers Members of the Commons were out of sight, and drooping after the King, the House commands their personal appearance by the sixteenth day of this instant June, upon pain of an hundred pounds to be disposed of to the Wars of Ireland, excepting such Members in imploiments for the Parliament, June 2.

To prevent him of the sinews of War (Money,) for which the Crown-jewels with the Queen in Holland are pawned at Amsterdam, and other places beyond Seas. The Parliament therefore (mentioning the intent to make War against them) do order, That whosoever hath or shall pay, lend, send, or bring any money in specie into this Kingdom, for or upon those Jewels, or accept of any Bill thereafter, shall be an Enemy to the State.

And the same day they vote their Frame of nineteen Propositions, which are forthwith sent to the King, and truly of the first magnitude that ever any Subjects demanded; and yet they must be accompanied with an humble Petition of his faithfull Subjects, having

19. Propositions to the King.

Anno
1642.

nothing (they say) in their thoughts and desires more precious and of higher esteem, next to their immediate service of God, than their just and faithfull performance of their dutie to his Majestie and the Kingdom, with honour, peace, and happiness.

The Propositions.

1. That all the Kings privie Council, great Officers, and ministers of State, may be put out, excepting such as the Parliament shall approve, and to assign them an Oath.
2. That all affairs of State be managed by the Parliament, except such matters as are transferred by them to the privie Council, and to be concluded by the major part of the Nobilitie, under their hands: the full number not to exceed five and twentie, nor under fifteen; and if any place fall void in the intervall of Parliament, then the major part of the Council to chuse one to be confirmed at the next Session of Parliament.
3. That all the great Officers of the Kingdom shall be chosen with approbation of Parliament, and in the intervall, &c. before said.
4. The Government and Education of the Kings Children, by Parliament, &c. ut supra.
5. Their Mariages to be treated and concluded by Parliament, &c.
6. The Laws against Papists, Priests, and others, be executed without Toleration or Dispensation, except by Parliament.
7. No popish Lord or Peer to have Vote in Parliament, their Children to be educated in the Protestant Faith.
8. To reform Church-government as the Parliament shall advise.
9. To settle the Militia as the Parliament have ordered, and for the King to recall all his Declarations published against their Ordinances therein.
10. All privie Counsellours and Judges to take Oath for maintenance of the Petition of Right, and other Statutes which shall be made this Parliament, &c.
11. All Officers placed by Parliament to hold their places quam diu bene se gesserint.
12. All Members of Parliament put out during this time be restored again.
13. The Justice of Parliament to pass upon all Delinquents, and they to appear or abide their Censure.
14. The general Pardon to pass with Exceptions, as the Parliament shall advise.
15. All Forts and Castles of the Kingdom to be disposed of by Parliament, ut supra.
16. The King to discharge all his Guard and Forces now in being, and not to raise any other, but in case of actual Rebellion.
17. The King to enter strict Alliance with all reformed States, for their Assistance to recover the Rights of his royal Sister and her princely

- Issue, to those Dignities and Dominions which belong unto them.
18. To clear the Lord Kimbolton and the five Members by Act of Parliament.
19. No Peer hereafter to be made shall sit in Parliament without their consent.

And these Articles being confirmed, the Parliament engage, to make him a happie Prince, June 2.

These were the Propositions, and how unreasonable, may be seen by the Kings resentment of them, and others such like after, which drew from him the consideration expressed by himself in these words.

Eik. Bas. c. 11,
upon the 19.
Propositions
sent to the
King.

Although (says the King) there be manie things they demand; yet, if these be all, I am glad to see at what price they set mine own safetie, and my peoples peace; which I cannot think I buy at too dear a rate, save onely the parting with my Conscience and Honour. If nothing else will satisfie, I must chuse rather to be as miserable and inglorious, as mine Enemies can make or wish me.

Some things here propounded to me, have been offered by me; others are easily granted; the rest (I think) ought not to be obtruded upon me, with the point of the Sword; nor urged with the injuries of a War; when I have already declared that I cannot yield to them, without violating my Conscience: 'tis strange, there can be no method of peace, but by making War upon my Soul.

Here are many things required of me, but I see nothing offered to me, by the way of gratefull exchange of Honour; or any requital for those favours, I have, or can yet grant them.

This Honour they do me, to put me on the giving part, which is more princely and divine. They cannot ask more than I can give, may I but reserve to my self the incommunicable Jewel of my Conscience; and not be forced to part with that, whose loss nothing can repair or requite.

Some things (which they are pleased to propound) seem unreasonable to me, and while I have any masterie of my Reason, how can they think I can consent to them? Who know they are such as are inconsistent with being either a King, or a good Christian. My yielding so much (as I have already) makes some men confident I will denie nothing.

The love I have of my peoples peace, hath (indeed) geat influence upon me; but the love of Truth and inward peace hath more.

Should I grant some things they require, I should not so much weaken my outward state of a King, as wound that inward quiet of my Conscience; which ought to be, is, and ever shall be (by God's grace) dearer to me than my Kingdoms.

Some things which a King might approve, yet in honour and policie

The Reign of King Charls.

are at some time to be denied, to some men, lest he should seem not to dare to denie any thing; and give too much encouragement to unreasonable demands or importunities.

But to binde my self to a general and implicate consent, to what ever they shall desire, or propound, (for such is one of their Propositions) were such a latitude of blinde obedience, as never was expected from any Free-man; nor fit to be required of any man, much less of a King by his own Subjects: any of whom he may possibly exceed, as much in wisdom, as he doth in place and power.

This were as if Sampson should have consented, not onely to binde his own hands, and cut off his own hair, but to put out his own eyes, that the Philistines might with the more safetie mock and abuse him; which they chose rather to do, than quite to destroy him, when he was become so tame an object, and fit occasion for their sport and scorn.

Certainly, to exclude all power of denial, seems an arrogancie, least of all becoming those who pretend to make their Addresses in an humble and loyal way of petitioning; who by that sufficiently confess their own inferioritie, which obligeth them to rest, if not satisfied, yet quieted with such an Answer as the will and reason of their Superiour thinks fit to give; who is acknowledged to have a freedom and power of Reason to consent, or dissent; else it were very foolish and absurd to ask, what another, having not libertie to denie, neither hath power to grant.

But if this be my Right belonging to me, in reason, as a man, and in honour as a Sovereign King, (as undoubtedly it doth) how can it be other than extreme injurie to confine my Reason to a necessitie of granting all they have a minde to ask? whose mindes may be as differing from mine both in Reason and Honour, as their Aims may be, and their Qualities are; which last God and the Laws have sufficiently distinguished, making me their Sovereign, and them my Subjects: whose Propositions may soon prove violent oppositions, if once they gain to be necessarie Impositions upon the Regal Authoritie. Since no man seeks to limit and confine his King, in Reason, who hath not a secret Aim to share with him, or usurp upon him in power and dominion.

But they would have me trust to their moderation, and abandon mine own discretion; that so I might verifie what representations some have made of me to the world, that I am fitter to be their Pupil than their Prince. Truly I am not so confident of mine own sufficiencie, as not willingly to admit the counsel of others: but yet I am not so diffident of my self, as brutishly to submit to any mens dictates, and at once to betray the Sovereigntie of Reason in my soul, and the majestie of mine own Crown to any of my Subjects.

Least of all have I any ground of credulitie to induce me fully to submit to all the desires of those men, who will not admit, or do refuse and neglect to vindicate the freedom of their own and others sitting and voting in Parliament.

Besides, all men, that know them, know this, how young States-men
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(the most part) of these propounders are; so that, till experience of one seven years hath shewed me how well they can govern themselves, and so much power as is wrested from me; I should be very foolish indeed, and unfaithfull in my Trust, to put the Reins of both Reason and Government, wholly out of mine own, into their hands; whose driving is already too much like Jehu's; and whose forwardness to ascend the Throne of Supremacie portends more of Phaeton than of Phoebus: God divert the Omen, if it be his will.

They may remember, that, at best, they sit in Parliament, as my Subjects, not my Superiours; called to be my Counsellours, not Dictatours: their Summons extends to recommend their Advice, not to command my Dutie.

When I first heard of Propositions to be sent me, I expected either some good Laws, which had been antiquated by the course of time, or over-laid by the corruption of manners, had been desired to a restauration of their vigour and due execution; or some evil customes preter-legal, and abuses personal had been to be removed: or some injuries done by my self, and others, to the Common-weal, were to be repaired; or some equable offertures were to be tendred to me, wherein the advantages of my Crown, being considered by them, might fairly induce me to condescend, to what tended to my Subjects good, without any great diminution of my self, whom Nature, Law, Reason, and Religion, binde me (in the first place) to preserve: without which 'tis impossible to preserve my people according to my place.

Or (at least) I looked for such moderate desires of due Reformation of what was (indeed) amiss in Church and State, as might still preserve the foundation and essentials of Government in both; not shake and quite over-throw either of them, without any regard to the Laws in force, the wisdom and pietie of former Parliaments, the antient and universal practice of Christian Churches; the Rights and Privileges of particular men: nor yet any thing offered in lieu, or in the room of what must be destroyed, which might at once teach the good end of the others institution, and also supplie its pretended defects, reform its abuses, and satisfie sober and wise men; not with soft and specious words, pretending zeal and special pietie, but with pregnant and solid Reasons both divine and humane, which might justifie the abruptness and necessitie of such vast alterations.

But in all their Propositions I can observe little of these kindes, or to these ends: nothing of any Laws dis-jointed, which are to be restored; of any right invaded; of any justice to be un-obstructed; of any compensations to be made; of any impartial Reformation to be granted; to all, or any of which, Reason, Religion, true policie, or any other humane motives might induce me.

But, as to the main matters propounded by them at any time, in which is either great noveltie, or difficultie, I perceive that what were formerly looked upon as Factions in the State, and Schisms in the Church, and so
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Anno
1642.

punishable by the Laws, have now the confidence, by vulgar clamours, and assistance (chiefly) to demand not onely Tolerations of themselves, in their vanitie, noveltie, and confusion; but also Abolition of the Laws against them; and a total extirpation of that Government, whose Rights they have a minde to invade.

This, as to the main: other Propositions are (for the most part) but as waste paper, in which those are wrapped up, to present them somewhat more handsomly.

Nor do I so much wonder at the varietie, and horrible noveltie of some Propositions (there being nothing so monstrous, which some fancies are not prone to long for.)

This casts me into, not an Admiration, but, an Extasie, how such things should have the fortune to be propounded in the name of the two Houses of the Parliament of England: among whom, I am very confident, there was not a fourth part of the Members of either House, whose judgments free, single, and apart, did approve or desire such destructive changes in the Government of the Church.

I am perswaded there remains in far the major part of both Houses, (if free and full) so much Learning, Reason, Religion, and just Moderation, as to know how to sever between the use and the abuse of things; the institution, and the corruption; the Government and the mis-government; the primitive patens and the aberrations or blottings of after copies.

Sure they could not all, upon so little or no Reason (as yet produced to the contrarie) so soon renounce all regard to the Laws in force, to Antiquitie, to the pietie of their reforming progenitours, to the prosperitie of former times in this Church and State, under the present Government of the Church.

Yet, by a strange fatalitie, these men suffer, either by their absence, or silence, or negligence, or supine credulitie (believing that all is Gold, which is gilded with the shews of Zeal and Reformation) their private dissenting in Judgment, to be drawn into the common Sewer or stream of the present Vogue and humour; which hath its chief rise and abetment from those popular clamours and Tumults, which served to give life and strength to the infinite activitie of those men, who studied, with all diligence and policie, to improve to their innovating Designs, the present Distractions.

Such Armies of Propositions having so little, in my judgment, of Reason, Justice, and Religion on their side, as they had Tumult and Faction for their rise, must not go alone, but ever be back and seconded, with Armies of Souldiers: though the second should prevail against my person, yet the first shall never over-come me, further than I see cause; for I look not at the number and power so much, as I weigh their Reason and Justice.

Had the two Houses first sued out their Liverie, and once effectually redeemed themselves from the Wardship of the Tumults, (which can be no
other

other than the Hounds that attend the Crie, and Hollow of those men, who hunt after Façtions, and private Designs to the ruine of Church and State.)

Did my judgment tell me that the Propositions sent to me were Results of the major part of their Votes, who exercise their freedom, as well, as they have a Right to sit in Parliament, I should then suspect mine own judgment, for not speedily and fully concurring with every one of them.

For, I have charitie enough to think, there are wise men among them; and humilitie to think, that, as in some things I may want, so 'tis fit I should use their advice, which is the end for which I called them to a Parliament. But yet I cannot allow their wisdom such a compleatness and inerrabilitie as to exclude my self; since none of them hath that part to act, that Trust to discharge, nor that Estate and Honour to preserve as my self; without whose Reason concurrent with theirs (as the Sun's influence is necessarie in all Natures productions) they cannot beget or bring forth any one compleat and authoritative Act of publick wisdom, which makes the Laws.

But the unreasonableness of some Propositions, not more evident to me than this is, that they are not the joint and free desires of those in their major number, who are of right to sit and vote in Parliament.

For many of them savour very strong of that old Leaven of Innovations masked under the name of Reformation; (which, in my two last famous Predecessour's daies, heaved at, and sometimes threatned both Prince and Parliament.) But I am sure was never wont so far to infect the whole mass of the Nobilitie and Gentry of this Kingdom; however it dispersed among the Vulgar: nor was it likely so suddenly to taint the major part of both Houses, as that they should unanimously desire, and affect so enormous and dangerous Innovations in Church and State, contrarie to their former education, practice and judgment.

Not that I am ignorant, how the choice of many Members was carried by much faction in the Countreys; some thirsting after nothing more, than a passionate revenge of what ever displeasure they had conceived against me, my Court, or the Clergie.

But all Reason bids me impute these sudden and vast desires of change to those few, who armed themselves with the many-headed, and many-handed Tumults.

No less doth Reason, Honour, and Safetie both of Church and State command me to chew such morsels, before I let them down. If the straitness of my Conscience will give me leave to swallow down such Camels of Sacrilege and Injustice both to God and man, as others do, they have no more cause to quarrel with me, than for this, that my throat is not so wide as theirs, yet by Gods help I am resolved, that nothing of passion, or peevishness, or list to contradict, or vanitie to shew my Negative power, shall have any byass upon my judgment, to make me gratifie my will, by denying any thing, which my Reason and Conscience commands me not.

Nor

Anno

1642.

Nor on the other side, will I consent to more than Reason, Justice, Honour, and Religion perswade me, to be for God's glorie, the Churches good, my peoples welfare, and mine own peace.

I will studie to satisfie my Parliament and my people; but I will never, for fear, or flatterie, gratifie any Faction, how potent soever; for this were to nourish the Disease, and oppress the bodie.

Although many mens loyaltie and prudence are terrified from giving me that free and faithfull counsel, which they are able and willing to impart, and I may want; yet none can hinder me from craving of the counsel of that mightie Counsellour, who can both suggest what is best, and incline my heart stedfastly to follow it.

It is now by these Propositions laid open to all men, that the Cabalists of their busines, have with great cunning reserved themselves untill due preparations should be fitted for their grand Design, to quarrel with the King; for they having removed a troublesome Rub in their way (*the Law*;) that they might undermine the very foundation of it, a new power had been assumed to interpret and declare Laws by extemporary Votes, without any case judicially before them, and without the King, Orders and Ordinances pressing upon the people as Laws.

The next step, an upstart Authority without the King, to command the *Militia*, the Magazine and Town of *Hull*, and bestrid *Hotham* in his bold-faced Treason, with unpresident Invectives against the Government, with false Aspersions of *His favouring a Rebellion in Ireland*; that the King ought to pass all Laws offered by them to him, however his Conscience shall be unsatisfied, notwithstanding the clause in Law 2 H. 5. They do acknowledg there, *That it is of the Kings Regalitie to grant or denie such of their Petitions as pleaseth himself.* That the King's Guard is *with intent to levie War against the Parliament*, to render him odious to the people.

They have so awed his good Subjects with censures and imprisonments, that none dare present their tenderness of his sufferings, their own just grievances, and the sense of the violation of the Laws; if they did, it was stifled in the birth, and called Seditious, and burnt by the Hang-man.

They have so restrained his Household sworn Servants, seized upon his Money, which his credit had gotten to buy him Bread; so that in effect they have blocked him up in *York*.

They have filled the Peoples ears with Fears and Jealousies, idle Tales, false Allarms, by which, to prepare the peoples impressions, the better to advance their Design when it should be ripe.

And now the King (it seems) must be ready to receive these *humble desires*. Nor do they tell the King that these Propositions are all. No, these are yet but Preparatives. Some of these disguised with mixtures

mixtures of real honest things; others, specious and popular; and some already granted by the King: all which are cunningly twisted with those other things of their main Design, Ambition, and private Interest, and so not easily to be discerned in their proper colours.

Not that the King fixes this Design upon all, and both Houses, many absent, many dissenting; but professes to all the World, that the malignity of the Design (dangerous and wicked) hath proceeded from all subtil informations, mischievous practises, and evil counsels of ambitious spirits, disaffected to God, Religion, unity, peace, and prosperity of the people, with a strong influence upon the very actions of both Houses.

And these Propositions coming to the King in the name of both Houses, he takes the more notice of every of them: and answers to this effect following, which because he expresseth in the first person plural, not usual heretofore, I shall so represent it.

If the nineteen Propositions had been in a Tragedie unknown to us and our people, they might have been believed, as they profess to be in order to the ends proposed in the Petition, to us and our people, honour, peace and happiness: But being understood, will rather appear a Mockerie and a scorn.

The Answer
to the 19. Propositions.

And we unworthie of our Trust, or Descent from so many famous Ancestours, if we abandon that power which enables us to protect our people and Laws, and so assume others into it, as to divest our selves of it, as if we were already vanquished, and a prisoner, and the most unfortunate of our predecessours, that have been reduced to by the most criminal of their Subjects.

And though the Bait laid to draw us to it, the promises of a plentiful and unparallel'd Revenue, were reduced from generals (which signifie nothing) to clear and certain propositions, would but resemble Esau's Bargain, to part with such Flowers of our Crown, as are worth all the rest of the Garland, which gives us cause to believe that the Contrivers of these had no intention of a good Accommodation, but rather to widen that Division which is by their fault fallen upon us both.

It is asked, That all the Lords and others of our Privy Council, and such (or all) great Officers and Ministers of State, either at home or beyond Sea (to leave out no person or place, that our dishonour may not be bounded at home) should be put from our Privy Council, and from these Offices and Employments, unless by them approved, How faithfull soever we have found them, or how innocent in offending, the onely Rule for all men to walk by. But to this part of the Demand we are willing, that they shall take a larger Oath than you desire in your 11th Demand, for maintaining the whole Law. That they shall be persons of Trust, and abilities without exception; reasonable.

Anno
1642.

And to be left to the justice of the Law, upon sufficient charge or proof against any of them. And that we have given you the best pledg of the effects of our promise, and the best securitie for their datie, a Triennial Parliament, to make them warie how they provoke, and us warie how we chuse such, as may discredit our Election. But, that without any fault objected, onely because some persons, who have too great an influence on both Houses, shall judg them not affected to that new Utopia of Religion and Government into which they endeavour to transform the Kingdom, we will never consent to the displacing of any of merit and affection to us and the publick, whom we have intrusted, since we conceive it would take away from the affection of our service, the care of us, and the honour of our justice. And we the more wonder, that it should be asked of us, since by your twelfth Demand, your selves count it reasonable, after the present turn be served, that the Judges and Officers who are then placed may hold them, Quam diu se bene gesserint. But this Demand is but one Link of a good Chain, or but the first Round of the Ladder, by which our just, ancient, regal power, is endeavoured to be fetched down to the ground, not with the persons now chosen, but with our chusing, that you are displeased; for they must be approved by both Houses. And of the two, if we would grant away either, we would sooner be content, that you should nominate, and we approve; lest by our Election we should hazzard whom we esteemed, to the scorn of your refusal, if they be not agreeable to the passion, interest or humour of the major part of the House. Not to speak of the great Factions and Divisions which this power would introduce in the Parliament between both Houses, and in the severall Counties, for the choice of persons, and between them that were so chosen. Nor is the potion prescribed onely for once, for the curing of some pressure, or present disease, but for a Diet to us and our posteritie, It is demanded, That our Counsellours, all chief Officers of Law and State, Commanders of Forts and Castles, and all Peers hereafter made, be approved of by them from time to time; (and rather than ever it should be left to the Crown, to whom it doth and shall belong) if any place fall void in intermission of Parliaments, the major part of the approved Counsellours is to approve them. And so we must not onely acquit our Right, but for Counsellours, we are restrained in the number as in the persons: and if they have this power, it were not fit we should be trusted to chuse those which were to be trusted as much as we.

It is demanded, That such matters as concern the publick, and are proper for the high Court of Parliament, may be debated, resolved, and transacted onely in Parliament: and such as presume to do to the contrary, shall be censured by Parliament: and such other matters of State as are proper for debate with our Privy Council, shall be concluded by such of our Nobility (or rather herein your Nobilitie) and others, as shall be chosen for that place by approbation of Parliament: and that not publick acts concerning the affairs of the
King-

Kingdom (proper for our privie Council) be esteemed valid, or proceeding from royal Authority, unless it be done by consent of the major part of our Council, attested under their hands. Which in effect being granted, is to depose our self and posteritie.

These being past, we may be waited on bare headed, our hand kist, be called Majestie, and the Kings Authoritie declared by Parliament, may be still the style of your Commands: We may have Swords and Maces born before us, and please our self with the sight of a Crown and Scepter. Nor would these Twigs flourish when the Stock were dead, and we receive but the picture and sign of a King. We were ever willing our Parliament should debate such matters proper for them, but not to extend their Resolutions beyond what is proper to them, and so by degrees you draw as well all the causes as all the faults of Westminster-hall. That the course of Law be not diverted as was actually done in the stop of the proceedings against a Riot in Southwark, by Order of the Lower House, by countenancing such popular Insolencies, and discountenance to Law. That you descend not to the leasure of recommending Lectures to Churches, nor ascend to the Legislative power to command such to be received, without approbation of either Parson or Bishop: nor regarding whether they be Orthodox, Learned, or Moderate, or have taken Orders, and are not depravers of the Book of Common Prayer, concerning you in dutie, and the Common-wealth in consequence, to be carefull there. And that our Forts may not be seized, our Arms not removed, our Money not be stopt, our legal Directions not to be countermanded by you; nor such entrance be made upon a real War against us, upon pretence of an imaginative War against you, and a Chimæra of necessitie.

We could have wished you had exprest what matters you meant as fit to be transacted onely in Parliament, and what you meant by onely in Parliament. You have been taught new Doctrines, to debate what was never used within you walls to do, but been trusted with our Predecessours and us, which without the regal Authoritie, since there were Kings of this Kingdom, were never transacted. It therefore concerns us the more that you speak out, that the World may know the bottom of your Demands, or know them to be bottomless. What is more proper for the Parliament than the making of Laws? but then you must admit us a part of the Parliament. You must not denie us the freedom of our Answer, when we have as much Right to reject what we think unreasonable, as you have to propose what you think necessarie; nor is it possible our Answers either to Bills or any other Propositions should be wholly free, if we may not use the libertie of every one of you, and receive advice from any persons in which the manage of our Vote is trusted by the Law to our own judgment and conscience, which how best to inform, is likewise left to us: and most unreasonable it were for two Estates proposing something to the third, that third should take no advice, but from those two that did propose it. We shall ever in these things not decline the advice of our great Council, and shall also use to

Anno
1642.

hear willingly the debate of our Privie Council, and they shall not be terrified from that freedom by Votes, and Brands of Malignants and Enemies to the State, admitting no more than the nature of the business requires, and of discoursing with whom we please, and of what we please: and not to tie our self not to hear any more than twentie five out of a Kingdom, so replenished with judicious and experienced persons in several kindes; yet we shall alwaies look upon their Advices, as Advices, not as Commands or Impositions, and upon such persons, as our Counsellours, not as Tutours or Guardians, and upon our self as their King, not as their Pupil or Ward. And it is not plainly exprest in the first part of the second Demand, whether they meant us so much as a single Vote in these affairs, and no more power than every one of the rest of our fellow Counsellours, onely leaving to us (of all our ancient power) a choice; and great care is taken, that the Oath which these men shall take, shall be such in the framing, as that we may be wholly excluded, and that wholly to be agreed upon by the Parliament.

And to shew there is no more care taken of our safetie than of our power: after our Town and Fort kept from us, which sure your selves will not denie to be Treason; our Arms taken, and our Goods sent away, our Money stopt, our Guards are not onely desired to be dismissed; but it is likewise desired that we shall not for the future raise any Guards or Forces, but in case of actual Rebellion or Invasion; which if it had been Law in our famous Predecessours, few of those Victories which have made this Nation famous, could have been legally atchieved, nor could Queen Elizabeth have so defended her self in Eightie Eight; and if no Forces may be raised untill Rebellions or Invasions be actual, they must no doubt be effectual and prevalent.

And as neither care is taken for our Rights, Honour, nor Safetie as a Prince, so our Rights as a private person are endeavoured to be had from us. It being demanded, that it may be unlawfull and punishable not onely to conclude, (but even) to treat of any Mariage with any person for our own Children, or to place Governours about them, without consent of Parliament, and in the intermission of these, without the consent of our good Lords of our Council. More despicable than any of our Predecessours, or than the meaner and viler of the lowest of our Subjects, who value no libertie more than that of desposing their Children, from which we are asked to debar our self, and have reason the more to take it ill we are so, because that for the choice of a Governour for our Son, and a Husband for Daughter, we conceived we had reason to expect your thanks, and the increase of your future Trusts.

We suppose these Demands by this time appear such, as the Demanders cannot have such real fear of us, as hath been long pretended, they are too much in the style not onely of Equals, but of Conquerours. But we call God to witnes, that as for our Subjects sakes these Rights are vested in us, so for their sakes and our own, we are resolved not to quit them, nor

The Reign of King Charls.

533

Anno
1642.

to subvert the ancient, equal, happie, well poised, and never enough commended Constitution of the Government of this Kingdom, not to make our self of a King of England a Duke of Venice, and thus of a Kingdom a Republick.

There being three kindes of Government, Absolute Monarchy, Aristocracy, and Democracy, and in all these their particular conveniences and inconveniences; the experience and wisdom of your Ancestours hath molded this out of a mixture of these with the conveniences of all Three, without the inconveniences of any One, as long as the Ballance hangs even between the three Estates, and in their proper Chanel, (begetting verdure and fertilitie in the Medows on both sides) and then over-flowing of either on either side, raised no Deluge or Inundation. The ill of absolute Monarchy, is Tyranny; the ill of Aristocracie, is Faction and Division; the ills of Democracy are Tumults, Violence, and Licentiousness. The good of Monarchy is the uniting a Nation under one Head, to resist Invasion from abroad and Insurrection at home. The good of Aristocracy is the conjunction of Councils in the ablest persons of a State for the publick benefit. The good of Democracy is Libertie, and the courage and industrie, which Libertie begets.

In this Kingdom the Laws are joyntly made by a King, by a House of Peers, and by a House of Commons chosen by the people, all having free Votes and particular privileges, the Government of these Laws are intrusted to the King, power of Treaties of war and peace, of making Peers, of chusing Officers and Counsellours of State, Judges for Law, Commanders for Forts and Castles, giving Commissions for raising men to make war abroad, or to prevent or provide against Invasions or Insurrections at home, benefit of Confiscations, power of pardoning, and some more of the like kinde are placed in the King. And this kinde of regulated Monarchie having the power to preserve that Authoritie, without which it would be disabled to preserve the Laws in their force, and the Subjects in their Liberties, is intended to draw to him such a respect and relation from the great ones, as may hinder the ills of Division and Faction, and such a fear and reverence from the people, as may hinder tumults, violence and licentiousness. Again, that the Prince may not make use of this high and perpetual power, to the hurt of those for whose good he hath it, and make use of the name of publick necessitie for the gain of his private Favourites and Followers, the House of Commons (an excellent Conserver of Libertie, but never intended for any share in the Government, or the chusing of them that should govern) is soly intrusted with the first Propositions, concerning the Levies of Moneys, (the sinews of peace and war) and the impeaching of those, who for their own ends have violated that Law, which he is bound to protect, and to the protection of which they were bound to advise him. And the Lords being trusted with a judicature power, are an excellent Skreen or Bank between the Prince and people, to assist each against the incroachments of the other,

a. d

Anno
1642.

and by just judgment to preserve that Law, which ought to be the Rule of every one of the Three.

For the better enabling in this, beyond the Example of any of our Ancestours, we were willingly contented to oblige our self, both to call a Parliament every three years, and not to dissolve it in fiftie daies, and for the present exigent, the better to raise money, and to avoid the pressure our people must have suffered, by a long continuance of so vast a charge as two great Armies, and for the greater certaintie of having sufficient time to remedie the inconveniences arisen, during so long absence of Parliaments, we yielded up our Right of dissolving this Parliament, expecting an extraordinarie moderation from it for so unexampled a grace, and little looking that any Malignant party should have been encouraged or enabled to perswade them, first to countenance the indignities and injustice we have endured, and then by a new way of satisfaction for what was taken from us, to demand of us at once to confirm what was so taken, and to give up almost all the rest.

And so concludes.

Since therefore the legal power in Parliament is more than sufficient to restrain the power of Tyrannie, and without the power asked from us, we shall not be able to discharge that Trust which is the end of Monarchy, and so a total subversion of Laws, and that excellent constitution of this Kingdom, famous and happie to a great degree of envie: Since to the power of punishing which you have, if the power of preferring be added, we shall have nothing left for us, but to look on: Since the incroaching of one of these Estates upon the power of the other, is unhappie in the effects to all: Since this joint Government in us, with our Guardian Counsellours, would return us despicable at home and abroad: Since so new a power will beget Divisions among them, as Equals, and contempt of us, as become an Equal to them, and so insolence towards our people, so much their Inferiours: Since all great changes are extremely inconvenient, and beget yet greater changes, which beget yet greater Inconveniences:

Since as great a change in the Church must follow this of the Kingdom: Since the second Estate would follow the fate of the first: and the like Propositions would be then sent to them as they now have joined to send to us, till at last the common people (flattered into licentious wilde humours) discover this Arcanum Imperii, that all this was done by them, but not for them, grow wearie of Fournery-work, set up for themselves, and call Paritie and Indempencie, Liberty; devour that Estate which had devoured the rest; destroy all Rights, Proprieties, Distinctions of Families and Merit; and by this means the splendid and excellently distinguished Form of Government end in a dark equal Chaos of confusion, and the long Line of our many noble Ancestours fall into a Jack Cade or a Wat Tyler.

For all these Reasons, Nolumus Leges Angliæ mutari. But we promise to be carefull of preserving the Laws as concerning us, those of obedience not secure, when these of protection are violated. And will

search

*search in this heap of unreasonable Demands, for so much as we may as-
sent unto.*

*In pursuance of which, we finde in the fourth Proposition, (which
would take from us all the Trust we have) something to which we answer.
That we have committed the principal places about our Children to per-
sons of qualitie and pietie, with regard to their principles of Religion,
if otherwise, against whom the Parliament shall justly except, we shall
remove them, if there be no under-hand dealing to seek faults, to succeed
in their places.*

*For the fifth Demand, we will not suffer any share with us, in the
power of Treaties, most improper for Parliaments, yet we shall never
propose any Treatie of Mariage for any of our Children, without regard
to Religion, the good of the Kingdom, and the honour of our Fa-
milie.*

*Concerning the Laws in force against Jesuits, &c. As we have by
many Messages satisfied you, and by our Proclamations assured, that we
will never pardon any popish Priest, sufficiently expressing in many cases
of late our zeal herein. If you can finde any more effectual course,
we shall give our consent.*

*Concerning the Votes of popish Lords, they in discretion have for-
born to sit, and we are content, so long as they are not conformable to the
Doctrin of the Church of England, they shall not be admitted to sit, but
onely to give Proxies to Protestant Peers.*

*And as to a Bill for Education of their Children, we have always
wished it to be so, and incourage you in it, and we will do it.*

*The Reformation of Church-government and Liturgie, we have
sufficiently told you in our Answer to your Petition at Hampton Court,
Decemb. 1. To which they are referred. As also in our first Declarati-
on printed by advice of our Council, and our Message of the fourth of
February; of all which we the more hoped of success, because you seem
now in this to desire but a Reformation, and not (as is frequently
preached) a Destruction of the present Discipline and Liturgie; and
we shall take care for preaching Ministers. As to your Bills we can say
nothing till we see them.*

*We would not have the Oath of all privie Counsellours and Judges
straitened to particular Statutes, but to all Statutes of all Parliaments,
and shall willingly consent, that an inquirie, &c.*

*Therein we shall be most ready to joyn with the State of the United
Provinces, &c. with our life and fortune, if need require.*

*It was not our fault that an Act was not passed to clear Kimbolton
and the five Members, but yours, that inserted such clauses in the Pre-
amble and Act, That no Member upon any accusation of Treason
could be seized, without consent of that House: though the known
Law be, That Privilege of Parliament extends not to Treason,
And so, how guiltie soever, may have fair leave to run away, and pre-
vent his Trial.*

And

Anno
1642.

The King
carries the
County of
York.

And concludes, *conjuring them and all men, to rest satisfied with his profession and real intentions with some particular advises to them, which he often hath hinted in most of his Answers. And then to grant his general pardon, &c.*

If such an Answer as this proceeds from the advice and sufficiency of a few malignant Counsellours about the King, when their nineteen Demands had been hammered out by labour and pains of a full Committee, and then debated several days after; we may rest satisfied that either the justice of the Cause easily carried on the consideration, or that the Parliament party had the weaker pates.

And not onely is the King thus enforced to answer those above, to the Parliaments Transactions, but he is put to it, to undeceive his Neighbours at Court, the Commons of the County of York must be satisfied: and therefore the King declares to them the Reasons of summoning the Gentry and not them.

That he never intended the least neglect unto them in any former Summons of the Countie, his love excluding none. And sums up to them the particular Reasons of his remove from White-hall, enforced by Tumults as yet unpunished, and securing himself here in their Countie, on whose fidelitie he doth relie, being to be used for the defence of the orthodox Religion professed by Queen Elizabeth, the defence of the Laws, and the peace of the Kingdom.

The Example of the Parliament having made him to prepare for a Guard, so far from War, as it serves onely to secure him and them. His choice being of the prime Gentry, and of one Regiment of his Trained Bands, never intending to use the force of strangers. And these thus armed take the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacie. And intends to put the Trained Bands of all the Kingdom to be under persons of Honour and loyalty to him and the Countie. And all to protect them against oppressions and delusive fancies of such as presuming upon his royal Authority, pretend by their Warrants to protect the people. He intends to ease the Countie of their Trained Bands and Billet-money. And shall make his grace and bountie to them answerable to their best fidelitie and loyalty.

And now warlike preparations go on of both sides, the Parliament most forward do order, *That all the Deputie Lieutenants of England and Wales that be not Members of the House of Commons, be present at the several days and places of Training and Mustering the Counties; and all Lords Lieutenants are ordered to dispatch their Warrants and Commissions accordingly, and that some Members of both Houses shall be sent down to be present, and to countenance the service, June 4.*

Hereupon

Anno
1642.

Hereupon all the spare Lords that lookt for imployment, are actively busied to repaire to the severall Counties. And henceforth Letters and avisoes from them to their favourites of both Houses, are Posted to the Parliament, of their vigilant services and the effects, by wondrous appearance of the people; then necessarily requiring the Parliaments Letters and Messages of thanks to them and to the Country, together with Letters and submissions of the respective officers of each trained band to their right Honourable Lords Lieutenants acknowledging their indefatigable diligence herein, and the tender of all their lives in the publique service, which their Lordships are desired to commend to the knowledge of the supream Council of the Nation, who must publish a grand Approbation of all, which the others have don, or shall do.

Then followes Resolutions upon severall questions.

To provide for every County, competent numbers of orders and Declarations of the House of Commons from time to time. That every Minister, Constable &c. may have one of each.

How they shall be Printed, how bundled up, how transported, so that a wonder it was how busily new Officers got imployments, with such hurrying and posting up and down, as if all this world were wilde for a war; for now comes out Propositions and Orders of Parliament, for bringing in of *Money or Plate*, to maintain Horse, Horsemen and Arms, *for the publique peace and defence of the King and both Houses of Parliament*, the tenth of June.

All the Northern Roads be searched by the Justices of Peace, for seizing of Arms, Ammunition of all sorts, that are to be carried thitherward.

Then comes Intelligence from beyond the Seas by Letters from *Amsterdam*, with a list of the number of Arms, and Ammunition speedily to be furnished for the King, upon jewels pawned by the Queen particularly mentioned, and no doubt by him who was appointed by Her for that service. But he prays that his own name may be concealed (*pour eviter de tiltre despion*) though with zeal and ardour he professes he affects the good cause, for which he is thus treacherous, and being now dead I forbear to record to memory who he was.

The King provides Commissioners of Array, and first to *Leicester shire*, accompanied with his Letters to the Lords Lieutenants of the County. Grounding his Commission on the votes of Parliament the fifteenth of March last, *That the Kingdom being in danger of Enemies abroad, and a Popish party at home, it is necessary to put the people into a posture of defence*. A small number of both Houses, without the Kings consent, or the opinion of the Judges, have attempted by way of Ordinance to put in Execution the power of the *Militia*, dispossessing such of the Nobility as He intrusted with the Command, and nominated others of their own election, and this

Preparations
for War.

The King
Provides
Arms.

The Kings
Letters with
his Commis-
sion of Array.

Anno
1642.

design of theirs by a new way of Ordinance, without the Kings content, were to introduce an Arbitrary Government, to which he will never permit.

The King therefore having by his Proclamation the seven and twentieth of *May* last, prohibited all persons upon their Allegiance, to Muster, Levy or summon, without his consent, by warrant or writ from his great seal. And that antiently by Statute 5 H. 4. and by subsequent Records: his Predecessors have exercised the power of the *Militia* by Commissions of *Array*, therefore, He thinks fit so to do, Authorizing you; or any three or more of you, to *Array*) and *Train* his people, whereof you the Earl of *Huntington*, and in your absence *William Earl of Devon*, or *Henry Hastings Esq;* to be one: That for the present you cause to be mustered all the ancient Trained Bands, and Freehold Bands of the County, and over them to appoint Colonels, Captains and Officers, Issue warrants for Assembling the people, for discharge of that service; of all which He expects a plenary accompt.

The Commission was directed to the Earls of *Huntington*, and *Devon*, *Henry Hastings*, (his son) *Henry Berkley*, *George Villiers*, *Thomas Burton*, Baronets, *Henry Skipwith*, *John Shepington*, and *Richard Halford* Knights and Baronets; *Wolston Dixey*, *Richard Roberts*, *John Bole*, *Thomas Harlop*, *Erasmus De la fountain*, and *William Jones*, Knights, *Henry Hastings*, *George Ashley*, and *John Hate Esqs;* and to the Sheriff of *Leicester-Shire*, to the same effect as aforesaid, the twelfth of *January*, 18 Car. per ipsum Regem.

Willis.

Parliaments
Votes there-
upon.

The Parliament ponder hereupon, and after serious debate, for it much concerned; *They resolved upon the Question, That this Commission was against Law, the liberty and property of the Subject; And that the Actors therein, shall be esteemed disturbers of the Peace, and betrayers of the Subjects Libertie. The twentieth of January.*

The Kings
Protestation.

The King goes on, Summons his Lords and his Privy Council attending him at *York*, and declares; That He will not require any obedience from them, but by the Law of the Land, Nor that they yield to any Commands, not legally imposed by any other: That he will defend them, and all others from such Commands, and from Votes and Orders of Parliament, and defend the true protestant Religion, the Lawful liberty of the subject, and the just priviledges of the three Estates of Parliament, and according as he performs, so he expects further Obedience: That He will not ingage them in any war against the Parliament, except for necessary defence against such as invade him or them.

And the
Lords.

On which they ingage to him their duty & Allegiance in the like answer, subscribed by all present, which we shall record to posterity
for

Anno

1642.

for their Loyalty, then; and of some of their defection after, Lord Keeper Littleton, Duke of Richmond, Marquess Harford; The Earls of Lindsey, Cumberland, Huntington, Bath, Southampton, Dorset, Salisbury, Northampton, Devonshire, Cambridge, Bristol, Westmerland, Barkshire, Monmouth, Rivers, Newcastle, Dover, Carnarvan, Newport, The Lords of Mowbray, and Matravers, Willoughby of Ersby, Richard Howard of Charlton, Newark, Paget, Chandos, Fawconbridge, Pawlet, Lovelace, Savile, Coventry, Mohun, Dunsmore, Saymour, Grey of Ruthen, Capel, Falkland, Master controller, Secretary Nicholas, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Chief Justice Banks.

The King sends his Letters to the Lord Mayor, Aldermen and Sheriffs of London, Commanding them not to levy Arms nor raise mony, upon pretence of a Guard to the Parliament. But if they shall lend money towards the relief of Ireland, (as he hath don, however the mony be disposed) or towards the paiment of his Scots Subjects, he shall esteem it an acceptable service, if otherwise, he shall take it as contempt to him and his authority, and shall be compelled to question their Charter therein.

And publishes a General Declaration. That having these last seven Moneths, met with so many several encounters of strange and unusual Declarations of Parliament, He is not amazed with any new Prodigy of that kind, and their last of the six and twentieth of May, gave warning, that they having spent their stock of reproachful language upon Him; He was to expect they should now break out into disloyal actions; for by that they divested Him of his Authority, and assumed it to themselves; and now they put forth the fruits of that supream power, by their propositions for raising force under pretence of preserving peace for defence of the King, deceiving the People, as if the danger were great and he consulted therein: Sums up the Parliaments ridiculous devised fears and Jelousies: Protests his former and still unshaken Resolutions for Peace, for Religion, for the Laws and for the Subjects Liberties: Advising them not to contribute their power and assistance to ruine Him and themselves, satisfies them in all the causeless and groundless scandalous Rumors and Reputations raised against his person and Honour: And so excites all his loving Subjects according to their Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy, their Vow and Protestation, to contribute their best assistance for the opposing and suppressing of the Trayterous attempts, of such persons as would destroy his Person, Honour and Estate, and engage the Kingdom in a Civil war, He declaring, that whoever shall bring into him, Money or Ammunition, Horse or Arms for his or the publique defence, shall receive 8. l. per cent consideration, and shall receive good assurance of the principal and interest, upon his Forest Lands,

The Kings
General Declaration.

Anno
1642.

Proclamation
against Levies
as by the sta-
tutes in force.

Parks and Houses, better (he saith) than the security of the onely name, *Publique faith*.

All the said Lords subsigning to a Profession, disavowing any Preparations or Intentions of war against the Parliament; but only endeavouring the firm and constant Parliament of Religion and Laws of peace and prosperity of this Kingdom.

And by publique Proclamation *forbids all Levies of forces* without his expresse pleasure, and all contributions or assistance to any such Levies, These statutes in force impowring the King, and no other, to raise Arms, as 7 *Edw.* 1. The statute of *Northampton*, 2 *Edw.* 3. That in the 11 of *Rich.* 2. He being under age, the Duke of *Glocester*, and other Lords, upon pretence for the King, raised forces and subdued their adversaries, they procured a special Act of pardon for it. In the Reign of *H.* 8. the Earl of *Shrewsbury*, to suppress a suddain Rebellion, did, without the Kings warrant, raise Arms, and *Mastered* the Traytors, yet was forced to obtain his Pardon.

By the Statute 25 of *Edw.* 3. It is Treason, to Levy war against the King in his Realm. It was the case of the Earl of *Essex*, upon pretence of but removing some ill Councillors about Queen *Elizabeth*, and adjudged Treason. It is the present excuse of the *Irish* Rebels, for defence of the Kings authority and of his Kingdome. *Wat Tyler*, *Jack Cade*, and *Kit* the Tayler, wanted not such publique pretences, which were perhaps just causes of complaints, though not of raising Men.

Then to the Parliaments distinction, betwixt the Kings person and his authority, and so his person at *York*, but his Authority in Parliament. See *Cook*, 7 *Rep.* *Coloins* case. The Oath of allegiance by the Common law, bound to be faithful, not to the King only, as King, but to his Person as King *Charles*. When *Hugh Spencer* caused it to be written, (*tempore Edw.*) that Homage and Allegiance was more by reason of his Crown, (*viz.* his Kingdome) than of his Person, and if He can not be reformed by sute of Law, nor will redress the evil from the people, It ought to be removed by force, and that his Liege be bound to govern in ayd of Him and in default of him, for this he was condemned by two Parliaments and banished for ever.

Then, to assist the King, the people are bound by the duty of their Allegiance to serve and assist him at all seasons when need requires, 11 *Hen.* 7. *Cap.* 18. And therefore he charges all his loving Subjects, from levying forces (other then according to a late Act this sessions, for the present defence of *England* and *Ireland*) or contribute money thereto:

And Proclaimes the Lawfulness of his commissions of Array issued into the severall Counties of *England* and dominion of *Wales*, and of the use of them and their execution.

And

Anno

1642.

Parliaments
answers.

And we may expect the Parliaments answer to all. And first to the Kings Paper (as they call it) sent to the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Sheriffs of *London*, the fourteenth of *June*. They declaim against the Kings proceedings therein mentioned, justifie their intents, promise a just use and right disposing of the great Loans of money for suppressing the *Irish* Rebellion, conveyed this Paper to be suppressed, and do assure themselves, that neither the Kings commands nor his threats, can deterre the well affected for the publique, to do their Duty to the Parliament, to contribute their money, Horle and Plate, for preserving what is most precious, Religion, Libert, Safety, the overthrow of the Cities Charter, and exposing their wives and children to rapine, violence and villany, and the wealth of this famous City to be a prey to desperate and necessitous persons, in which the Parliament will evermore protect them.

To which the King replies, and they again to his Commission of Array, and he again to them, in such particulars as becomes to be a great Book: and now left to the Lawyers to dispute on both sides, and to which we refer the reverend readers.

The faction
distinguished
by Cavaliers
and Round-
heads.

And now we enter upon the war on both sides, and being thus distinguished into faction, they also were distinct in terms, whether by hap or so designed by themselves. The one called the *Royal*, the other the *Parliament* party: untill after a while, they were nicknamed the *Cavaliers* and the *Roundhead*. The first, a Title of Honour to the Gallantest persons throughout Christendome: this other, I know not from whence derived, which reminds me of what I have read; That a Prince being ingaged in a foreign expedition, and to invite his Subjects to a general assistance with their persons and purses, devised a nickname with this odium, *That he which refused to wait upon him, was for ever to be called Truant*, or *Truand* from the French, or the Greek [*Tronein*] *consumere*, *quoniam in desidia, inertia, et otio tempus conterit*, as we say *Truants*, which fixed upon him and his posterities, till the policy of state, to avoid friends and factions, suppressed that term upon pain of punishment. It were not amiss to wish it so with us, if that could make us friends.

The Authors
advice.

But on they go amain; and wondrous busie on both sides, Matter enough for much History, wherein hitherto I have adventured on the Readers patience, not to be brief, which makes this Book thus big, The rather to acquaint you with the manner, as well as the matter, the several stiles of eithers Publications; the one very natural, the other more forced. But now we come to blowes, down right war, we are necessitated not to be tedious. And because, the Transactions are of a double nature, *Civil* and *Martial*, we shall set them apart for the better apprehension of their several stories. For *Deficiunt arma nisi sunt concilia domi*, we will therefore afford the affairs

Anno
1642.

Introduction
to this Civil
War.

fairs of State the first place, and the effects of War to follow; for *Cedant arma toga*, with this advice, that although I have, with extreme curiosity and pains, laboured the truth out of the best Records and Relations, and therein ingenious, just and true: yet the effects of War have been so partially exprest by such as set them down, as that therein, by comparing their Narratives, if I willingly recede from either, and make choice of a better Text between them, I hope to finde a reasonable excuse, professing that I have no self-seeking, no self-interest, if I forbear the ranting reputation which hath been bestowed on either. And although we cannot deny them their equal value, yet we shall abate them the numbers of their slain, and wish in truth they had been less, for fear if you afford them the total sum which they set down, it would have depopulated this Nation into women and children.

The varietie of Actions of this present Age and Government have been very remarkable; that of the Militarie not the least worthie, though the storie thereof be below the Stage, and requires not an uncontrollable pass without a Preface. The Event of which War all Christendom have or may expect with admiration and horror. An Historie not to be viewed by intricate parcels, but in one intire bodie: the rise and progress of things, being proceedings perplexed with multiplicities of interwoven discourses, and uncertain Relations, partially put together by either party; when three Kingdoms came to be engaged, (as too soon it happened) and no part in either stand free, the labour then must needs be large, to lodg things in a narrow room, and to comprize the several parts with their just, true, and perfect measure, into little; so many divided Plots are not easily to be gathered into a greater harmonie, and a more exact symmetrie of parts. The life of this Narrative being as well to declare the delinquencie of States, as its accomplishment and pretended perfection. A standing Monument it must be, wherein nothing may be thrust upon the world more than the thing it self. But withall we shall endeavour a true Rehearsal of such particulars and rare changes, as are more deserving to grace the composure, and affect the Reader, with this Protestation for my self, herein Neuter, to carrie no Byass affection to any side, thereby to deserve a check, or Suspition to be more true to a Faction or their ends, lest I should transgress against the honour of this work which I undertake.

The great Ingagement of this people in this cause, began when the Parliament declared their Resolution of a War, quickened by the same principles in the main, which did actuate that supreme Court: the very motions of a Parliament spirit in the people, complying with every Act of theirs, whose Remonstrances were received with all obsequious respect, (more than the Declarations of the King) and both of them blown up into a flame. This partie intending to maintain Prerogative, Sovereignie and power in the King, that other pretending to justifie privi-
leges

Anno
1642.

leges and Right of Parliament, and Subjects freedom. During the Kings preparations in the North, the Parliamentarie attempted to put themselves in a posture of War, which they called A Necessity of Defence. And because the Ordinance of Militia was the first ground of Difference in shew between the King and them, they desiring it, which he would not intrust out of himself, the Rent being thereby once made, a greater necessitie impleaded the execution of that power. Sundry Commissions issued out from either partie to divers Commissioners, Lord Lientenants of several Counties: And by the Parliament many Companies were raised, and called The Militia Bands; a militarie pomp and appearance of braverie, well affected to them, and near at home.

The Commission of Aray for the King, was commanded and commended to such other of his partie as were loyal to him, but hazzarding it to the multitude, found not in some places the like wished for effect, especially far off in the mid-land Counties, where the Lord Say had command for the Parliament, and the Lord Chandos for the King, he was enforced to flie to Court, and to leave his house and furniture at Sudeley Castle in Gloucestershire, to the furie of the people, delighting in a contumelious revenge and rustick triumph of the ignoble communalitie, in whom not always the deep sense of their own interests doth purchase this extasie of passion, but a very turning of the fancie sets them into an hurrie. Their insolencies now appear intolerable, by reason of their former usual restraint, which they now usurping, pretend freedom to do what they list; and they were gained to the Parliament upon that blinde account, which since hath proved to them the more slavish, though for that present producing wondrous effects to that partie, by self-ingagement of the common people, which the Parliament knew how to promote, and to execute thereafter, to their own ends.

Most men did undoubtedly believe greater hopes of Libertie from the Parliament than from the King, who called it Licentiousness; and this of the Kings Sovereigntie the Commons intituled to Tyrannie. The Gentry for the most part render themselves rather Subjects to Princes, the better to rule over the Commons their vassals. The Communalitie consisting chiefly of Yeomen, Farmers, petty Freeholders, and others, men of manufacture, bred up sparingly, but living in plentie; such as these always thwart the Gentry by whom they subsist. Persons of birth and breeding, more jovial and more delicate, neglecting a confined condition, endeavour rather to hazzard what they have, by aiming at the height of fortune, unto which their noble Extraction, wit and learning doth incite and stir them up.

This was not all the difference, Religion diversly professed had a main interest. The eternal Truth unchangeable bindes every soul to one Law perpetual and constant; this therefore doth implead the necessitie of external privileges in the professour, which though not to destroy the Kingdoms of the world, nor to usurp a greater liberty than humane Laws will easily

Anno

1642.

easily grant; and hath in its nature an irreconcilable enmitie against arbitrarie Government, in such commands as they conceive not justly put upon them, and out of which they are studious to free themselves, when the felicitie of that time shall offer the means, and as they thought it now, a lawfull call by power of Parliament. To their advantage there was raised a practical Ministerie, captivating vulgar capacities to apply themselves more fitly to their own purposes; for the present, accounting all order and decencie in Church and State, to be Innovations upon the Consciences and purses of the people; and yet even the common natural Subject not thus deluded, did come from the farthest parts to serve under their Sovereign, by the light of loyaltie not to war against that Authoritie.

And yet after some struggling that the King had gotten a defensive Armie, and his cause calling for some under-hand assistance of his neighbour Friends, then the Parliament contract a League with the Scots, pleasing them with the hopes of a through Scottish Presbyterian Reformation of Religion, and to boot, good entertainment for their beggarly Armie, not without a solemn League by Oath and Covenant with them, taken by both Nations; they with Forces entred England, won the prize, got the King in their clutches, and for a piece of money sold him to the Parliament, to the death and execution of him, and destruction of Church and State.

And so we return to our Historie Civil and Martial.

The King cares
relies his people
in the County of
Nottingham.

The King in a reasonable posture, began to care for his people, and first descends from York to the County of Nottingham, and at Newark he summons the Gentlemen and Free-holders, and tells them, that their resolutions and affections to him and their Country, for his defence and the Laws of the Land, have been so notable, that they have drawn him thither only to thank them; that he goes to other places to confirm & undeceive his Subjects, but comes thither to encourage them. That they have made the best judgment of happiness by relying on that Foundation, which the experience of so many hundred years hath given proof, *viz. The assurance and securitie of the Law.* And let them be assured when Laws shall be altered by any other Authority than that by which they were made, the Foundations are destroyed. And though it seems at first but to take away his power, it will quickly swallow all their interest. He asketh nothing of them, but to preserve their own affections to the Religion and Laws established; he will justifie and protect those affections, and will live and die with them in that quarrel.

The like care he gives those of the County of Lincoln, at Lincoln, and intending to reduce his Town of Hull, sends his Message to the Parliament, with the Proclamation ensuing, *Julie 11.*

That

Anno
1642.

That by his former Declarations, and this his Proclamation, they and all his good Subjects may see the just grounds of his present Journey towards *Hull*, before he shall use force to reduce it to obedience, and requires them that it may be forthwith delivered to him; to which, if they conform, he will admit of their further Addresses from them, and return such Propositions as may be for present peace; and promises to them in the word of a King, that nothing shall be wanting in him to redress the calamities threatening the Nation; and expects their Answer at *Beverley* on *Thursday* next, being the fifteenth of *July*.

That the King having long complained of the affront done to his person by *Sir John Hotham*, when he went thither to view his Magazine at *Hull*, which have been since carried away by Orders of Parliament, and the Town kept and maintained against him, and Votes and Orders in Parliament have justified the same; that *Hotham* hath since fortified the Town, drowned the Countrey thereabout, and hath set out a Pinnace to Sea, which hath seized and intercepted his Packet Pinnace with Letters of the Queen to the King, disarmed the wel-affected to the King in that Town. And that the Earl of *Warwick*, contrary to the Kings command under his hand, being legally discharged of any conduct of his Majesties Ships hath taken upon him to dispossess the King of his Navy, and employed them against him, and imprisoned divers of his Majesties loyal Officers and Subjects. And therefore the King is resolved with Gods assistance to force *Hotham* and all other his Assistants in this his treasonable defence: and invites all his good Subjects to assist him in this his resolution.

Proclamation.

Dated at *Beverley* the eighth of *July*.

Three daies after the Parliament Resolve, That an Army shall be raised for defence of King and Parliament, and of all such as obey the orders of both Houses: That the Earl of *Essex* shall be the general, and they to live and dy with him, and that a petition should be sent to the King, by the Earl of *Holland*, *Sir John Holland*, and *Sir William Stapleton* to *Beverley*, and that the Earl of *Bedford* be General of the Horse, which so troubled the Earl of *Holland*, who was refused upon voting, that it was never digested. Indeed the Parliament were wary, not to intrust two Brothers with Land and Sea service together.

Earl of *Essex* made General of the Foot, and the Earl of *Bedford* of the Horse.

The effect of their petition, was to pray the King to disband all his forces which are reckoned up to be about *Hull*, and from *Newcastle*, *Tynmouth*, *Lincoln*, and *Lincoln-shire* to recall his Commissioners of *Array* and to dismiss his guards and come to his People and Parliament, and hearken to their advice, and then what they will do for him.

Parliaments Petition.

Anno
1642.

The King might smile at this, and therefore tells them, They were never unhappy in their Petitions and supplications, whilst they desired *the preservation of Religion, the Kings Honour and the peace of the Kingdome*. But after their martial designs and some proceedings and effects of their forces, and after their votes and raising of an Army, their Generals assigned and possessing his Navy, to advise him to denude himself and wait upon them, is pitifull counsel; to which he will not submit.

The Parliament provide for the finews of war, to that end they declare for Lome of *Money* upon publique faith of the Parliament, upon which, and the Ministers invitations, the best part of their preachings turned into perswasions and prayers to the people, for their contributions and assistance, that it became incredible what a mass of money, plate and Ammunition, was presented even at the Parliaments feet, from the golden cupbords of vessels to the Kitchen-maids silver bodkins and Thimble.

The King had some help from the diligent indeavours of the Queen beyond Seas and out of *Holland*, upon the pawned Jewels, and at home contributions of the Lords and Gentry Loyal to his service, for what was publique he gives thanks: To the Vice-chancellor, and all other his Loyal Subjects of the university of *Oxford*, for the free Loan of a very considerable sum of money, in this his time of so great and eminent necessity, shall never depart out of his royal memory. Nor is it reasonable, to deny them a memorable Record for ever, which in duty to them I may not do.

Beverley, 18. July.

From thence the King removes to *Leicester*, summons the appearance of the Gentlemen, Free-holders, and Inhabitants of that County, telling them of the acceptable welcome he hath found in these Northern parts, finding that the former errors of his good Subjects thereabout have proceeded by mistakes and misinformations, proceeding from the deceits used by Declarations and publications of the Parliament pretended for the peace of the Kingdom, which rather would destroy it. To prevent their mischief, he needs not ask their assistance of Horse, Men, Money, and Hearts, worthy such a Cause; in which he will live and die with them, July 20.

Earl of Stamford
Proclaimed
Traytor.

The Earl of *Stamford* Lord Lieutenant of the County of *Leicester* for the Parliament, had removed the County Magazine from the Town to his own house at *Bradgate*, over which he had set a Guard or Garison against the Kings command, for which he and his Adherents are by name proclaimed Traitors, which troubled the Parliament, and discouraged their party, untill they were vindicated by a publick Declaration, that being for the service of the Parliament and the peace of the Kingdom, it was an high Breach
of

of Privilege in the King; and that the said Earl and his Assistants are protected by them, and all good Subjects.

The first of *August* brings the King back again to *Yorkshire*, where he summons the Gentlemen of that County, tells them the forward preparations of the Parliament to a War, and desires their advice, what Propositions, they conceive for them to ask, and he to grant, in reference to their and his safety: and for the present desires them to spare him some Arms out of their store, which shall be re-delivered when his provisions shall come thither, and that his Son Prince *Charls* his Regiment for the Guard of his person, under the command of the Earl of *Cumberland*, may be compleated.

Anno
1642.

Parliaments
Declaration of
defence.

The Parliament declare for the raising of all power and force by Trained Bands, and otherwise, to lead against all Traitors and their Adherents that oppose the Parliament; and them to slay and kill, as Enemies to the State and peace of the Kingdom; naming such of the Kings party that were his Lieutenants of *Array*; of the Northern Counties, viz. the Earl of *Northampton*, the Lord *Dunsmore*, Lord *Willoughby* of *Eresby*, (Son to the Earl of *Lindsey*) *Henry Hastings*, and others of the Counties of *Lincoln*, *Nottingham*, *Leicester*, *Warwick*, *Oxfordshire*. And for the Western Counties, the Marquess *Hertford*, the Lord *Paulet*, Lord *Seymer*, Sir *John Stowel*, Sir *Ralph Hopton*, and *John Digby*, and others in the County of *Somerset*.

Earl of Essex
General.

And to oppose these and others, the Parliament doth authorize the Earl of *Essex* the General, as also these to be the Lieutenants of several Counties, viz. the Lord *Say* of *Oxon*, the Earl of *Peterborough* of *Northampton*, Lord *Wharton* of *Buckingham*, Earl of *Stamford* of *Leicester*, Earl of *Pembroke* of *Wiltshire* and *Hampshire*, Earl of *Bedford* of *Somersetshire* and *Devon*, Lord *Brook* of *Warwick*, Lord *Cranborn* of *Dorsetshire*, Lord *Willoughby* of *Parrham* of *Lincolnshire*, *Denzil Hollis* of the City and County of *Bristol*. And thus ranked, they are to kill and slay their Enemies, *August* 8.

Earl of Essex
proclaimed
Traitor, and
all other his
complices.

And the King traceth them in these steps, replies to theirs, and will justifie the quarrel: and for that purpose published his Proclamation against the Earl of *Essex* the General, that he is Rebell and Traitor to the King and his Crown; and all Colonels, and Officers under him, that shall not instantly lay down, are guilty of high Treason.

And because of their two particular Designs, to march Northward against the King, and others Westward to seize and force the Garison and Fort of *Portsmouth*; therefore he commands Colonel *Goring* his Captain Governour there, to oppose the Rebels And commands his Cousin and Counsellour *William Marquess Hertford*

Anno

1642.

his Lieutenant General of his Forces within the Counties of Devon, Cornwall, Somerset, Dorset, Wilts, Southampton, Gloucester, Berks, Oxford, Hereford, Monmouth, Radnor, Brecknock, Glamorgan, Carmarthen, Pembroke, Cardigan. The Cities of Exeter, Bristol, Gloucester, Oxford, Bath and Wells, New Salisbury, and Hereford. The Towns of Pool, Southampton, and Havenport, and of all the Trained Bands, and others Voluntiers, to march against the said Earl of Essex and his Complices, and them subdue; specially in behalf of the Town of Portsmouth, the Isle of Wight, and Southampton, August 9. at York.

'Tis true, that the King did what he could to answer them in Arms, he being put upon the defensive part, and so, and not otherwise to oppose the Parliament. As they began by Meetings and Mutinies, they now proceed to the effects, fighting: upon which the King falls into a Soliloquy with himself thus.

Eikon Basil.
upon the list-
ing and rais-
ing Arms a-
gainst the
King.

I finde that I am (says the King) at the same point and posture I was, when they forced me to leave White-hall: what Tumults could not do, an Armie must; which is but Tumults listed, and enrolled to a better order, but as bad an end: my recess hath given them confidence that I may be conquered.

And so I easily may, as to any outward strength, which, God knows, is little or none at all; but I have a Soul invincible, through Gods grace inabling me: here I am sure to be Conquerour, if God will give me such a measure of constancie, as to fear him more than man; and to love the inward peace of my conscience, before any outward tranquillitie.

And must I be opposed with force, because they have not reason wherewith to convince me? O my Soul! be of good courage; they confess their own weakness, as to Truth and Justice, who chuse rather to contend by Armies, than by Arguments.

Is this the reward and thanks that I am to receive for those many acts of grace I have lately passed; and for those many Indignities I have endured? Is there no way left to make me a glorious King, but by my Sufferings?

It is an hard and disputable choice for a King that loves his People, and desires their love, either to kill his own Subjects, or to be killed by them.

Are the hazzards and miseries of Civil War, in the bowels of my most flourishing Kingdom, the fruits I must now reap after seventeen years living and reigning among them, with such a measure of justice, peace, plentie, and Religion, as all Nations about either admired or envied? Notwithstanding some miscarriages in Government, which might escape, rather through ill counsel of some men driving on their private ends, or the peevishness of others envying the publick should be managed without them, or the hidden and insuperable necessities of

State,

State, than any propensitie, I hope, of my self, either to injuriousness or oppression.

Whose innocent blood during my Reign have I shed, to satisfie my lust, anger, or covetousness? What Widows or Orphans tears can witness against me, the just crie of which must now be avenged with mine own blood? For the hazzards of War are equal, nor doth the Cannon know any respect of persons.

In vain is my person excepted by a Parenthesis of words, when so many hands are aimed against me with Swords.

God knows how much I have studied to see what ground of justice is alledged for this War against me; that so I might (by giving just satisfaction) either prevent, or soon end so unnatural a motion, which (to many men) seems rather the production of a surfeit of peace, and wantonness of mindes, or of private discontents, ambition and faction (which easily finde, or make causes of quarrel) than any real obstruction of publick justice, or parliamentarie privilege.

But this is pretended, and this I must be able to avoid and answer before God in mine own conscience, however some men are not willing to believe me, lest they should condemn themselves.

When I first withdrew from White-hall, to see if I could allay the insolencie of the Tumults, of the not suppressing of which no account in reason can be given, (where an orderly Guard was granted but onely to oppress both mine and the two Houses freedom of declaring and voting according to every mans conscience) what obstructions of justice were there further than this, that what seemed just to one man, might not seem so to another?

Whom did I by power protect against the justice of Parliament?

That some men withdrew, who feared the partialitie of their trial, (warned by my Lord of Strafford's death) while the vulgar threatned to be their Oppressours, and Fudgers of their Fudges, was from that instinct, which is in all creatures, to preserve themselves. If any others refused to appear, where they evidently saw the current of justice and freedom so stopped and troubled by the Rabble, that their lawfull Fudges either durst not come to the Houses, or not declare their sense with libertie and safetie, it cannot seem strange to any reasonable man, when the sole exposing them to the publick odium was enough to ruine them, before their cause could be heard or tried.

Had not factious Tumults overborn the freedom and honour of the two Houses; had they asserted their justice against them, and made the way open for all the Members quietly to come and declare their consciences, I know no man so dear to me, whom I had the least inclination to advise either to withdraw himself, or denie appearing upon their Summons; to whose Sentence according to Law (I think) every Subject bound to stand.

Distempers (indeed) were risen to so great a height, for want of timely repressing the vulgar insolencies, that the greatest guilt of those
which

Anno
1642.

which were voted and demanded as Delinquents, was this, That they would not suffer themselves to be overaw'd with the Tumults and their Patrons; nor compelled to abet by their suffrages or presence, the Designs of those men who agitated Innovations and ruine, both in Church and State.

In this point I could not but approve their generous constancie and cautiousness; further than this I did never allow any mans Refractoriness against the Privileges and Orders of the Houses; to whom I wished nothing more, than Saffie, Fulness, and Freedom.

But the truth is, some men, and those not many, despairing in fair and Parliamentarie waies, by free deliberations and Votes, to gain the concurrence of the major part of Lords and Commons, betook themselves by the desperate activitie of factious Tumults, to sift and terrifie away all those Members whom they saw to be of contrarie mindes to their purposes.

How oft was the business of the Bishops enjoying their ancient places, and undoubted privileges in the House of Peers, carried for them by far the major part of Lords? Yet after five Repulses, contrarie to all Order and Custom, it was by tumultuarie Instigations obruded again, and by a few carried, when most of the Peers were forced to absent themselves.

In like manner was the Bill against Root and Branch brought on by tumultuarie Clamours, and schismatical Terrours; which could never pass, till both Houses were sufficiently thinned and over-awed.

To which Partialitie, while in all Reason, Justice, and Religion, my conscience forbids me by consenting to make up their Votes to Acts of Parliament, I must now be urged with an Armie, and constrained either to hazzard mine own, and my Kingdoms ruine, by my Defence; or prostrate my conscience to the blinde obedience of those men, whose zealous superstition thinks or pretends, they cannot do God and the Church greater service, than utterly to destroy that Primitive, Apostolical, and anciently-universal Government of the Church by Bishops.

Which if other mens judgments binde them to maintain, or forbid them to consent to the abolishing of, mine much more; who, besides the grounds I have in my judgment, have also a most strict and indispensable Oath upon my Conscience, to preserve that Order, and the Rights of the Church; to which most sacrilegious and abhorred Perjurie, most unbeseeming a Christian King, should I ever by giving my consent be betrayed, I should account it infinitely greater miserie, than any hath, or can befall me; in as much as the least sin hath more evil in it than the greatest affliction. Had I gratified their Anti-Episcopal Faction at first in this point, with my consent, and sacrificed the Ecclesiastical Government, and Revenues to the furie of their Covetousness, Ambition, and Revenge, I believe they would then have found no colourable necessity of raising an Armie to fetch in and punish Delinquents.

That I consented to the Bill of putting the Bishops out of the House

of

Anno
1642.

of Peers, was done with a firm perswasion of their contentedness to suffer a present diminution in their Rights, and Honour, for my sake, and the Common-wealths; which I was confident they would readily yield unto, rather than occasion (by the least obstruction on their part) any Dangers to me, or to my Kingdom. That I cannot add my consent to the total Exirpation of that Government (which I have often offered to all fit Regulations) hath so much further tie upon my conscience, as what I think Religious and Apostolical (and so very Sacred and Divine) as not to be dispensed with, or destroyed; when what is onely of civil favour, and privilege of Honour granted to men of that Order, may with their consent, who are concerned in it, be annulled.

This is the true state of those obstructions pretended to be in point of Justice and Authoritie of Parliament; when, I call God to witness, I knew none of such consequence as was worth speaking of to make a War; being onely such as Justice, Reason, and Religion had made in mine own and other mens consciences.

Afterwards indeed a great shew of Delinquents was made; which were but consequences necessarily following upon mine, or others withdrawing from, or defence against violence; but those could not be the first occasion of raising an Armie against me. Wherein I was so far from preventing them, (as they have declared often) that they might seem to have the advantage and justice of the defensive part, and load me with all the envie and injuries of first assaulting them, when as, God knows, I had not so much as any hopes of an Armie in my thoughts. Had the Tumults been honourably and effectually repressed by exemplarie justice, and the libertie of the Houses so vindicated, that all Members of either House might with honour and freedom, becoming such a Senate, have come in and discharged their consciences, I had obtained all that I designed by my with-drawing; and had much more willingly, and speedily returned than I retired; this being my necessitie driving, the other my choice desiring.

But some men knew I was like to bring the same judgment and constancie, which I carried with me, which would never fit their Designs: and so while they invited me to come, and grievously complained of my absence, yet they could not but be pleased with it: especially when they had found out that plausible and popular pretext of raising an Armie to fetch in Delinquents: when all that while they never punished the greatest and most intolerable Delinquencie of the Tumults, and their Exciters, which drave my self, and so many of both Houses from their places, by most barbarous Indignities, which yet, in all Reason and Honour, they were as loth to have deserted, as those others were willing they should, that so they might have occasion to persecute them with the injuries of an Armie, for not suffering more tamely the injuries of the Tumults.

That this is the true state, and first drift and design in raising an Armie against me, is by the sequel so evident, that all other pretences vanish. For, when they declared by Propositions or Treaties, what they would

had

Anno

1642.

have to appease them, there was nothing of consequence offered to me, or demanded of me, as any original difference in any point of Law, or order of justice. But, among other lesser Innovations, this chiefly was urged, The Abolition of Episcopall, and the Establishment of Presbyterian Government.

All other things, at any time propounded, were either impertinent, as to any ground of a War, or easily granted by me, and onely to make up a number; or else they were meerly consequential, and accessarie, after the War was by them unjustly begun.

I cannot hinder other mens thoughts, whom the noise and shew of pietie, and heat for Reformation and Religion, might easily so fill with prejudice, that all equalitie and clearness of judgment might be obstructed. But this was, and is, as to my best observation, the true state of affairs between us, when they first raised an Armie, with this Design, either to stop my mouth, or to force my consent: and in this truth, as to my conscience, (who was (God knows) as far from meditating a War, as I was in the eye of the world from having any preparations for one) I finde that comfort, that in the midst of all the unfortunate successses of this War on my side, I do not think mine innocencie any whit prejudiced or darkened; nor am I without that integritie, and peace before God, as with humble confidence to address my prayer to him.

Proclamation
for aid of his
Subjects.

And by Proclamation the King requires the aid and assistance of all his Subjects on the North side of Trent, and within twenty miles Southward thereof, for the suppressing of the Rebels now marching against him, whose hearts God Almighty will stir up with a true sense and apprehension of his sufferings; that according to their allegiance, and as they tender the safety of his person, the properties of their Estates, and just liberties, to attend his person upon the two and twentieth of this instant *August*, at *Nottingham*, where and when he intends to erect his Standard, in his just defence, &c. and that with Arms and Furniture, &c. and who shall supply him with Money or Plate, which he (as God shall enable) will repay, and reward according to the measure of their love and affection to him, and their Countrey. *Tork, August 12.*

The Kings
great Decla-
ration.

But to undeceive the people, or to satisfie the more curious, he publishes a very ample Declaration concerning the whole proceedings of this present Parliament, in effect thus:

It being more than time now after so many indignities to his person, affronts to his Kingly Office, and traitorous Pamphlets against his Government, to vindicate himself from those damnable Combinations and Conspiracies contrived against him,

That he resolved to summon this Parliament before his great Council met at *Tork*, and uncompeled by any violence, but of his love to peace.

That

Anno
1642.

That at the beginning thereof he quickly discerned, they meant not to confine within the path of their Predecessours, but by the combination of several persons for alteration of Government in the Church and State also. To that end they expelled a very great number of Members in Parliament duly elected, upon pretence that they had some hand in Monopolies, without any crime objected, or other proceedings, and yet continued Sir *Henry Mildmay* though a notorious promotor of the Monopoly of Gold and Silver Thread; as also Mr. *Lawrence Whitaker*, and others Commissioners in matters of the like nature, or worse, which he mentions to them their partiality of that Faction.

The remedy which they proposed was a Bill for a Triennial Parliament, against which though he had many Reasons to except, yet he passed it, which seemed so to work upon their sense, as never to be forgot in the return of their duty and affections; yet all he could do did not satisfy the factious contrivement and disguise of subverting the Government. And because most of the Grievances seemed to proceed from the great liberty of his Council Board, he admitted seven or eight of those Lords eminently in esteem with the people, and passionately dis-inclined, both the civil affairs and Government of the Church, and so hoping by a free communication they might be excellent Instruments of a blessed Reformation in Church and State. Thus for the Court.

Then he applied visible Remedies proportionable to the desires of both Houses, and pressed not the Reformation of the Arbitrary power of the *Star-chamber*, but utterly abolished it.

He pressed not the Review of that Statute by which the *High Commission Court* was erected, but in compliance to the pretended sufferings of the people thereby, he consented to repeal the Branch of that Statute.

The Writs for *Ship-money*, whereby several sums of money had been received from his Subjects, and judged legal, he was contented should be void and disannulled, and the Judgment vacated.

The bounds and limits of executing the *Forest Laws*, and keeping the *Justices* and *Eires* seat, he passed an Act for the Subjects ease, as was desired.

As also an Act against Incroachments and Oppressions in the *Stannery Courts*, and regulated the *Clerk* of the *Market*. And parted from his right and duty in the business of *Knighthood*. But also (which is the highest trust that ever King gave his Subjects) he passed the Act for continuance of this Parliament untill the peace of *England* and *Scotland*, and all their desires in reference thereto were provided for.

All the time in which those Acts of grace were passed, he lay under the burthen of extreme want, without any fruit of relief,

Anno
1642.

Scots Army
kept up.

Bishops voted
down.

and they the mean while contrived advantages of Offices, and places of profit and power to themselves, changing Religion and Fundamental Laws, raising Aspersions upon his very Acts of Grace and Favours upon them, that no security could be of the effects of all he could or should do, without a through-alteration of Church and State.

Hereupon they oppose the disbanding of the Armies, delay the Scots Treaty, although the Scots Commissioners hastened it, and in plain English, the Parliament declared, *That they could not yet spare them, for that the sons of Zerviah were too strong for them*: ingaging this Kingdom in so vast a Debt, that there might be no way of paying it, but by the Lands of the Church, disguising that Design, pretending onely to remove the Bishops from their Votes in the Upper House, though upon three Debates absolutely rejected by the Lords, by which they took advantage, and produced a Bill in the House of Commons for abolition of Bishops, *Root and Branch*, out of the Church, as Mr. Pym said to a Member, *It was not enough to be against the persons of Bishops, if he were not against the Function*. And for extirpation of Deans and Chapters, and reducing that admirable Frame of Government into a *Chaos* of confusion, that out of it they might mould an *Utopia*, which no six of them had, or yet hath agreed upon, whereby they have raised Estates to repair their own broken Fortunes. And two Armies must be kept, to eat out the heart of this Kingdom at the charge of fourscore thousand pounds a Moneth. Then they devised false Reports, created, spread, and countenanced by themselves, of Designs, dangerous plots against them: hereupon a Protestation is so framed and devised to oblige them to any unlawfull action, and taken by all the Members of the Commons, but the Lords refusing it, it is recommended to the City of *London*, and to all the Kingdom by Order of the Lower House onely; a strange and unheard of usurpation: a Declaration followed, as peremptory, and like a Law without the King.

Then came out a new Fright of a Design in the *English* Army, to face the Parliament, and of the Kings consenting to it, of which he calls God to witness to be ignorant.

And that the Affairs in *Scotland* necessarily requiring the Kings Journey thither for a small time, he returned and found things far more out of order, with their Orders against the Book of *Common Prayer* and *Divine Service*, contrary to the Lords Ordinance; and therefore the Commons Declaration of the ninth of *September* was such a notorious violation of the privilege of the House of Peers as was never heard of before, and an apparent evidence of their intended legislative power by the House of Commons without King or Lords; and such as did not submit thereto were imprisoned and fined. Then they erect Lecturers, men of no learning or conscience,

ence, but furious promotors of the most dangerous Innovations that ever were induced into any State, men of no Orders, onely such as boldly and seditiously would preach or prate against the Liturgy, royal power and authority, and persons of learning and eminency in preaching and of good conversation were put out. That all licence had been given to any lewd persons to publish seditious Pamphlets against Church and State, or scorns upon the Kings person or Office, filling the peoples ears with lies and monstrous discourses, and those to be dedicated to the Parliament; and whatever the rancour or venome of any infamous person could digest were published without controul. And thus prepared, and the King absent in *Scotland*, they frame a Remonstrance of *the state of the Kingdom*, and present it to him at his return to *Hampton Court*, December 15. 1641. laying before him all the mishaps and misfortunes that have been since his Reign to that hour, reproaching him with actions beyond his imaginations, concluding against a malignant party, the prevalency of the Bishops and popish Lords, into which number all those are cast who dissent from any propositions made by the House of Commons, which Remonstrance was presented to the Lords, and debated from ten in the forenoon till three a clock the next morning, and so wearied into a Vote by eleven Voices, and published to stop the current of the peoples affections and duty to their Sovereign, and presented to him at *Hampton Court*.

The peoples mindes and affection thus shaken & perplexed, their next work was to get such a power into their hands as might governe and dispose those affections. To which purpose they had several Debates in the diminution of the Office and Authority of the Lords Lieuts. & their Deputies of the respective Counties, as not agreeable to Law, & so to provide for the safety of the Kingdom another way. A double end they had therein, to force such Officers to comply with them in their Votes, lest they should be questioned for former execution of that place; and indeed all other Officers upon the like score, and so to unsettle the *Militia*, thereby the more easily to bring it to their Governance; and thereupon to place a General at land, and an Admiral at Sea, by Act of Parliament, independent of any supreme power, and a prepardon for what they should act, as it was after digested into their new Generals Commission, and the pretended Ordinance to the Earl of *Warwick*.

Thus they got power in the Commons House, and endeavour to do the same in the Upper House, prevailing upon the hopes and fears of such as might that way be dealt with; witness that insolent Speech of Mr. *Pym* to the Earl of *Dover*, *That if he looked for any preferment, he must complie with them in their ways, and not hope to have it by serving the King.*

Anno

1642.

Then they take away the Votes of Bishops by Bill, to which many consented, as hoping that the fury of that Faction, which pursued an absolute destruction of Ecclesiastical Government, would be thereby abated: and yet whilst it halted with the Lords, the House of Commons resort to the people, training them down to *Westminster* in multitudes, with swords and clubs, and oftentimes sending for them to countenance their Debates; the particulars whereof (the King says) he can prove.

The King in these straits, was resolved that nothing in that House should provoke him, till time and the experience of good men should discover their purposes, yet the Tumults grew so dangerous that the Lords desired several Conferences for suppressing them, but were told by some Members of the Commons, *That they must not discourage their Friends, this being a time to make use of them.* And Mr. Pym said, *God forbid that we should proceed in any way to dishearten people to obtain their just desires.* Himself and those other persons accused of Treason, by great encouragement had sent for those multitudes to come in that manner; and though a Writ was issued out by the Judges to hinder those Tumults, in obedience to which the Constables were appointed by the Justices to attend the performance, and this Watch was by the House of Commons voted a Breach of their privilege; the Watch was thereupon discharged, and the Justice sent to the Tower.

The like Tumult was at *Southwark*, by an Assembly of Sectaries, who were legally proceeded against, as a Riot; this was complained of to the House of Commons, and there excused, *That they met to draw a Petition against Bishops*: so that those Officers that prosecuted the Riot were held Friends to Bishops, and the Under Sheriff of *Surrey* was enjoined not to proceed against them, or any other, who should meet to subscribe Petitions: by which pretence any Disorders might be secure above the reach of Law or justice; whereupon followed those most unsufferable Tumults and Disorders at *White-hall* and *Westminster*, against whom the Bishops protest, as not being able to attend the House of Lords; and are therefore accused of high Treason by the House of Commons, and committed to the Tower by the Lords. And because the King got a Guard for securing of his person, the Queen, and their Children, it was forthwith published, *That he meant some Design against the Citie of London*: and thereupon followed such a general distraction, such a defection of Allegiance in the people, such a damp of Trade in the City, and so horrid a confusion in the Church, and all this to satisfy their own private ends.

Hereupon, to undeceive the people, the King prepared and published his Answer to their Remonstrance *of the state of the Kingdom.* And then, that he might manifest their Actions, he resolved to accuse the Lord *Kimbolton*, and the five Members of high Treason, and

Anno
1642.

and what his proceedings have been therein, he refers to his Declaration of the nineteenth of *May*, and what followed after, as in the story before is mentioned.

And so Tumults increasing, the King was enforced to retire and secure himself and Family at *Hampton Court*, with the persons of some of the neighbour Gentry, which was voted to be a gathering of Troops of Horse in a warlike manner, to the terrour and affright of the Kings good Subjects; and so compelled the King to remove to *Windsor Castle*.

And to keep the people in an Allarm, and Sir *Walter Earl* the Discoverer, of I know not what Plots and Designs, ridiculous, against the Parliament and City.

Then the King discovers all the politick practices of the House of Commons, to prevent any recommendatory Letters of the Lords for Elections of Members in void places, and he must be sure to be of their own choice, and as often are they refused, (however duly elected) if they prove not for their party; and as cunningly they intend to conquer all those whom they could conclude obnoxious to the justice of the Parliament, with terrible Votes against such Lords as had concurred in such an Order at the *Council Table*, or *Censure* in *Star-chamber*, and against Lords Lieutenants or the Deputies, for raising Coat and Conduct-money, all Sheriffs for *Ship-money*, all Lords for *Monopolies* or illegal *Patents*; and so by those terrifyingings they brought all persons or Members of either House compliable to their Faction, or to have an Inquisition of his whole life to bring him into question. Then to encourage their Faction they declare, *That what disservice any one had done formerly, his present actions bringing benefit to their Common-wealth, he ought not now to be questioned.*

They had several baits to catch and betray other men; such as were slack, as conscious to withdraw from their subtilties, they would perswade to go on, being so far in, as would be dangerous to retire; that the King would never forget it, and therefore to secure themselves they must weaken the King, and bring him to such a condition as not to be in his power to suppress them.

To such as would in truth, reason, and conscience acknowledg the justness and integrity of the Kings preceding favour and grace by many Acts, they would devise their Reasons of fear, *That he meant never to observe them.*

To others that were deterred, to consider the effects of abusing so gracious a Sovereign, they would perswade them, *That those about the King could work him to their wills.*

Then they get all the *Militia* and power of the Kingdom into their hands, garison *Hull*, and *Hotham* their Governour there, and the Tower of *London* brought under subjection of one of their own; and so with continual vexations caused the King to withdraw

Anno
1642.

draw his person, and to secure the Queen to pass beyond the Seas, and himself to retire towards the North.

What hath happened since his coming to York is so notorious, as with amazement to all parts of Christendom, to see the wisdom, courage, affection, and loyalty of the *English* Nation so far shrunk and confounded by malice, cunning, industry of persons contemptible in number, inconsiderable in fortune and reputation, united onely by guilt and conspiracy against the King.

Treason licensed in Pulpits, persons ignorant in learning, seditious in disposition, scandalous in life, unconformable to Laws, are the onely men recommended to authority and power to impositon the mindes of the multitude.

The Kings goods, money, and what not seized from him, and to make the scorn compleat, he must be perswaded, *That all is done for his good.*

Opinions and Resolutions imposed upon him by Votes and Declarations, *That the King intends to levie war*, and then Arms are taken up to destroy him.

All Actions of his for his advantage are straightway voted illegal.

All the great Officers of State coming to the King are pursued with Warrants to all Mayors, Justices, Sheriffs, and others to apprehend them, compelling the Countries to take Arms against the King.

His Ships are taken from him, and the Earl of Warwick made Admiral in despite of the King.

And after all this Mr. Martin should say, *That the Kings Office is forfeitable, and the happiness of the Kingdom does not depend on him, or any of the regal Branches of that stock.*

And Sir Henry Ludlow should say, *That the King was not worthy to be King of England, and that he hath no Negative Voice, that he is fairly dealt with that he is not deposed, that if they did that, there would be neither want of modestie or dutie in them.*

They publish scandalous Declarations, commit his great Officers for doing their duties.

Raise an Army, and chuse the Earl of Essex General, with power to kill and slay whom he list.

They convert the Money given by Act of Parliament for the Discharge of the Kingdoms Debts, and for Relief of Ireland, and all to serve their turn to war against the King.

Commit those Lords that are loyal, degrade nine Lords at a clap, for coming to the King.

Take Tunnage and Poundage without the Kings consent.

But can the Nobility, Gentry, Clergy, and Commonalty of England sacrifice their Honour, Interest, Religion, Liberty, to the meer sound of a Parliament and Privilege? Can their experience, Reason,

Reason and Understanding be captivated by words? And then he sums up many of his graces, favours, freedoms to them and the people. And yet into what a Sea of Bloud is the Rage and Fury of these men lanching out, to wrest that from him which he is bound to defend. How have the Laws of Hospitality & civility been violated? discourses, whispers in conversation been examined? and persons committed, and so kept during pleasure? His and the Queens Letters broken open, read publickly, and commented upon, that Christendom abhors to correspond with us. Crimes are pretended against some men, and they removed for others to be preferred.

If *Monopolies* have been granted to the prejudice of the people, the calamity will not be less, if it be exercised by a good Lord, by a Bill now, then it was before by a Patent.

And yet the Earl of *Warwick* thinks fit to require the *Letter Office* to be confirmed to him for three Lives, at the same time that it is complained of as a *Monopoly*, and without the alteration of any circumstance, for the ease of the Subject; and this with so much greediness and authority, that whilest it was complained of as a *Monopoly*, he procured an *Assignment* to be made of it to him from the person complained of, after he had by his *interest* stopped the proceedings of the *Committee* for five Moneths, before the *Assignment* made to him; upon pretence that he was concerned in it, and desired to be heard.

And the King concludes all with this Protestation, *That his quarrel is not against the Parliament, but against particular men, who first made the wounds, and will not suffer them to be cured, whom he names, and will be ready to prove them guiltie of high Treason.* And desires, *that the Lord Kimbolton, Mr. Hollis, Mr. Pym, Mr. Hambden, Sir Arthur Haselrig, Mr. Strode, Mr. Martin, Sir Henry Ludlow, Ald. Pennington, and Capt. Ven, may be delivered up to the hands of justice, to be tried according to the Laws of the Land.* Against the Earl of *Warwick*, the Earl of *Essex*, Earl of *Stamford*, Lord *Brook*, Sir *John Hotham*, Major General *Skippon*, and those who shall henceforth exercise the Militia by virtue of the Ordinance, he shall cause *Indictments* of high Treason, upon the Statute of 25 Edw. 3. Let them submit to their Trial appointed by Law, and plead their Ordinances; if they shall be acquitted, he hath done. And that all his loving Subjects may know, that nothing but the preservation of the true Protestant Religion, invaded by Brownism, Anabaptism, and Libertinism, the safetie of our person threatened and conspired against by Rebellion and Treason, the Law of the Land, and Libertie of the Subject oppressed and almost destroyed by an usurped, unlimited, arbitrarie power, and the freedom, privilege, and dignitie of Parliament awed and insulted upon by force and Tumults, could make us put off our long-loved Robe of peace, and take up defensive Arms.

Anno
1642.

He once more offers pardon to all those that will desire the same (except the persons before named) if not, he must look upon these Actions as a Rebellion against him and the Law, who endeavour to destroy him and his people. August 12. 1642.

The Parliament had passed an Act for raising of four hundred thousand pounds by Overtures of Adventurers, and Contributions and Loans for Relief of Ireland, and Money and Plate was thereafter very heartily brought in to the Parliament, when upon the thirtieth of July, the vote, That the Treasurers appointed to receive the money already come in upon Subscriptions for Ireland, do forthwith furnish by way of Loan unto the Committee for defence of the Kingdom, one hundred thousand pounds, for the supplie of the publick necessitie and defence of this Kingdom upon the Publick Faith.

Of which the King remembers them, and of the Act of Parliament, That no part of that money shall be employed to any other purpose than the reducing of those Rebels. And therefore charges the Houie of Commons, as they will answer the contrary to Almighty God, and to the King, that they immediately retract that mischievous, illegal, and unjust Order. To which he expects their speedy Answer and obedience; and the rather that he may be secured, that such part of the four hundred thousand pounds as is or shall be collected for the Irish service may not be employed (under false pretence) in a War against the King.

August 13.

This was home, close to their conscience, which they retort upon the King with this Answer, That his Directions to them to retract their Order, is a high Breach of privilege of Parliament; that his wicked Counsellours have raised this bloudie and barbarous Rebellion in Ireland; that they had a Design to raise a Million of Money to suppress them, but the King with-drawing into the North from his Parliament their intentions were frustrate. As also to send five thousand Foot and five hundred Horse to Ireland under the command of the Lord Wharton for Relief of Munster, which failing, Limrick is lost, and Munster in much miserie. The Kings Forces so quartered in and about the common Roads to Ireland, that no provision can pass by land that way; that he hath recalled two Ships appointed for the Guard of those Seas; that certain suits of Cloath sent towards Chester for that service were taken by the Cavaliers, and the Waggon-horses. And that the House of Commons apprehending the danger of this Kingdom, thought it necessarie to prepare a competent Armie for defence of the King and Kingdom: but in regard that the Contributions of Plate by the well-affected could not be so soon coined, they made bold to borrow this hundred thousand pounds for the present.

And so put it to the question, Whether the King and his Cavaliers, or the King and his Parliament do endeavour for the best?

To

Anno
1642.

To all this, though I finde no Reply, yet thus much in truth may be said, that though the King recalled two Ships commanded by Captain *Kettleby* and Sir *Henry Stradling*, they conceal, that at the same time he sent Warrant to the *Downs*, commanding four better Ships to attend that service, which Warrant by the Parliaments means could finde no obedience; by the absence of which four Ships the Rebels of *Ireland* had opportunity to bring store of Arms and Ammunition. And it is as true, that at this time the Parliament seized fourty good Ships of the Kings Navy, and could spare none of them for the *Irish* service, but imployed them against the King in the business of *Hull*. And as to their Suits of Cloaths, they likewise conceal, that they were taken entring into *Coventry*, then in open War against the King, where no doubt they would have been disposed amongst their Souldiers who bore Arms against him. And for the Horses of Draught, they were certified to be useles for *Ireland*, and so the King kept them for his service. And the Earl of *Leicester* Deputy of *Ireland*, being now with the King at *Nottingham*, his Man *Errington* was sent to fetch them for the King, who hastens the Deputy to his charge, and sent him for *London*. And they do not hold forth their Excuse sufficient, to say, that the one hundred thousand pounds was for the necessitie of their Armie, in defence of this Kingdom, when the *Irish* Army was ready to perish for want of it, which they imployed (together with such part of the four hundred thousand pounds Subsidy, as they had received) to maintain this unnatural civil War at home.

And to forward their Forces, Sir *William Brereton* and others, Deputy Lieutenants for the County of *Chester*, are directed to put in execution the Ordinance of the *Militia*, with particular Advices and Orders, how they shall act in reference thereto, and to suppress all other forces and meetings any way intending the contrary, and that the Parliament will bear them out herein.

August 18.

And to the Gentry of the Northern Countries they declare, that notwithstanding all the Kings vowes and protestations to govern by Law, to blinde and deceive the people, the most mischievous principles of Tyranny are practized that ever were invented. That is to disarm the middle sort of people, who are the body of the Kingdome, and to maintain Souldiers by forced contributions. To create a provincial Government in the North, and the Countries are to associate with other Counties, and such as will not shall be plundered and pillaged. For prevention they do promise that all well affected people so plundered, shall have full reparation out of the Estates of the Actors, Counsellors, and out of such as are withdrawn to *York*, or shall persist to serve the King against the Parliament with Horse, Arms, Plate, or money, who are Traytors to the King, Parliament and Kingdome.

Parliament
give advices to
their Deputy
Lieutenants
in the Nor-
thern Coun-
ties.

Anno

1642.

The King
proposeth the
first Treaty for
Peace and is
refused.

And thus either party having endeavoured to win upon the People by Declarations, Remonstrances, and Answers, which rather encreased suspition and jealousies, and the Subject thereby the more deceived, The King most graciously observing, that mistakes have arisen by Messages between them, which may be prevented happily by way of Treaty, and so by freedom of debate, for the peace of the Kingdome, sends this Message to them from *Nottingham* the 25. of *August*, which was presented to the Parliament, by the Earls of *Southampton* and *Dorset*, Sir *John Culpeper* Chancellour of the Exchequer, and Sir *William Uvedal*; To which the Parliament make answer, *That untill his Majesty shall recall these Proclamations and Declarations of Treason, against the Earl of Essex, and them and their adherents; And untill the Kings Standard set up in pursuance thereof to be taken down, they cannot by the fundamental priviledges of Parliament give his Majesty any other answer.*

But these Messengers were not suffered to sit in the Houses. And the Earl of *Southampton* (against whom there was not the least colour of exception or so much as a vote) not suffered to deliver the message, but compelled to send it by the usher of the black Rod, and then commanded to depart the Town, before they would prepare any Answer, which they sent to the King.

To which the King Replies. *That he never intended to declare the Parliament Traytors, or set up his Standard against them, but if they shall resolve to Treat, either party shall revoke these Declarations against all persons as Traytors, and the same day take down his standard.*

But nothing prevailing they yet make reply, *unless He will do as they desire, forsake his evil Councillors, and return to them (representing the whole Kingdome) there being no other way in the world to make his Majesty happy and his Kingdome safe.* And to confirm their Resolutions, and to keep up their party that began to stagger at this refusal,

They order and declare, *That the Arms which they have and shall take up for the Parliament, Religion, Laws and Liberties of this Kingdome, shall not be laid down, untill the King withdraw his protection from such persons that are and shall be voted Delinquents, and shall leave them to Justice, to the end that their Estates may discharge the Debts and Loan monies of the Common-wealth,* September 6.

What wayes, endeavours and real expressions the King had made to prevent subsequent Miseries, the world may judge, and yet they have been so fruitless, that though he hath descended to desire, nay to press it; not so much as a Treaty can be obtained unless he will denude himself of all force, to defend him from a visible strength marching against him, and to admit those Persons as Traytors to him, whose duty, Allegiance, and the Law have appeared in his defence. Indeed his power was now weak, which the Parliament consider, so that they would put him upon the Providence of God,
the

the Justice of his cause and the affection of his good people, & without doubt though it was far from his thoughts, to put them out of his Protection, yet if ever the Parliament should desire a Treaty of Him, he promises piously to remember, whose blood is to be spilt in the quarrel, and would most cheerfully imbrace any reasonable accommodation.

And now the war on Foot, and Forces raised, a wonder it was what Tumults and Insurrections were dayly complained of, to both parties, which the King endeavoured to reclaim by his Declarations and exemplary Punishments. So do the Parliament party, and send down Sir Thomas Barrington and Mr. Grynstone into Essex to rectifie their disorders, but being there they seize Sir John Lucas and his Lady at Colchester, and commit them to the Jayle, and their eight Coach horses sent to their General Essex; and Mr. Newcomen, then for the King, was sent to prison; resolving to bring them speedily to their Trials: in order to that, Lucas was proclaimed Traytor by the Parliament, brought up to London, and committed to the Gatehouse.

I have not troubled the Reader with the remembrance of the Scots Nation who have so much troubled us. And now I find them working on their design, to set us forward to a further distance, that they may the better come into the distraction with their ill Council. They kept a kind of Commissioners here, to be at hand for their purpose, who sent Advice and Intelligence to their General Assembly of Scotland, of the condition and transaction of all our affairs here. And accordingly the Parliament cares them with a Declaration, as it was most fitting for their purpose to be believed. To which the Assembly with universal consent, in their canting manner, held forth this Answer in the beginning of August last, to this effect.

1. That from the sense of their own late deliverance, they bless God for preserving themselves in the midst of their divisions and troubles from a bloody war, the compend of all Calamities.

2. That the hearts of all their Members of this Assembly and of others well affected, are exceedingly grieved, that in so long a time the Reformation moves so slowly, not onely Prelates, formal professors, prophane and Popishly affected, but bad Councillors with spiritual wickedness in high places, have prevailed so far, that as in the times of the best Kings of Judah (of old) and the most part of the reformed Kirk (of late) a thorough Reformation hath been a work full of difficulties, Their Kirk and nation, when God gave them the calling, considered not their own dulness, nor staggered at the promise through unbelief. And who knoweth but the Lord hath now some controversie with England, which will not be removed till the worship of his name and the Government of his House be settled.

3. That the Commissioners of Scotland, in the late Treaty of peace did represent their serious thoughts and desires, for unity of Religion,

ANNO
1642.

Sir John Lucas Proclaimed Traytor by the Parliament and committed.

Scots Declaration in answer to the Parliament of England.

Anno
1642.

that in all his Majesties dominions there might be one confession of faith, one directory of worship, one Catechism and one form of Kirk Government, when all his people may resort to one worship. This Assembly doth now enter upon the labour of their Commissioners, into which they are encouraged by the zeal of former Assemblies at Edinburgh, December 1566. which ordained a Letter to be sent into England, against the Surplice, Tippet and Corner Cap, and such other Ceremonies of that Kirk, that they might be removed by the Assembly at Edinburgh, April 1583. desiring their King to Command his Ambassadors then going to Queen Elizabeth, that there might be an Union and Band betwixt them, against the persecution of Papists in their Holy League of Trent, and to disburthen their Brethren in England, from the yoke of Ceremonies against the Liberty of the word. And by the Assembly at Edinburgh, March 1589. ordaining their Profelytes to use all means for the relief of the Kirk of England, for maintaining the true discipline and Government of the Kirk of England. And why not now much more? being many waies encreased their zeal ought to be no less, especially encouraged by his Majesties personal worship, when he was with them, and many acts of grace to their Ministry and Kirk, and his gracious Letter to them, Intimating that when any thing is amiss, he will, in a fair and orderly way reform, and so done, He will maintain and defend it in peace against all troubles, without, and against all Sects, Heresies, Schismes within; And likewise the Parliament of England hath shewen their zeal, and expressed their grief, that the work hath been interrupted by a Malignant party of Papists, evil affected persons, a corrupt and dissolute Clergie by the Instigation of Bishops: Their hope is that when they shall return to a peaceable Parliamentary proceeding, to settle a Kirk reformation, firm and stable Union, between both Kingdoms, they being mightily encouraged by a Letter, from the reverend brethren of the Kirk of England, upon all these grounds, the Assembly doth confidently expect, that England will now bestir themselves to a Reformation, and first to begin with Kirk Government, and that Prelacy the main cause of all their miseries, be pluckt up root and branch, which God hath not planted, bearing no better fruits then sowre grapes which hath set on edge the Kingdom of England.

The Hierarchy, being put by, the work will be easie without forcing any Conscience, by setting the Government of the Kirk by Assemblies, for although the Reformed Kirks do hold, without doubting, their Kirk Offices and Kirk Government by Assemblies in their strong and beautiful subordination to be Jure divino and perpetual. Yet Prelacy as it differeth from the Office of a Pastour is universally acknowledged by themselves and their adherents to be but an humane Ordinance introduced by humane reason, and settled by humane Laws and Customs for supposed conveniency, which therefore without wronging any Mans Conscience may be altered and abolished; to which Reformation their Kirk will contribute their power and prayers &c.

Saint Andrews, August 3.

And

And answerable to this Declaration, the secret Council of Scotland upon petition of the Assembly do concur and commend this Declaration as a means for the unity of Religion, and uniformity of Kirk-government in his Majesties three Kingdoms. *Extractum ex libris actuum secreti Concilii.* Aug. 16.

Anno
1642.

Upon these grounds, The Parliament of England take resolution, and declare their approbation and thanks to the secret Council and Assemblie in Scotland, for their desires of unitie in Religion and uniformitie in Church-government in the three Kingdoms; we having (say they) often had that matter in debate, concurring in judgment and experience of the manifold mischiefs which the Government of the Prelacie hath in all times and ages produced in this Church and State, and so we hope to satisfie the Christian desires of our dear Brethren of Scotland, although we know that hereby we shall exceedingly irritate that malignant partie, who will bend all their forces to ruine that holy work, and to ruine and destroy us in the undertaking; being the very same partie which hath now incensed and armed his Majestie against us. The very same Design of rooting out Reformed Religion, endeavoured to begin that Tragedie in Scotland, which being perfected in one Nation, will be accomplished in the other: Religion is the band and safetie of both. And as we resolve by the national Covenant betwixt the two Kingdoms, to be carefull of Scotland, so we doubt not but the secret Council and Assemblie there will be always ready to express their brotherly kindness to us, according to the Articles ratified between both Parliaments, and advantageous to all the professours of the Reformed Religion in Christendom.

The Parliament joyn with the Scots Kirk to reform all Christendom.

And so this being the Proeme to their Declaration, the Parliament goes on with lamentable sighs and groans from the bowels of their hearts, for being obstructed in this piaculous work of true Reformation, and after much striving and seeking God, wrestling with the Engines of Satan, they have jumped in resolution with their Brethren in Scotland, that the Prelatical party is the cause of all distraction. And being thus backed, they take the boldness to declare.

That this Government by Arch-bishops, Bishops, their Chancellours and Commissioners, Deans and Chapters, Arch-deacons, and other Ecclesiastical Officers depending upon the Hierarchie, is evil and prejudicial to the state and Government of this Kingdom, and resolve the same shall be taken away. And according to our Declaration of the seventh of February, we will consult with godly Divines to seile a Government of Reformation. And intend that a Bill for this Assemblie may be passed for their Meeting the fifth of Novemb. next. And desire their dear Brethren of Scotland to concur with them in petitioning the King for his approbation. And because nothing will prosper without their handy work, they pray them to send some out of their many good and godly Divines

of

Anno
1642.

Parliament as-
sure payment
on Publick
Faith out of
Delinquents
Estates,

of that Kirk to assist our Assemblie, for setting of one Confession, one Directorie, and one Catechism in all three Kingdoms, to the relief and deliverance of the poor afflicted Churches abroad, and confusion of the tyrannie of Rome, being the prime cause and fountain of all calamities, bloody massacres, outrages, cruelties, and bitter persecution of Gods people and saints in all the Christian world for many ages.

Here is now a resolution to reform all Christendom, and beat down Popery in a trice, but the result was, that under colour of Religion, the Design went on, and so prospered in outward success.

And now to encourage the well-affected to lend money, and bring their Plate upon Publick Faith, which without a mans strong belief could hardly get Customers to come in, fearing belike that the Kings gentleness and mercy might agree to an Accommodation, having been upon terms of Treaty on his part. The Parliament therefore once again to ascertain their Resolution to fight it out to the last man, and being confident of success, do declare, *That the Arms which they have been forced to take up, and shall take up, for the preservation of the Parliament, Religion, the Laws and Liberties of the Kingdom, shall not be laid down, untill his Majestie shall withdraw his protection from such persons as have been voted by both Houses to be Delinquents, and shall leave them to the justice of the Parliament, to the end that those great charges and damages wherewithall the Commonwealth hath been burdened since the Kings departure from his Parliament may be born by the Delinquents. And all his Majesties good and faithfull Subjects, who by loan of moneys, or otherwise at their charges, have or shall assist the Commonwealth, may be repayed and satisfied out of the Delinquents Estates.*

And these Delinquents were sure to be made so out of the noblest and richest persons in the Nation, against whom there could be found but the scent of Malignancie; so that it became a huge crime, first to be rich, or able in any condition, & to be either *Neuter* or not well-affected to the Parl. or to be suspected so: & to prove it, a slender Accusation would serve the turn; witness sundry persons which we shall have occasion to speak of, ruined upon that score onely.

And first they begin with *James Lord Strange, Son and Heir of William Earl of Derby, who to the intent and purpose to subvert the Laws, &c. did upon the fifteenth of July last past at Manchester in the Countie of Lancaster traiterously summon, call together, and raise great Forces, and did kill, murder, and destroy Richard Percival a Linnen Webster, for which the Parliament impeach him of high Treason. And the sixteenth of September he is so published in all Churches and Chapels, and Markets in the Counties of Lancaster and Chester, and where the Parliament had any power, for the County was mostly for the King, against which party the City of London are desired to advance sixteen thousand pounds for setting forth ten thousand Dragoons, and some Troops of Horse, for suppressing that party*

upon

Lord Strange
impeached of
high Treason.

The Reign of King Charls.

557

upon Publick Faith, which was soon raised, but not repayed.

The King being at *Shrewsburie*, whither *Judg Heath* came, and advised for the *Adjourning* part of *Michaelmas Term*, from the first *Return*, In *Octab. Sancti Martini*, *Octob. 4.*

Anno
1642.

Mich. Term
adjourned.

And at *Bridg-North* he proclames *Thomas Nichols*; *Humphrey Mackworth*, and *Thomas Hunt*, Esq; guilty of high Treason, active men in the *Militia*, and assisting the Kings Enemies in their Rebellion. *Octob. 14.*

The Articles
of Neutrality
for *Yorkshire*
infringed.

The *L. Fairfax* for the *Parl.* and *Mr. Bellases* for the *King*, with considerable parties Commissioners on either side, had concluded upon certain Articles concerning the peace in *Yorkshire*, and dated the 29. of *September*. To which the *Parliament* take exception, *That the Parliament gave no such authoritie to binde that Countie to a Neutrallitie, it being prejudicial to the whole Kingdom, for one Countie to withdraw from the rest, which they are bound by Law to assst. It being derogatorie to the power of Parliament, for private men to suspend the execution of the Militia; and therefore it is ordered, that no such Neutrallitie be observed in that Countie, without any defensive force; whereby it will be open to the King to return with his Armie for Winter quarter in that plentiful Countie; New-castle near, for his Supplies by Sea. And so they declare the Lord Fairfax and his party not bound to observe the Articles, but to assist the Parliament in defence of the common cause. Octob. 16.*

And by this President they afterwards would not endure any new triall.

Mr. Fountain
committed.

Upon this score of the common cause, *Mr. John Fountain* a Lawyer at *London*, was desired what he would please to lend: who answered, *That it was against the Petition of Right to answer Tea or No.* Whereupon the *Houle of Commons* for that contempt in not giving his Answer at all, committed him to the *Gate-house*, declaring further the imbecillity of his judgment, or positive refraction to draw on others to the like Errour.

And such as refuse their *Contribution* of money or plate are disarmed, and if in the least measure active in words or perswasion against the *Parliament*, have the brand of *Malignancie*, their persons secured, and within a little time after made *Delinquents*, and forfeit all.

Essex his En-
signs Colours.

And because the *Earl of Essex* gave a deep yellow for his colours, every Citizens Dame, to the Draggel-tail of her Kitchin, had got up that colour of the cause, untill the *Earl of Pembroke* and *Mount-gomerie*, in a fume with a *Parliament Captain*, swore, *That his Turd-colour'd Skarf should not excuse him from Commitment.*

But some not affecting that color, set up others in disdain to the *Generals*, which increasing to a *Faction*, & some urging of a *Design* to be distinguished by these Ribands, the *Parl.* declare, *That such persons as shall be seen to wear them for distinction, shall be forthwith committed,*
and

Anno
1642.

Persons ex-
cepted out of
pardon by the
Parliament.

The Nether-
land States are
caressed on
both sides.

and further proceeded against as Malignants, endeavouring to set Divisions among the people.

In the Generals Commission, the fourth Article, is printed and published, *That whosoever shall return from the King to the Parliaments Armie, within ten Days after Publication, shall have reception and pardon, excepting persons impeached of Delinquencie, or Treason, or have been eminent Actors against the Parliament, and except the Earls of Bristol, Cumberland, New-castle, Rivers, and Carnarvan, Secretarie Nicholas, Endimion Porter, Mr. Edward Hide, the Duke of Richmond, Viscount Newark, Viscount Falkland, now principal Secretarie of State to the King. And thus marshalled in this order.*

The King having sent over the Queen out of the danger of these Distractions into Holland, and remaining at the Hague, she made application to the Prince of Orange, to whose Son the Princess Maria was married, by whose interest she had the fairer means to promote the Kings affairs with the States of the United Provinces, for Arms and Ammunition, which had been procured by the Lord Digby there, and some Officers sent over to the Kings Army.

The Parliament having knowledg hereof, send over Mr. Walter Strickland, a Member of the House of Commons, their Residenciairy, with *Credential Letters* to the States, thus;

To the High and Mighty Lords, the States of the United Provinces.

High and Mighty Lords,

We are commanded by the Lords and Commons assembled in the Parliament of England, to signifie unto your Lordships, that they have chosen and appointed the Bearer hereof Walter Strickland Esq; to repair to your Lordships, and to present to you in their Names, and in the Name of the whole Kingdom, a Declaration, and some Propositions and Desires, very much importing the maintenance of the Protestant Religion, which is the surest Foundation of the safetie and prosperitie of this Kingdom and your State, and the ancient amitie between us, to the advantage of both; desiring your Lordships to give ear to what shall be delivered or propounded to you by him. And to expedite your Answer thereunto, in such manner as shall stand with your Wisdoms, and the due respect of the common good of the State and of your selves, which is the earnest desire of

Your affectionate Friends and Servants

Mandevil, Speaker pro tempore for the Lords House.
William Lenthall, Speaker of the House of Commons.

A Declaration of the Lords and Commons of the Parliament of England, to the High and Mighty Lords the States of the United Provinces.

We the Lords and Commons in Parliament assembled, taking into serious consideration the meanes of composing the great distempers and combustions begun in this Kingdom, which threaten the destruction and ruine of it, and of all other Protestant Princes and States; have thought good to make this Declaration to the High and Mightie Lords, the States of the United Provinces, That we understand by a Letter of the Lord Digby, a person fled out of this Kingdom for high Treason: That as he often endeavoured by his wicked and malicious counsels to make division between his Majestie and the Parliament, and hath been in great part the cause of that miserable and unnatural War which is made against us by his Majestie, so he hath laboured by all means in the United Provinces to provide Arms, Powder, and Ammunition for the fomenting of that War, and making it more dangerous to this Kingdom; and for this purpose did address himself to the Prince of Orange, by whose countenance and help (as we are informed by the Lord Digby's own Letters) he hath made provision of great quantities of Ordnance, Powder, Arms, and divers other sorts of warlike provision.

And we are further informed by credible advertisement, that the Prince of Orange in favour of the Lord Digby, and those other wicked Counsellours and Incendiaries, who being joyned together in these mischievous practises against the peace of this Kingdom, hath not onely licensed, but the better to encourage divers Commanders, experienced Officers, and Souldiers to resort into this Kingdom in aid of them against the Parliament, hath promised to reserve their places for them in their absence, and doth cause other provision of the same kinde to be made, and prepared to be sent over for their supplie, to the great hurt of this Kingdom, and the danger of interrupting the most necessarie, profitable, and long continued amitie between the two States.

We further desire to let them know, that we cannot believe that this is done by any authoritie or direction from their Lordships, considering the great help that they have received from this Kingdom, when heretofore they lay under the heavie oppression of their Princes, and how conducible the friendship of this Nation (concurring with the wisdom, valour, and industrie of their own people) hath been to the greatness and power which they now enjoy.

Neither can we think that they will be forward to help to make us slaves, who have been usefull and assistant in making them free-men.

Or that they will forget that our Troubles and Dangers issue from the same Fountain with their own, and that those who are set a work to undermine Religion and Libertie in the Kingdome are the same, which by open force did seek to bereave them of both.

Anno
1642.

It cannot be unknown to that wise State, that it is the Jesuitical Faction here, that hath corrupted the counsels of our King, the consciences of a great part of our Clergie, which hath plotted so many mischievous Designs, to destroy the Parliament, and still endeavoureth to divide Ireland from this Kingdom, by a most wicked and cruel Rebellion there, and to divide the King from his Parliament and people here, and by false slanders, and imputations of things never done nor intended by us, hath incensed his Majestie, so as that after many bitter Invectives published against us without any just cause given, he hath now at last resolved to set up his Royal Standard, and draw his Sword for the destruction and ruine of his most faithfull and obedient people, whom by the Laws and Constitutions of this Kingdom he is bound to preserve and protect.

The cases and the fortunes of both Estates being so involved and united, we cannot expect to be hindred by them in our just defence, or that they will do any thing, to aggravate the Miseries and Troubles of this Kingdom, in the peace and happiness whereof they have found much advantage, and by such unfriendly and unseasonable Supplies of our common Enemies, make a way to their own as well as our ruine.

We therefore desire they may betimes look into this mischief, and having searched it into the bottom, to stop the further progress of it. That they will not suffer more Ordnance, Armour, or any other like warlike provision to be brought over to strengthen those, who as soon as they shall prevail against the Parliament (according to their principles and interests by which they are guided) will use that strength to the ruine of those from whom they have had it.

We desire they would not send over any Countrey-men to further our Destruction, who were sent to them for their preservation, That they will not anticipate the spilling of English blood in an unnatural civil War, which hath been so chearfully and plentifully hazzarded and spent in that just and honourable War, by which they have been so long preserved, and to which the blood of those persons, and many other Subjects of this Kingdom is still in a manner dedicated, but rather that they will cashier and discard from their Employment those that will presume to come over for that purpose.

And in satisfying these our reasonable and necessarie Desires, they shall thereby not onely secure us, but themselves, yea, they shall most of all advantage his Majestie, for whose service those things are pretended to be done.

The question between his Majestie and Parliament is not, whether he shall enjoy the same prerogative and power which hath belonged to our former Kings, his Majesties royal predecessours, but whether that prerogative and power should be employed to our defence, or to our ruine.

We expect nothing from him but securitie and protection from those mischievous Designs which have been so often multiplied and renewed against us, though hitherto (through Gods providence) as often frustrated.

Anno
1642.

It cannot be denied by those who look indifferently on our proceedings and affairs, but that it will be more honour and wealth, safetie and greatness to his Majestie in concurring with his Parliament, than in the course in which he now is: but so unhappie hath his Majestie and the Kingdom been in those, who have the greatest influence upon his Counsels, that they look more upon the prevailing of their own partie, than upon any those great Advantages both to his Crown and Royal Person, which he might obtain by joyning with his people. And so cunning are those Factors for Poperie, in prosecution of their own aims, that they can put on a counterfeit visage of honour, peace, and greatness upon those courses and counsels, which have no truth and realtie, but of weakness, dishonour, and miseries to his Majestie and whole Kingdom.

We have lately expressed our earnest Inclinations to that National love and amittie with the United Provinces, which is nourished and confirmed by so many civil respects and mutual interests, as makes it so natural to us, that we have this Parliament in our humble Petition to his Majestie desired we might be joyned with that State in a more near and strait League and union. And we cannot but expect some returns from them of the like expressions; and that they will be so far from blowing the fire which begins to kindle amongst us, that they will rather endeavour to quench it by strengthening and encouraging us, who have no other Design but not to be destroyed, and preserve our Religion, save our selves, and the other Reformed Churches of Christendom from the massacres and extirpations with which the principles of the popish Religion do threaten us and them, which are begun to be acted in Ireland, and in the hopes, endeavours, and intentions of that partie had long since been executed upon us, if the mercie, favour, and blessing of Almighty God had not superabounded, and prevented the subtiltie and malignitie of cruel, wicked, and bloud-thirstie men.

And thus being fleshed, they go on amain, having seized the Kings Magazines, Forts, Navy, and Militia, leaving him naked, and indisposed (no doubt) to the beginning of this War, whereof himself complains.

How untruly I am charged (says he) with the first raising of an Armie, and beginning this Civil War, the eyes, that onely pitie me, and the loyal hearts that durst onely pray for me at first, might witness, which yet appear not so many on my side, as there were men in Arms listed against me; mine unpreparedness for a War may well dishearten those that would help me; while it argues (truly) mine unwillingness to fight; yet it testifies for me, that I am set on the defensive part; having so little hopes or power to offend others, that I have none to defend myself, or to preserve what is mine own from their prereption.

Eikon Basil.
c. 10.

No man can doubt but they prevented me in their purposes, as well as their injuries, who are so much before hand in their preparations against me,

Anno
1642.

me, and surprisals of my strength. Such as are not for them, yet dare not be for me; so over-aw'd is their loyaltie by the others numbers and terrours. I believe mine innocencie, and unpreparedness to assert my Rights and Honour, makes me the more guiltie in their esteem; who would not so easily have declared a War against me, if I had first assaulted them.

They knew my chiefeſt Arms left me, were theſe onely, which the Ancient Chriſtians were wont to uſe againſt their Perſecutours, Prayers and Tears. Theſe may ſerve a good man's turn, if not to conquer as a Souldier, yet to ſuffer as a Martyr.

Their preventing of me, and ſurprizing my Caſtles, Forts, Arms, and Navie, with the Militia, is ſo far beſt for me, That it may drive me from putting any truſt in the arm of fleſh, and wholly to caſt my ſelf into the protection of the living God, who can ſave by few, or none, as well as by many.

He that made the greedie Ravens to be Elias's Caterers, and bring him food, may alſo make their ſurprizal of outward force and defence an opportunitie to ſhew me the ſpecial ſupport of his power and protection.

I thank God I reckon not now the want of the Militia ſo much in reference to mine own protection as my peoples.

Their many and ſore oppreſſions grieve me; I am above mine own; what I want in the hands of force and power, I have in the wings of Faith and Prayer.

But this is the ſtrange method theſe men will needs take to reſolve their Riddle of making me a glorious King, by taking away my Kingly power: thus I ſhall become a ſupport to my Friends, and a terrour to mine Enemies, being unable to ſuccour the one, or ſuppreſs the other.

For thus have they deſigned and propoſed to me, the new modelling of Sovereigntie and Kingſhip. ſo, without any realitie of power, or without any neceſſitie of ſubjection and obedience; That the Maſteſtie of the Kings of England might hereafter hang like Mahomet's Tomb, by a Magnetick Charm, between the power and privileges of the two Houſes, in an aſerie imagination of Regalitie.

But I believe the ſurfeit of too much power, which ſome men have greedily ſeized on, and now ſeek wholly to devour, will, ere long, make the Common-wealth ſick both of it and them, ſince they cannot well diſgeſt it; Sovereign Power in Subjects ſeldom agreeing with the Stomachs of fellow Subjects.

Yet I have even in this point of the conſtant Militia ſought, by ſatisfying their fears and importunities, both to ſecure my Friends, and overcome mine Enemies; to gaine the peace of all, by depriving my ſelf of a ſole power to help, or hurt any: yielding the Militia (which is mine undoubted Right no leſs than the Crown) to be diſpoſed of as the two Houſes ſhall think fit, during my time.

So willing am I to burie all Fealousies in them of me; and to live above all Fealousies of them, as to my self; I desire not to be safer than I wish them and my people: if I had the sole actual disposing of the Militia, I could not protect my People, further than they protected me, and themselves: so that the use of the Militia is mutual. I would but defend my self so far, as to be able to defend my good Subjects from those mens violence and fraud, who, conscious to their own evil merits and Designs, will needs perswade the world, that none but Wolves are fit to be trusted with the custodie of the Shepherd and his Flock. Miserable experience hath taught my Subjects, since power hath been wrested from me, and imployed against me and them, that neither can be safe if both be not in such a way, as the Law hath intrusted the publick safetie and welfare.

Yet even this Concession of mine as to the exercise of the Militia, so vast and large, is not satisfactorie to some men, which seem to be Enemies not to me onely, but to all Monarchie; and are resolved to transmit to posteritie such Fealousies of the Crown, as they should never permit it to enjoy its just and necessarie Rights, in point of power; to which (at last) all Law is resolved, while thereby it is best protected.

But here Honour and Justice, due to my Successours, forbid me to yield to such a total alienation of that power from them, which civilitie and dutie (no less than Justice and Honour) should have forbid them to have asked of me.

For, although I can be content to eclipse mine own beams to satisfie their fears; who think they must needs be scorched or blinded, if I should shine in the full lustre of Kingly power, wherewith God and the Laws have invested me; yet I will never consent to put out the Sun of Sovereigntie to all posteritie, and succeeding Kings; whose just recovery of their Rights, from unjust usurpations and extortions, shall never be prejudiced or obstructed by any Act of mine; which indeed would not be more injurious to succeeding Kings, than to my Subjects; whom I desire to leave in a condition not wholly desperate for the future; so as by a Law to be ever subjected to those many factious Distractions, which must needs follow the many-headed Hydra of Government: which, as it makes a shew to the people to have more eyes to foresee; so they will finde, it hath more mouths too, which must be satisfied: and (at best) it hath rather a monstrositie, than any thing of perfection, beyond that of right Monarchie: where counsel may be in many as the senses, but the Supreme power can be but in One as the Head.

Happily when men have tried the horrors and malignant influence which will certainly follow my enforced Darknes and Eclipse, (occasioned by the interposition and shadow of that Bodie, which as the Moon receiveth its chiefeest light from me) they will at length more esteem and welcome the restored glorie and blessing of the Sun's light.

And if at present I may seem by my receding so much from the use of my Rights in the power of the Militia to come short of the Discharge of
that

Anno
1642.

that trust to which I am sworn for my peoples protection; I conceive those men are guiltie of the inforced perjurie, (if so it may seem) who compell me to take this new and strange way of discharging my Trust, by seeming to desert it; or protecting my Subjects by exposing my self to Danger or Dishonour, for their safetie and quiet.

Which in the Conflicts of Civil War and Advantages of Power cannot be effected but by some side yielding; to which the greatest love of the publick peace, and the firmeſt assurance of Gods protection (arising from a good conscience) doth more invite me, than can be expected from other mens fears; which, arising from the injustice of their actions (though never so succesfull) yet dare not adventure their Authours upon any other way of safetie, than that of the Sword and Militia; which yet are but weak Defenses against the stroaks of divine vengeance, which will over-take; or of mens own consciences, which always attend injurious perpetrations.

For my self, I do not think that I can want any thing which providential necessitie is pleased to take from me, in order to my peoples tranquillitie, and Gods glorie, whose protection is sufficient for me; and he is able, by his being with me, abundantly to compensate to me, as he did to Job, whatever honour, power, or libertie the Chaldeans, the Sabeans, or the Devil himself can deprive me of.

Although they take from me all Defence of Arms and Militia; all Refuge, by Land, of Forts and Castles; all Flight, by Sea, in my Ships and Navie; yea, though they studie to rob me of the hearts of my Subjects, the greatest Treasure and best Ammunition of a King; yet cannot they deprive me of mine own innocencie, or Gods mercie, nor obstruct my way to Heaven.

Military effects.

We enter upon the militarie effects of this civil uncivil War, betwixt the King and Parliament, both parties preparing their severall Armies. The King is Generalissimo himself in person, over his own: his Captain General, as yet named, was the Marquess Hertford, but when he came to action he elected for his General that faithfull, loyal, well-experienced Commander the Earl of Lindsey, Lord High Chamberlain of England.

And the Earl of Essex was Captain General for the other, now formed into force sufficient to advance towards the King, as yet at York. where he summons all his loving Subjects on this side Trent, to come to his aid, the Rendezvous being at York, Thursday the fourth of August, 1642.

And to begin the quarrel Sir John Hotham had on Wednesday before, sallied out of Hull with forty horse, and fell upon one hundred and fifty of the Kings party (whom they called Cavaliers, and so shall we stile them for distinction throughout) then intrenched at Anlaby; and surprized shifted away, but their two Centinels slain, which flieth the other in blood, galloping after the Foot, seized their

Sir John Hotham begins the quarrel in the North.

their Colours and seventy Muskets with some prisoners, burned the poor Barn, which Sir *John* named a Garison and so returned Victor.

Anno

1642.

Portsmouth
beset.

The next news comes from *Portsmouth*: The County bands intending to surprize that Town which was kept for the King by Colonel *Goring*, who having timely notice, met them by the way two miles off, where he skirmished and retyred. But the Assaylers gave Intelligence into the Town to their faction, of their design, and were promised connivance; whilst the Parliament espousing the quarrel, Sir *John Merricks* Regiment and a Troop of Horse were suddenly sent thither to joyn with the Trained bands of *Hampshire*, who began the Siege, which Marquess *Hertford* hastens to remove.

The Kings Forces were at first formed at *York*, then the Rendezvouz to *Nottingham*, where he sets up his standard, and there increasing, he Marches Westward to *Stafford*, then to *Leicester*, and so passing by the Earl of *Essex* house *Chartley*, without other pressure upon that place than as if he were the Kings General, nay the Kings express pleasure was, to restrain the Souldiers Liberty, who otherwise would have rased it to the ground and ruined his Estate about it, from thence he Marches towards *Wales* and settles at *Shrewsbury*, where he gathers into a body, capable to March Southward and to meet his Enemy.

The Parliaments Forces formed at *London*, Rendevouz at *St. Albans*, marching Northwards to Attach the King, and to take him from his Cavaliers, and bring him home to his Parliament, and henceforward we shall finde the effects of both Armies.

And the Parliament to bound and limit their General, prescribe to him directions in effect.

Parliaments
directions
to their Gene-
ral *Essex*.

1. To restrain all prophaneſs in his Army.

2. To March and fight with the Kings Army, and by Battel or otherwise to rescue his Majesties person, the Prince and Duke of York out of the hands of those now about him.

3. To take his opportunity in some honourable way to cause the Petition of Parliament to be presented to his Majesty, who, if he be pleased to withdraw himself from his forces and to resort to his Parliament, you shall cause those forces to disband, and shall serve and defend the King with sufficient strength in his return.

4. To declare that if any will (within ten daies after publication) withdraw from Assisting the King, and return to the Parliament, shall have pardon, Except Delinquents already voted, or to be voted or Impeached, or who stand impeached of High-Treason, or have been eminent or active against the Parliament. And except the Duke of Richmond; The Earl of Cumberland, Newcastle, Rivers, and Carnarvan; Viscounts Newark, and Falkland, principal Secretary to the King; Secretary Nicholas, Mr. Endimion Porter, and Mr. Edward Hide.

5. To

Anno
1642.

5. To receive the Loans or contributions of Money, Plate, or Horses, for the support of the Army, certifying the sums of money, weight of Plate and value of Horses, that the parties may thereby be repaid upon publique faith.

6. To protect the good people, from violence of the Cavaliers, and to restore to them their losses.

7. To apprehend all persons Impeached, as Traytors or other Delinquents, and secure them to the Parliament.

8. To observe such further directions, as he shall receive from the Parliament.

He had a Committee or any four of them, whereof the General to be one from time to time to consult and to acquaint the Parliament with their Resolutions, for both houses to proceed thereupon, as to them shall be thought fitting. And to take subscriptions for any Money, Plate or provisions, and their Testimony shall be sufficient warrant, to be repayed at 8. per cent. by publique faith. And to have power, to examine, apprehend and punish or discharge malignants as they shall think fit.

Sir John Byron for the
King Marches
to Oxford.

Sir John Byron having raised some Troops in the County of Oxford for the Kings service, and Marching towards Northampton, refreshed himself and horses at Brackley, and there unexpectedly was assaulted by sundry Troops of the Parliaments party from Northampton, and indeed treacherously set upon by the Town of Brackley, and forced to retreat to the Heath, in which confusion his servants were surprized in the Town, some carriages, and his Cabinet of papers seized; Of which he complains to Mr. Clark at Craughton neer Barkley, to be in his Custody, to whom he sends a Messenger with a letter, for the restitution, and tells him, *which if you do I shall represent it to his Majesty as an acceptable service, If not, assure your self I shall finde a time to repay my self with advantage out of your estate, and consider, That as Rebellion is a weed of a hasty growth, so it will decay as suddainly, and that there will be a time for the Kings Loyal Subjects to repair their losses sustained by Rebels and Traytors. Oxford the first of September.*

Yours, John Byron.

This Letter Craughton remits to the Parliament, upon which they declare Byron and his Associates Rebels, & encourage the other parties, as good Subjects and acceptable to the Parliament, and shall be so justified and all others taking part with them.

Marquess Hertford seizes
Sherborn.

The Marquess Hertford and his Forces seized Sherborn Castle, which the Earl of Bedford was ordered to besiege, but staid so long at Dorchester for Forces from about Plimouth, that this Marquess took his leave Marching over Serdown towards Shrewsbury and after him follows Bedford.

Sir

Anno
1642.

Sir *John Byron* marches to *Worcester*, and takes it for the King, intending to garison there; but to prevent any Forces to joyn with him, Mr. *Fines* is sent from his Father with some Dragoons to stop the passage, and to prepare for a Siege.

At this time arrives two of the *Prince Elector's* Brothers, *Rupert* and *Maurice*, and no sooner come to the King, but are entertained presently with power and authority, and put into action; fatal Assistants they were to their Uncle the King in these unhappy proceedings.

The ninth of *September* sets forth the *Earl of Essex* out of *London* towards *St. Albans*, and his Army; in way of triumph he went out, waited on by the Parliament, and millions of people laning the high way throughout, attended with the gallantry of his great Commanders, and accompanied with such of the Nobles and Gentry who favoured his Design, the multitude crying out *Hosanna*; others muttering, *That even so was done and said to his Father, in his Expedition towards Ireland, who returned back a Traitor, and lost his head at last.*

Earl of Essex
sets out of
London.

The King in the head of his Army between *Stafford* and *Wellington*, after the reading of his Orders military, himself tells them;

Gentlemen, I shall be very severe in punishing every person offending without distinction. He cannot suspect their courage and resolution, their conscience and loyalty having brought them hither for their Religion, their King, and the Laws of the Land, against their Enemies, none but Traitors, most of them Brownists, Anabaptists, and Atheists, such as desire to destroy both Church and State, and who have already condemned you to ruine for being loyal to him.

The Kings
Speech to his
Army.

And makes this Protestation.

I do promise in the presence of Almighty God, and as I hope for his blessing and protection, that I will to the utmost of my power defend and maintain the true Reformed Protestant Religion, established in the Church of England; and by the grace of God in the same will live and die.

I desire to govern by the known Laws of the Land, and that the Liberty and Propriety of the Subject may be by them preserved, with the same care as mine own just Rights.

And if it please God, by his blessing upon this Armie, raised for my necessarie Defence, to preserve me from this Rebellion, I do solemnly and faithfully promise in the sight of God, to maintain the just Privilege and Freedom of Parliament, and to govern by the known Laws of the Land, to my utmost power, and particularly to observe inviolably the Laws consented unto by me this Parliament.

Anno
1642.

In the mean while, if this time of War, and the great necessitie and straits I am now driven unto, beget any violation of these, I hope it shall be imputed by God and Man to the Authours of this War, and not to me, who have so earnestly laboured for the peace of this Kingdom.

When I willingly fail in these particulars, I will expect no Aid or Relief from any man, or protection from Heaven.

But in this resolution I hope for the chearful assistance of all good men, and am confident of Gods blessing. Septemb. 19.

And that the severall Armies might not over-start each other, the Parl. declares, That all their Foot and Horse in London, and all parts in England shall within eight and fourty hours march to their General the Earl of Essex, for defence of the King and Kingdom, the Privilege of Parliament, and Liberty of the Subjects: and such Regiments as are not four hundred, and Troops not fourty, shall be cashiered, and disposed to recruit others; excepting the Regiments of Colonel Essex and Ballard, being in the States service. Sept. 23.

And order that Delinquents houses shall be preserved as houses of the Common-wealth for publick service or Prisons.

Parliament
petition the
King by their
General Essex.

And because the Earl of Essex may be assured upon what Basis he is called to be their General, they sent to him the Parliaments Petition to the King, to be presented by him, which tells his Majesty;

That his loyal Subjects the Lords and Commons in Parliament cannot without tenderness of compassion behold the pressing calamities of England and Ireland, by the practices of a prevailing partie with his Majestie, to alter true Religion, the ancient Government of this Kingdom, introducing superstition in the Church, and confusion in the State, exciting, encouraging, and fostering the Rebellion in Ireland, and as there, so here begin the like Massacre, by drawing on a War against the Parliament, leading his Person against them, as if by conquest to establish an unlimited power over the people, seeking to bring over the Rebels of Ireland to joyn with them; and all these evil Counsellours are defended and protected by him against the justice of Parliament; who have for their just defence of Religion, the King, Crown, and Dignitie, of the Laws, Liberties, and power of Parliament, taken up Arms, and authorized the Earl of Essex their Captain General against these Rebels and Traitors.

And pray the King to with-draw his person, and leave them to be suppress by this power, and to return to his Parliament; and that they will receive him with honour, yield him obedience, secure his person, and establish him and his people with all the blessings of a glorious and happie Reign.

I cannot finde that this Petition was presented; but I am assured, that the General Essex twice sent to the King for a safe Conduct for those

those who should be imployed therein, and it was refused (they say) to be received, that *humble and dutifull Petition*, (as they stiled it.)

ANNO

1642.

'Tis strange, for the King had never refused any Message or Petition from either or both Houses, not onely with safety but candour, when their Errand hath been full of reproach and scorn, (as the King says) and the bringers bold, arrogant & seditious in their demeanour, and therefore there needed to have been no more scruple in this.

But it was thus, that the King being at *Shrewsbury*, the Earl of *Dorset* receives a Letter from the Earl of *Essex*, intimating that he had a Petition from both Houses to that purpose, asking a safe Conduct for those that should be sent.

To whom the King answered, *That as he had never refused to receive any, so he should be ready to give a fitting Reception and Answer to this, and the Bringers of it should have safe Conduct, excepting onely such persons as he had particularly accused of high Treason.*

A fortnight after comes a second Letter to *Dorset*, declaring, *That the Kings former Answer was voted a Breach of Privilege.*

This second Answer differing but little from the former, insisting, *That the Address should not be made by any whom he had accused of high Treason, amongst whom the Earl of Essex was one, but that his Ear should be ever open to hear any Petition from his Parliament.*

Indeed the Petition was framed more fit to be delivered after a Battel, and full Conquest of the King, than in the Head of his Army, thirty thousand men, when it might seem somewhat in his power, whether he would be deposed or no. For we finde the King in *Wales* caressing the Inhabitants of *Denbigh* and *Flintshire*. Septemb. 27. And tells them:

That he is willing to take all occasions to visit all his good Subjects, and hath cause to reckon them, for their loyaltie expressed in their late Levies sent to him at their own charges, against such a Malignant partie whose Designs are to destroy him, his Crown, Laws, and Government, of Church and State, raising Tumults at London, to drive from thence him and the greatest part of the Members of Parliament. He is robbed of his Towns, Forts, Castles, Goods, Navie, Revenue, and at this time a powerfull Armie marching against him: and among a thousand Scandals they have cast upon him the impious Rebellion in Ireland, which he abhors, and hath endeavoured by all possible ways and means to suppress, but is obstructed by them. And refers the naming of these Contrivers, and their particular actions, to his Declaration of the twelfth of August, being suppressed by them; as all other his Protestations and Remonstrances, he being deprived of his Printing Presses at London and the Universities. And so reads to them his former Protestations and Orders, Copies of them to the Sheriffs to publish, being in Manuscript.

The Kings
Speech to the
Gentry of
Denbigh and
Flintshire.

Anno

1642.

Fear of the
Kings Army
to come to
London.

A pitifull Plot
by a poor Scot.

The next day being come to *Shrewsbury*, he tells them as much, and sends for a Mint to melt his Plate, and offers his Land to sale or mortgage, thereby to lessen the charge of the County, to provide for his Army.

The Parliament having information that the King intends to march from *Wales* to *London*, expecting a party here to joyn with him, as he was invited, what a noise and disquiet it wrought amongst the Citizens, and all the Counties thereabout? All the Trained Bands of the Associate Counties of *Essex*, *Hartford*, *Middlesex*, and *London*, are to rendezvouz, and all to be ready at an hours warning. And all passages into any parts of the Suburbs, *Islington*, *Mile-end*, and *Westminster*, be set up with Posts and Chains, and Courts of Guard, to stop the passage of Horse, if any come in their way.

And with this Déclaration the Parliament imprint a Discovery of a Plot by one *David Alexander*, a pitifull poor Scot, (perswaded thereto by a Confident of the Kings, one Sir *John Hinderfon*, a Papist) to kill Sir *John Hotham*, which he refused to do, as being the work of a Butcher, and not of a Souldier. That the King should send for him twice at *Beverley*, and appointed a sum of money to be given him. That afterwards *Henderfon* should propose to *Alexander*, to fire the Magazine of the Parliaments Army, and therefore to get employment in the Train of Artillery, but was discovered and examined.

The story is thus, *Alexander* had a minde fit for desperate base Attempts, but finding no preferment with the King, he comes to *London*, and joyns with one Sir *Balthazar Gerbier* of the same even condition, and out of repute both with the King and Parliament, for his doubling with either; these Copesmates discoursing together, *Gerbier* forthwith discovers to the Parliament this Tale of *Alexander*, who being cheated into a hope of getting preferment by this story, believed it himself; and the truth by examinations appearing, he was a while imprisoned, and so let loose to practise with his Companion *Gerbier*, Knave and Fool together.

Every day increasing the suspicion and fear of the Kings marching from *Wales* to *London*, the Parliament vote, *That such as will not contribute shall be secured and disarmed*. And so the Mayor of *London* is set on work to search and seize the Arms of several Citizens, *Jefferfon*, *Austin*, *Bedle*, *Batty*, *Long*, and *Lewis*, all *Broadstreet Ward*; *Blunt*, *Wright*, *Drake*, and *Walter*, of other Wards; and for their sufferings deserve to be remembered.

That the Fines, Rents, and Profits of Arch-bishops, Bishops, Deans and Chapters, and other Delinquents, shall be sequestred for the service of the Common-wealth.

That all the Kings Revenue arising out of Rents, Fines in Courts, or
Com-

Composition for Wards be sequestred for the State. And a Committee of Sequestration appointed.

Anna

1642.

Worcester
Fight, Sept. 23.

Sir John Byron with five hundred Horse having entered the Town of Worcester, and at that time not the least part of the Kings Army marching in a Body, but flisht through the County; the Voluntiers of the County under the Lord Say, raised themselves, and by some of their own were lead towards Worcester, expecting to meet Mr. Nathaniel Fines, whom his Father had created a Colonel of Horse; he had faced the Town, and drawn off again, ere the Foot came there, and so they followed him, who with Colonel Sandys returning, fell upon the Town on the Welch side of Severn, supposing their General the Earl of Essex at hand to assault the other side, being deluded by a Spie, who mistook him for Prince Rupert, whose Horse rushed upon his Ambuscado, when through the straitness of the passage over a Bridg, and after in a Lane, neither the Rear could come up, nor the Van retreat, where all were slain or routed, Sandys and some others taken Prisoners, the rest ran away far beyond the reach of a pursuit. The consequence of this a good omen to the royal party, being the first fruits of the War; but the Parliaments Army with Essex marching thither, the other Forces quit the Town, not being considerable to erect any Garrison, yet by their motion and quick dispatch gathered strength, and at last repulse, of a party not easily to be vanquished, whilst the Earl of Essex and his whole Army entered Worcester, who continuing a Moneth, sending forth parties, the Lord Stamford to Hereford, to prevent the Forces of South-Wales; and the King at Shrewsbury with such an Army as was able to deal with, and endanger his Enemy.

Both Armies begin to take up Winter-quarters, Colonel Thomas Essex into Gloucester with two Regiments of Foot as Governour, but the Deputy Lieutenants had command of the Countrey, and after four Weeks he was commanded to Bristol, a Town of great concernment by Sea and Land, and much distracted between both parties. The best and basest in degree were for the King, the middle men Citizens for the other; and amongst them all, those of the Religion intermixing distinguished (call them what you please) into two Factions: Prelate for the King, Presbyter for the Parliament, but afterwards as either party could nick-name, into Heresie and Schism; but the general distinction of the Armies, that of the Kings called Cavaliers; and the Parliaments party Round-heads; these flock together, shut up the Gates, but guarded that Fort, and planted Ordnance, where they expected the Forces from Gloucester, but Colonel Essex in his way had timely intelligence, to march to another Gate, which was set open to him in the night, who entered with his two Regiments, with others of the County, and so surprized the Mutiniers, and quashed their Disturbance without blood.

Glo.

Col. Th. Essex
garrisoned Bristol.

Anno
1642.

L. Col. Massey
Governour of
Glocester.

Glocester was now protected by the Earl of *Stamford* with his Regiment of Foot, and two Troops of Horse from *Hereford*, but soon commanded into the West, he left his Government to his Lieutenant Colonel *Massey*, as his Deputy, but afterwards had the sole power for two years and a half.

The Earl of *Essex* about *Worcester*, sends from thence two Regiments and ten Troops, and five small Pieces towards *Kidderminster* and *Bewdly*, and to joyn with the Lord *Wharton* and Sir *Henry Cholmley's* Regiments to make a Brigade against the *Cavaliers*, if they march that way, who were designed for *Wolverhampton* and *Coventry*, and so on towards *London*, as was supposed: and at *Coventry* and *Warwick* lay their Enemies, Sir *William Constable*, the Lord *Peterborough* and Colonel *Brown* with Forces, and the third Brigade was in *Worcester* under Government now of Colonel *Essex*.

The Town of *Yarmouth* seised a Ship with an hundred and fourty *Cavaliers*, and three hundred Barrels of Powder that came from *Holland* for to do service for the King.

The City of *York* is over-powred by the *Cavaliers*, the Earl of *Cumberland*, Sir *Francis Wortley*, Sir *Marmaduke Langdale*, Sir *John Kay*, Mr. *Francis Nevil*, Sir *Thomas Glenham*, he is resolved to fight with Mr. *Hotham*, who was in ill case to continue, but must be forced to retreat to *Hull*.

The Forces of the West in *Cornwall* for the King began to form into a Body near *Pendennis* Castle, the Governour thereof Sir *Nicholas Slanig* a gallant Gentleman, and assisted into a Body by others, Sir *Bevil Greenvile*, who possessed themselves of *Launston*, the County Town of *Cornwall*; but not long after Sir *Ralph Hopton* appears in chief command over the *Cavaliers*. The *Parliament* had *Plymouth*, the neighbour Port Town of *Devonshire*, bordering *Cornwall* in the South, and Sir *George Chudly* a Stickler for them for a time onely.

The Kings party increased in *Mid-Wales*, and descending Southwards, as he marches the *Welch* come to him from all parts of *Hereford*, *Monmouth*, mightily increasing by the power and industry of the Earl of *Worcester*, their Brigades reaching to *Oxford*, and round about, where Prince *Rupert* commanded, who took Powder and Match marching through *Staffordshire* to reprieve *Manchester*.

The *Parliament* party lay about *Warwick*, *Coventrie*, *Worcester*, *Buckingham*, and their Brigades round about even to *Glocester*.

Some Arms for the King are landed at *Newcastle*, and ten thousand pounds in Money, to raise Dragoons in *Northumberland*, and to fall into *Yorkshire*, which appeared for the King.

The King on his march from *Wales* descended Southward; and now being near *Stafford*, the *Parliament* order, That the Citie of *London* be strongly guarded, and Posts, Bars, and Chains be erected and set up in places and by-lanes of the Parishes of St. Margarets West-

Westminster, St. Martins *in the Fields*, St. Clements, Savoy, Holborn, St. Giles, Covent-garden, St. Johns Street, Clerkenwell, Criplegate, Shoreditch, White-chapel, Islington, Mile-end, Southwark, Lambeth, or any other places necessary, at the charge of the Parish by equal Assesment. Octob. 22.

And the Parliament declare a solemn Protestation to all the world, In the presence of Almighty God, for the satisfaction of their Consciences, and the Discharge of that great Trust which lies upon them, That no private passion or respect, no evil intention to his Majesties person, no Design to the prejudice of his just Honour and Authoritie, engaged them to raise Forces and take up Arms against the Authours of this War, whereof the Kingdom is now inflamed.

And after they have, by clearing themselves, lodged the occasion upon the Contrivers, Papists about the King, for extirpation of the Protestant Religion, wherein principally this Kingdom and Scotland are concerned, as making the greatest Body of Reformation in Christendom, they conclude;

For all which Reasons they are resolved to enter into a solemn Oath and Covenant with God, to give up themselves, lives and fortunes into his hands, and defend this his cause with the hazzard of our lives against the Kings Armie, according to a form agreed upon and to be subscribed, and to associate and unite with all the well-affected of the Citie of London, and other parts of his Majesties Dominions.

And that they expect their dear Brethren of Scotland, that they will help and assist in defence of this Cause, which, if the Popish partie prevail, must needs involve Scotland in the like alteration of Religion, and engage them also in a War against this Kingdom to defend their own Religion. And this they do again (they say) protest before the everliving God to be the chief end of all their counsels and resolutions, without any intention to injure his Majestie either in his person or just power. Octob. 22.

And the Battail of Edg-hill the next morning being Sunday.

After the Kings party had beat the Enemy at Worcester Fight the three and twentieth of September, he joyns all his Brigades near hand, and marches to meet General Essex, hovering thereabout to watch the Kings Designs, who lodged on Saturday night October 22. at Sir William Chancies six miles near Keinton, and Essex at Keinton. And early the next morning being Sunday the three and twentieth drew up into a Body near Keinton, and ascending the top of Edg-hill, with his Prospective Glasse took view of Essex his Army in the Vale of the Red Horse, about a Mile distant: but before the King could draw into order, he was saluted with three Pieces of Cannon from the other side, with three Shouts of their Souldiers. And being asked by his Officers, what his Majesty meant to do, To give him

Edg-hill Battel.

Anno
1642.

him Battel, (said the King) it is the first time I ever saw the Rebels in a Bodie: God, and good mens prayers to him, assist the justice of my cause. And instantly ordered the Fight, by the return of two Shot of Cannon in answer to theirs, about two of the clock after noon; the Word was [*God and King Charls*] his greatest Body of Horse was on the right Wing, and on the left some Horse and Dragoons.

The Parliaments Army was put into this order: the Foot a good space behinde the Horse, when the Charge began; three Regiments of Horse on the right Wing; the Generals Regiment commanded by Sir *Philip Stapleton*, Sir *William Balfore's* Regiment, who was Lieutenant General of the Horse, and the Lord *Fielding's* Regiment, which stood behinde the other two as a Reserve; Sir *John Meldrum* had the Van with his Brigade, Colonel *Essex* the middle, the General's Regiment, the Lord *Brook*, and Colonel *Hollis* had the Rear; in the left Wing were twenty Troops commanded by Sir *James Ramsey* Commissary General. And thus they stood.

The Earl of *Lindsey* Lord High Chamberlain of *England* was the Kings Captain General, but the Fight was ordered by the Lord *Ruthen*, since made Earl of *Forth*, a *Scotish* man: and the General lead on the main Body with a Pike in his hand: it is said, that General *Essex* lead on his Forces also, but then it is confessed, that he was advised to retire from Danger, and so he escaped, when the other was killed.

The Forlorn Hope was commanded by Major *Bacstake* and Captain *Hamond*, both of them Officers in Sir *Lewis Dives* Regiment of Foot, and drawn down the Hill to the side of a Ditch lined with Musquetiers, and both sides had no sooner fired, but that the Kings Cannon followed, and discharged six or seven Shot: Prince *Rupert* General of the Horse commanding the right Wing routed their left Wing, and followed them in chase to *Keinton Town*, and two Miles beyond, killing all whom they overtook: the Lord *Ruthen* ordered the left Wing of the Kings Horse with the Lord *Wilmot*, both of them doing gallant service: 'tis true, Prince *Rupert* presumed that he had left a sufficient Reserve of Horse behinde, under command of the Earl of *Carnarvan* with some other Troops, who seeing the Enemies Horse and Foot to run, his spirit not accustomed to stand still, followed too far, and left their own Foot naked of Horse, which *Essex* espying, took the advantage, and with his Horse fell upon the Foot, including these Regiments, the Lord Generals, Colonel *Fieldings*, and Colonel *Bowels*, a Regiment raised by the Lord *Paget*, and did much execution upon them; this service being done by Colonel *Hurry*, afterwards Major General for the Parliament.

The Lord General *Lindsey* being too forward in the Fight, and incompassed by the Enemy, his noble Son the Lord *Willoughby* hastned

hastned to his rescue, not staying for greater assistance than such by chance about him, and were both over-powred, and taken Prisoners, the Father sore wounded, and evil intreated, died the next day: Sir *Edmund Varney* Knight Marshal and Standard-bearer was killed, and the Standard ingaged, till a gallant Gentleman Mr. *John Smith* instantly shot him dead, and rescued it, for which service he was presently dubbed Knight and Bannoret, the first of that Honour, and bore the Standard after, and relieved Colonel *Fielding* with some others of quality, repulsing their Enemies Horse, and followed the pursuit. The Foot on both sides continued hot fiering, untill the Day was spent, and Night (five a clock) parted the Fight, which no doubt was fairest on the Kings side, had he enjoyed the Light somewhat longer, to have increased his advantage towards a Victory.

It must be acknowledged that the General *Essex* his Regiment of Foot, Colonel *Hollis*, and Colonel *Hambden*'s stood the brunt of the Battel: most of their Men being *London* Prentices, fresh and good Firers, did bold service.

Among the Plunder, General *Essex* his Waggon, Saddles, Cloke-bags, and Cabinet were taken, and therein some Letters and Papers of Intelligence, sufficient to discover one *Blake* a secret Traitor in the Kings Court, for which he was forthwith hanged in the high way (a sign to all Traitors) betwixt *Oxford* and *Abingdon*: this Fellow had been a Merchant, and for some service at *Sallie* in *Barbarie*, releasing *English* Slaves, purchased repute at home, which shadowed him from any suspition to be an Intelligencer at the Kings Court to divers his Corresponds, City Friends, for which he so suffered.

After the King had given the first Word, espying one to steal to the Enemy, he altered it to [*God and King Charls.*]

The Kings Troop consisted of an hundred and twenty Noble-men and Gentlemen, able to expend an hundred and fifty thousand pounds a year of their own, and these charged first with much courage, and so performed it that Day, commanded by the Lord *Bernard* youngest Brother to the Duke of *Richmond*, and afterwards created Earl of *Lichfield*.

Sir *Arthur Aston* commanded the Dragoons, and gave notice to him, the Lord *Bernard*, how he should order his Charge, which was to second him, and to follow the Dragoons, who beat off those that lined the Hedges, having that Intelligence of Sir *Faithfull Fortescue*'s Corner, who was come from *Essex*'s Army, with assurance, that his Captain would follow with his Troop, as he did at the first of the Fight.

The Kings Army was about twelve thousand, the Parliaments sixteen thousand men, exceeding well armed, and furnished with excellent Ammunition, compleat.

Anno

1642.

The victory
disputed.

The loss by view of the dead, might be, between five or six thousand between them. The King certainly lost the less in number but the most of value, men of great merit, but not the most in place and Office of Command.

But now the question will be who had the better? If you will not admit it a drawn Battel, consider these particulars following.

The Kings design was to March on his way, and *Essex* resolution was to attach him, which he did not, but rather Skirted his Marchings, and gave the occasion that the King encountred him; though being met he began the Challenge.

After the Battel the King kept the field in his Coach all that Night with great fires, and the next day in the Field Proclaimed several Pardons to such of the Enemy that would submit. And then Marches to *Aino* the seven and twentieth of *October*, where he dated his Proclamation of Grace and Favour to the Cities of *London* and *Westminster*.

The King without Interruption of his Enemy buries the dead, Marches to *Banbury*, Took the Town and Castle, and they take Arms under him, so then, he was Master of the Field, commanding his own way, and doing his own work which he came about, and Marches to *Oxford*. His Enemy General *Essex* wheels towards *Warwick*, does no more, and retreats to *London*, where his Army Lodges for Recruits.

Exchange of
prisoners.

The next day after the fight the King sends Sir *William Nere Garter Herald* to *Essex*, to exchange the Lord *Willoughby* (Earl of *Lindsey*) for the Lord *St. John Hue Bullenbroke* of *Blesso*, but ere it could be dispatched *St. Johns* dies, by which he paises the first of his debts to his Creditors, and the last debt to sin and death, with the undoing of many of his Country, worthy Gentlemen men, bound for him in great sums of Money: Colonel *Essex*, Lieutenant Colonel *Ramsay* both slaine.

But to go on with the story. The King Prince and Duke that Night retreated to the side of the Hill, resting in their Coach all Night, keeping divers fires, but could discern but one fire from their Enemy, so that it was supposed their General was Marched away, untill the Morning discovered them to be drawn out, and Colonel *Brooks* Regiment of Foot and others coming to joyn with them, The King draws up also upon the Hill, and about noon *Essex* Marches away. The King at *Edge-hill* Proclaims his pardon to the Rebels now in Arms against him so be they will come in to him and seek it, the four and twentieth of *October*.

And in *Aino* the seven and twentieth of *October*, He sends his gracious Proclamation of Pardon to his Cities of *London* and *Westminster*, excepting therein Alderman *Fulk* and *Manwaring*;

On *Tuesday* Morning at nine a clock the King forth with his forces faced the Town of *Banbury* & being ready to fall on, Captain *Marrow* who

The King
Marches to
Aino.Takes *Ban-*
bury.

who Commanded the Castle treated a while, and by twelve a clock delivered up the Town and Castle, though there were therein two Regiments of Foot blew coats, belonging to the Lord Rochford and Peterborough, and Captain Saters Troop of Horse.

The Prince with three peeces of Cannon, and some Foot and Horse Marched against Broughton House, belonging to the Lord Say, and at the first shot of Ordinance through and through, it was delivered up. From thence to Southampton. The Earl of Essex retreated this while to Warwick and so the other way Marched to London.

But the Kings Forces returned to Oxford, so through Abington and to Henley, where they refreshed two or three daies, then to Maidenhead, Windsor and Stains, Saturday being a misty morning the Kings Forces made their Rendevouz on Hounslow Heath; the Parliaments Forces being that morning drawn out of Kingston, giving Liberty to the King to Command both sides of the River Thames, who about eleven of the clock forced the Enemy out of Brainford, but ere we go on, let us return to some Civil affairs which were Acted by both parties after Edge-hill fight, however controverted amongst parties Interested.

The King Publishes his Delaration to all his Loving Subjects after his late Victory against the Rebels on Sunday the three and twentieth of October, 1642.

Ascribing the preservation of him and his Children in the late bloody Battel with the Rebels to the Mercy and goodness of Almighty God. Accusing that Malignant party to poison the hearts and corrupt the Allegiance of his Subjects by a false Imputation of his favouring Papists employing them in his Army: when (he saith) that numbers of Popish Commanders and others serve in the Army of the Earl of Essex, being privately promised that if they would assise against the King, all the Laws made in their prejudice should be repealed. Another Scandal he mentioneth to be very senseless, that the King should raise an Army against the Parliament to take away their priviledges, when in truth it is raised to have some particular Members of this Parliament, to be delivered up to Justice. He being as tender of their priviledges, and conform thereto, which his Army never intends to violate. That the Parliaments Army is raised to Murther and depose the King, to alter the frame of Government, and the established Laws of the Land. That the greatest part of the Parliaments Members are driven away from their Houses by violence. That the Book of Common Prayer is rejected, and no countenance given, but to Anabaptists Brownists and such Schismatics. That the contrivers hereof endeavour to raise an Implacable malice between the Gentry and the Commonalty of the Kingdome.

A common charge upon the King it had been, and so continued to the end of his publique Actings, That he favoured Papists and entertained them in his Army; and so they were, and might be

Anno
1642.

and Broughton
House.

The King.
Marches to
Brainford.

The Kings
Declaration
after his victo-
ry at Edgehill,
October, 25.

The King
Charged with
favouring Pa-
pists upon their
Petition.

Anno

1642.

in both, subtilly and cunningly by practice on both sides, conveyed thither under the maique and profession of Protestants, which is a truth of no great wonder; and yet in general, those of *Lancashire* (Recusants) petition the King, That being disarmed, and so not able either to defend his Royal Person according to their duties, nor to secure themselves and families, they may be received into his gracious protection from violence, being menaced by all kindes of people, to whose malice they are subject and must submit. And indeed great and heavy pressures were put upon them by both Armies, notwithstanding Orders and Declarations to the contrary had been published by either Army.

And hereupon the King had given Warrant to Sir *William Gerard* Baronet, Sir *Cicil Trafford* Knight, *Thomas Clifton*, *Charls Townby*, *Christopher Anderton*, and *Jo. Clumfield*, &c. Recusants in the County of *Lancaster*, That although by Statutes all Recusants convicted are to be disarmed to prevent danger in time of peace; but now Armies being raised against the King, and his Subjects are by them plundered and robbed, and their Arms taken and used offensive against his Person; His will and command therefore is, and they are charged upon their Allegiance, and as they tender the safetie of his Person and the peace of the Kingdom, with all possible speed to provide Arms for themselves, servants and Tenants, (during the time of open War raised against him, and no longer) to keep and use for his defence.

Address to the
King voted.

Yet the Parliament prepare Heads of an humble Address unto his Majesty, for composing difference and settling a Peace: but withall, to prevent mis-constructions, whereby their just defence may be hindered, they do declare, That their preparations of Forces for their defence shall be prosecuted with all violence. And accordingly Letters are directed from the Lords.

To the Right Honourable the Lord Viscount Faulkland principal Secretarie to his Majestie, or in his absence for Mr. Secretarie Nicholas, or any of the Lords or Peers attending the King.

Grey of Wark.

My Lord,

I am commanded by the Lords the Peers and Commons assembled in Parliament to address by you their humble desires to his Majestie, that he would be pleased to grant his safe Conduet to the Committee of Lords and Commons, to pass and repass to his Majestie, that are directed to attend him, with an humble Petition from his Parliament. This being all I have in Commisison, I rest,

Your assured Friend and Servant,

Westminster, Nov. 3. 1642.

Grey of Wark,

Speaker of the House of Peers pro tempore.

Which

Anno
1642.

Which is granted, so as the said Committee consist not of persons either by name declared Traitors, or otherwise in some of his Declarations or Proclamations excepted against by name as Traitors, and so as they come not with more than thirty persons, and give notice before hand, upon signification they shall have safe conduct.

Reading, Nov. 4.

Your Lordships most humble Servant,
Edward Nicholas.

Hereupon these Names are sent, *Algernon* Earl of Northumberland, *Philip* Earl of Pembroke and Montgomerie, and four Members of the Commons, *Mr. Perpoint*, the Lord *Wainman*, Sir *John Evelin* of Wilts, and Sir *Jo. Hippislie*, being the Committee of both Houses, and desire his Majesties Pass and Repass under his Royal Hand and Signet, Nov. 5.

The safe Conduct is inclosed for all but Sir *Jo. Evelin*, who is excepted, being proclaimed Traitor at Oxford, and that if the Houses will send any other person not so excepted in his place, His Majesty commands all his Officers to suffer him to pass, as if his Name had been particularly comprised herein. Reading, Nov. 6.

To recruit the Parliaments Army, it is declared, That all Apprentices that will list themselves in their service for the publick cause, shall be secured from indemnitie of their Masters during their service, and their time included to go on towards their Freedom, and all their respective Masters are to receive them again when they shall return.

This Liberty made Holy-day with the Prentices, and they were listed thick and threefold, and now spoiled for being Trades-men ever after.

But it is time to consider what our dear Brethren of Scotland intended to do in this Distraction; and therefore they are put in minde by a fresh Declaration of the Parliament;

Parliaments
Declaration to
the Scots.

How and with what wisdom and publick affection our Brethren of Scotland did concur with the desires of this Kingdom, in establishing a peace between both Nations, and how lovingly they have since invited the Parliament into a nearer degree of union, concerning Religion and Church-government: wherefore as the Parliament did for them a year since in their Troubles, so now the same obligation lies upon our Brethren, by force of their Kingdom to assist us. Telling them, that Commissions are given by the King to divers Papists to compose an Armie in the North, which is to joyn with foreign Forces to be transported hither, for the destruction of this Parliament, and of Religion, and Liberties of the people. That the Prelatical partie have raised another Armie, which his Majestie doth conduct against the Parliament and Citie of London.

And

Anno
1642.

The Kings
Message to the
Lords of his
Privy Council
in Scotland.

And hereupon this Parliament desire their Brethren of Scotland to raise Forces for securing their own Borders, and to assist here against the Popish and Foreign Forces, according to that Act agreed upon in the Parliaments of both Kingdoms, for the comfort and relief, not onely of our selves, but of all the Reformed Churches beyond Seas, Nov. 7. 1642.

The King as quick sends his Message to the Lords of his Privy Council in Scotland, stating the condition between him and the Parl. and hath seen their Declaration sent to his Subjects in Scotland, unjustly taxing the King and his Government, and in a manner challenging assistance from Scotland, to make War against the King, making their clame by a late Act of Pacification, to which he did chearfully consent. And tells them of the other Scandal upon him and his Army, of being Papists, and sends to them his former Declarations in answer to the Parliaments wonted Scandal in that particular: protesting against any intent of his, to bring in Foreign Forces; and doubts not of a dutifull concurrence in all his Subjects of Scotland. And requires this his Declaration to be published to all his people there.

General Essex having lain quiet since the late Battel of Edg-hill, and his Souldiers squandered from their Quarters, to incourage them, it is declared, *That if they return to their Quarters within an hour after this publication, each Foot-souldier shall receive (as the rest) half a Crown addition, and each Trooper five shillings increase to their pay;* Which sent them packing to their Quarters.

Parliaments
commendance
of their General.

And because their General may not be discouraged by the last Battel doubtfully disputed, the Parliament is pleased to set out a Declaration concerning the late valourous and acceptable Service of his Excellencie Robert Earl of Essex, to remain upon Record in both Houses for a mark of Honour to his person, name, and familie, and for a Monument of his singular virtue to posteritie.

The Parliament having assured confidence in his wisdom for the defence of Religion, King, Parliament, and Kingdom; and he managing this Service with so much valour in a bloudie Battel near Keinton in Warwickshire, which doth deserve their best acknowledgment, and they shall be readie to expresse the due sense of his merit, and this to remain upon Record to him and his posteritie. Nov. 11. 1642.

Effects of the
address to the
King.

But let us see what becomes of the Parliaments Address to the King. The safe conduct was sent from Reading the sixth of Novemb. with such Exceptions as you have heard, just and reasonable; and yet the very next day November 7. the Parliament vote, *Not to accept of this safe conduct*, and resolve, *That the Exception in the safe conduct is a Denial and Refusal of a Treatie.* Of which they order a Committee to acquaint the City Common Hall, and thereby to quicken them to a Resolution of defending their Liberties and Religion, and

and thereafter to frame a Declaration to all the World of the Kings refusal of the Parliaments petition, and yet receives petition and address from the Rebels of Ireland.

And of this Message the eighth of November is sent the Lord Brook and Sir Henry Vane junior to Guild-hall, where his Lordship tells the Mayor and Aldermen, *That the Kings Foot were near Stains, his Horse at Kingston, and that the Parliaments Foot are marching that way*, who couragiously had the late Victory, and killed two thousand, without the loss of an hundred, unless Women, Children, and Dogs be numbred, then indeed there might be with all them two hundred. But it was Gods work of mercy and wonder. Truly he is assured, *that we* (said he) *are a dear people, exceedingly beloved of God.* But his second Speech surpasses, take it at length, and printed, somewhat like the same again.

Anno
1642.

Lord Brook's
Speech at
Guild-hall.

Gentlemen, I have but one word more to trouble you with, This noble Gentleman Sir Henry Vane hath exprest so fully all that was in the Message, that truly I should wrong him and my self too, if I should say any more; therefore I shall now speak to you of another thing, it is not fit any thing concerns you should be concealed from you: I came this day to this place, to this house about another business, I have already communicated to my Lord Mayor, and the Aldermen, and the Committee, I think it will not be unfit you should know it; I have the consent of some that understand this business very well to this I now shall do; Gentlemen, the Message was this, it was a Message from his Excellencie, it is to let you know how near the Danger is at hand, that so you may gird up the Loins of your Resolution, and do like men of courage; Gentlemen, Citizens of London, (better than whom, no man did in that Armie we had abroad) the Enemies, the Foot as we understand are very near Stains, the Horse they are about Kingston, we cannot tell you that all are there, but that there are both Horse and Foot too, and it is certain our Foot are going to it, so that the question is now, What is to be done? Certainly, this is a certain truth among all Souldiers, that you must keep evil as far off you as you can, you must not let it come near your doors, you must not think to fight in the sights, and tears, and eys, and distractions of your Wives and Children, but to go out, and meet it valiantly as you have done: God hath shewed himself a God of love and mercie, and truly we must give him all the honour of that day, certainly it is the greatest Victorie that ever was gotten: near two thousand (I love to speak with the least) on their side slain; and I am confident not an hundred on our side, unless you will take in Women and Children, Car-men and Dogs, (for they slew the very Dogs and all) If you take in Women, Children, Carmen and Dogs, then they slew about two hundred: but that an hundred should be slain on one side, and two thousand on the other side, is a very miraculous thing; he that dealt so wonderfully heretofore, it were to distrust him, if we did not think he would do so again. Truly he hath a people among us exceedingly beloved

His second
Speech there?

Anno
1642.

beloved, and what is it we fight for? it is for our Religion, for God, for Libertie and all; and what is it they fight for? for their lust, their will, for tyrannie, to make us slaves, and to overthrow all: Gentlemen, me thinks I see a face, and spie you readie to do any thing; and the Generals Resolution is, to go out to morrow, and to do as a man of courage and resolution, and never man did like him, for he was not onely General, but Common Souldier, for he led up his own Regiment, and he led up his own Troop with his own person, and when the left Troops of Horse deceived him, he brought up the right Troops; he himself will go out again and do again as much as he hath done, and all this is for your sakes, for he can be a free-man, he can be a Gentleman, he can be a great man, go where he will, therefore it is onely for your sakes; he is resolved to go out to morrow, his Forces are wearie, his Forces are spent, some came but last night into Town, some marched twenty miles March, which is a great March, (as some that know what it is can tell) but as wearie as they are, he is resolved to go out, but if you will affect the cause, and joyn with him hand, and heart, and sword, he will take it for a favour, but if you will not, he doubts not but Gods Sword will do the Work alone; I speak not it that I doubt you, but that you would resolve, that when you hear the Drums beat, (for it is resolved that the Drums shall beat to morrow, our Drums shall beat to lead out our men, and the Committees Drums shall beat to lead out their men) say not (I beseech you) I am not of the Trained Band, nor this, nor that, but doubt not to go out to work, and fight courageously, and this shall be the Day of your Deliverance.

Petition of the
Parliament.

However on Friday the eleventh of November the King at Colebrook receives a Petition from the Parliament by the two Earls and Gentlemen named in the Conduct, and not Sir Jo. Evelin.

To the Kings most Excellent Majestie.

The humble Petition, &c. of the Lords and Commons in Parliament, &c.

Being affected with a deep and piercing sense of the Miseries of this Kingdom, and the Danger of your Majesties person, the great effusion of Bloud with the late Battel, and weighing the addition of Loss and Miserie, if both Armies should again joyn in another Fight, as without Gods blessing and his Majesties concurrence will not probably be avoided, to which they believe his Majestie hath a sutable impresson of compassion to accept of this their Petition, and to appoint some convenient place not far from London, where your Majestie will be pleased to reside, untill Committees of Parliament may attend with some Propositions to your Majestie, for removal of these Distempers, as may conduce to Gods glorie, &c.

The Kings
Answer.

The King liked this Petition, of an humble nature, unlike their late Papers presented to him, and the next day gives this gracious Answer.

He

He takes God to witness, how deeply he is affected with the Miseries of this Kingdom, which he hath striven to prevent; and as he was not the first that took up Arms, so he hath been ready of composing all things in a fair way, to avoid the Destruction of his Subjects, which would always make his greatest Victories to him, &c. And to that end he will reside at his own Castle at Windsor, till Committees may have time to attend him, which he wishes to be hastened, either there, or (if it be refused) any other place, and God of his mercie give a blessing. Nov. 12.

Anno
1642.

But the same night after the Messengers were gone, News came to the King, that General *Essex* had drawn his Forces with his Ordnance out of *London* towards him; and so he being almost surrounded, some at *Windsor*, *Kingston*, and *Acton*, if *Brainford* were possesst likewise, the King would be hemm'd in, and his Army deprived either of moving or subsisting: and so a Council of War concluded to advance towards *Brainford*, and either to possess it, or to repossess them, which he did, and many slain.

*Brainford
Fight, Nov. 15*

The King withall considered, that it could not reasonably be esteemed an Aversion from Peace, or an Intention to interrupt the Treaty then in expectation: since on the other side he had cause to believe, that if he would not preserve himself out of their power, the very possibility of a Treaty would vanish. And indeed, willingness to receive a Treaty was never held to amount to a suspension of Arms: otherwise, why did *Essex* encompass him on all parts, to *Colebrook Towns end*? And there being no word of Suspension of Arms in all the Kings Answer; nay since, in that (by wishing their Propositions to be hastened) he implied, that by this, Arms were not suspended. And most of all, since the Parliaments Votes of proceeding (as hath been said) vigorously, notwithstanding their *Petition* and their own actions, sending after their Messengers great store of Forces, evidently implied the same.

The King being resolved upon Reasons, that his Advance was just, yet he endeavoured to satisfie the Parliament (that Peace was still his desire) by a Messenger, but so ill received, as he and his Trumpeter were like to kiss the *Gate-house*.

The Message was thus, *Novemb. 12.*

Whereas the last night November 11. after the departure of the Committee with his Majesties Answer to their Petition he received information, that the Earl of Essex had drawn his Forces out of London towards him, which hath necessitated him to march with his Forces to Brainford: he thinks fit hereby to signifie, that he is no less desirous of the peace than he exprest in his foresaid Answer, and desires to receive the Propositions of Brainford this night, (being Sunday) or early to morrow morning.

The Kings
Message to the
Parliament.

Anno
1642.

And another Argument for the King is, *that so soon as the Earls Forces were removed from Kingston, before any Forces appeared out of London, the King gave order to quit Brainford, and to possess Kingston.* And the success to the King was answerable to his just intention, God being pleased to assist him by Land and Water, so as with a third part of his Foot, and with the loss but of ten Men, to beat two of their best Regiments out of *Brainford*, to kill him that commanded in chief, and his Ensign *Ralph Wilbie* a hopefull Gentleman at the very Bridg, and many others by land and water, took five hundred Prisoners, and as many Arms, eleven Colours, and store of Ammunition, fifteen Pieces of Ordnance, and then unfought with to march away to *Oatlands*, *Reading*, and so to *Oxford*.

And upon all this, the Parliament voted to have no Accommodation: although the King concluded, *That God so blefs his future Actions as he is excusable and innocent from any deceit herein.*

Parliaments
Answer.

The Parliament in their Answer to the Kings Message do confesse, *That they gave direction to the Earl of Essex to draw the Armie out of London, and that part of it was inquartered at Brainford, whilest the Committee was with the King.* And they excuse it, (belike conscious to themselves of just Exceptions) *that they sent a Messenger with a Letter to know whether his Majestie intended forbearance of Hostilitie; he found them in fight, and could not pass Brainford.*

The King re-
plies.

The King replies, *That his Message of the twelfth, though not received by the Parliament till the fourteenth, was sent to them upon the same Day, as it was dated, and, the way not clear, was again sent upon the thirteenth, and taken that morning by the Earl of Essex, and though not directed to him, was opened by him, so as the slowness of the deliverie is not so strange as the stop of the Letter sent by the Parliament to the King, which he never received; and the King could not suppose to take any of the Parliaments Forces unprovided, who in their March to Brainford, might as well have been intended to Colebrook upon the King.*

And indeed take other Observations to boot. The Parliaments printing so out of time of such a Declaration, as was their Reply to the Kings Answer to theirs of the six and twentieth of *May*; but the day before they voted the sending of a Petition, and the March of the Earl of *Essex* to *Brainford* so near the King: and if peace had been intended by the Parliament, it would be conceived more proper to have sent to the King rather a Paper of just Propositions, than an unjust Accusation of his Councils, proceedings, and person. And his Majesty sent them word, *that he intends to march to such a distance from London, that may take away all pretence of apprehension from his Armie, that may hinder them from yet preparing Propositions of peace to present him, and thereby to receive them, or end these pressures and miseries.*

I am

I am the more curious in the controversion of this Accident, to relate the Narrative, and leave the Censure to the Readers impartiality.

And now again the four and twentieth of *November*, the Parliament with their old Mode petition the King to return to his Parliament with his Royal, not his Martial Attendance, and they shall be ready to give him Assurances of such security as may be for his honour and the safety of his person.

To which the King answers with so much reason, confuting their pretended loyal desires, by the effects of their violence against him, from the first of their Petitions of this kinde; reminds them of their pretensions, and of his candid and gracious offers and actions; wishes that his Declarations, Protestations, Messages, Answers, and Replies to the Parliament, were ingenuously published by them, to undeceive his people, abused into misbelief of him and his best actions; and so returns to *Reading*.

The effect of all this intended Address for Accommodation, rather increased a more desperate Division between the King and Parliament, by a far stretched exasperating Relation, styling it *The barbarous and cruel passages of the Kings Armie at Brainford*.

The Preamble belcheth out *such unnatural, inhumane, and strange cruelties, which send forth a voice, and that voice so loud, that it awakes even secure mankinde, and stirs up their bowels to an inflamed and united indignation, like the divided pieces of that woman abused to death, &c. There was no such deed done, nor seen from the day that the children of Israel came out of Egypt, &c.*

It is a Lamentation, and to be taken up for a Lamentation, no such thing hath been done since England came out of the Egypt of Rome: Acts so far out of ken and view of Christianitie, that they are void of humanitie, yea short of the nature of wilde beasts, &c. And a great deal more of such stuff, that a man might be amazed to finde the Parliaments Order for the speedy imprinting it. Nov. 24.

Then follows the Relation so poorly penned, so short of expectation, so pitifully expressed, and yet so far differing from the truth, (being within the ken of last days remembrance) that in earnest, (I need not confirm it with Rhetorick) that these times took up a liberty to amaze the people with, even Impossibilities, which yet were believed.

Some reputation the Kings successes here took with his Friends beyond Seas, that by a Letter written from the *Hague* to Secretary *Nicholas*, intercepted, and read in the Houle, it appears, what effect it wrought, *Which successes of the King hath supported our credits here, (says the Letter) that the Prince of Orange hath advanced all those sums we are to expect from him, of which twenty thousand pounds are sent towards you, as much to New-castle, and as much at least we bring with us, besides the great business we expect a final end of this day, which will ad-*

A Letter from
the Hague in-
tercepted.

Anno
1642.

vance sixty thousand pounds more. We have sent over ten thousand Foot Arms, two thousand Horse Arms, twenty Pieces of Canon: we bring over Wagons, and all Accommodation to march so soon as we arrive, with considerable Officers from hence; and by the advice we receive from that side, there are eight thousand Foot already, six Troops of Horse, and the rest will not be long a raising after we come there. General King is designed for Lieutenant General, he hath been with the Queen, and will be suddenly there. From Denmark are likewise sent Arms for ten thousand Foot, and two thousand five hundred Horse, with a Train of Artillerie, and every thing proportionable to the very Drums and Halberds. Two good Men of War come their Convoy, and in them an Ambassadour to his Majestie, a person of great qualitie from Denmark, Cokram comes along with him.

We have great apprehensions here, intimated by my Lord of Holland, of a Treatie entered into, &c.

Hague, Nov. 22. 1642.

And this supposed to be from Colonel Goring, or rather so set out by the Parliament; for at the publishing of this Letter they shew so much Danger as necessarily to require thirty thousand pounds to be lent by the City on Tuesday next, that the Ministers are required to stir up their Parishioners and the Church-wardens to assemble their Parish to morrow after Sermon, and on Munday next the Money is to be brought in at Guild-ball, which they shall raise of Contribution.

From Saturday to Tuesday, thirty thousand pounds Loan, and God knows how much Church-offerings, and all upon a ranting Letter, made up for that purpose.

'Tis true, that afterwards supplies of Arms and Money did arrive, but as yet no certainty but by intelligence from beyond Seas, which you see did their work in earnest for borrowing Money.

Since the first of December to the tenth, the state of the military affairs in the North stand thus, the Earl of Newcastle for the King came to York, and joyned his Forces to the Earl of Cumberlands, making in all eight thousand Horse and Foot, of which there are above two thousand Horse Dragoons, a strength too potent to be resisted by the Lord Fairfax, who now had Commission for the command of the North for the Parliament, for upon Newcastle's coming over the Tees, Sir Edward Leffus with all the Richmondshire Forces, and Sir Henry Anderson with those of Cleveland, about a thousand, returned home to their houses: so that the whole strength of the North is but one and twenty Companies of Foot, and seven Troops of Horse, and one Company of Dragoons.

That Captain Hotham is made Lieutenant General under Fairfax, and the rest with Fairfax at Tadcaster, but both of them joyned upon the coming of the Earl of Newcastle to Tadcaster, where the several

ral Forces encounter from eleven a clock till four in the evening in a sharp dispute; the Earl had won part of the Town, beaten *Fairfax's* men, and placed some Companies in several houses, which were forced back again to a Retreat, and an hundred slain, and seventeen Prisoners.

The Parliament party lost but six men, (they say) and Captain *Lister* shot into the head, and twenty more desperately wounded: but not being able to sit it out for a second Encounter, the Lord *Fairfax* quitted the Town and marched to *Cawood* and *Selbie*, to receive Supplies, dividing their Army into those places.

From *Selbie* Sir *Thomas Fairfax* is sent with five Companies, and two Troops to *Leeds*, but was forced back again.

That the Kings partie are Masters of the Field, with Garisons round about, plentifully supplied from the King; but the Parliaments partie in great want are likely to disband within ten days. And this is the Relation from the Lord Fairfax. Decemb. 10. 1642.

The Counties of *Norfolk*, *Suffolk*, *Essex*, *Cambridg*, the Isle of *Elie*, *Hertford*, and City of *Norwich*, are authorized to associate; and their General the Earl of *Essex* gives Commission to the Lord *Grey of Wark* to command in chief as Major General over those Counties, with Instructions to govern accordingly.

The most part of the Earl of *Newcastle's* Forces lie upon the County towards *Halifax*, and the clothing Towns, imposing Taxes upon the Inhabitants according to their qualities, from one thousand pounds to one hundred pounds, proportionable, who found a Light-horse at an hundred pounds, every one who found Musket or Pike at fourty shillings.

And about the fifteenth of *December* lands Colonel *Goring* for the King with more Arms, some Pieces of Ordnance, and some Money, and fourscore old Commanders, with the Queens Standard, and to joyn with the Earl of *Newcastle*.

And in this Moneth of *December* the Kings Forces prospered Westward, *Marlborough* and *Tadcaster* taken, with a great Defeat of their Enemy.

Winchester and *Chichester* won by the Parliament.

The noble Lord *Aubignie* Brother to the Duke of *Richmond* died and was buried at *Oxford*.

And now it was thought time for the City to speak for themselves, they well know what an odium lodged upon their disloyalty, and therefore they petition the King, *how they are deeply pierced with Gangrene-wounds of his Majesties fear to hazzard his person, in returning home to his Citie, they abhor all thoughts of Disloyaltie, making good their late Solemn Protestation and sacred Oath, with the last drop of their dearest blood to defend and maintain the true Reformed Protestant Religion, and your Majesties royal person, honour, and estate; and do hereby*
engage

City of London petition the King.

Anno
1642.

The Kings
Answer.

engage themselves, their estates, and all they have, to defend your Majesty, with as much love, loyalty and dutie as ever Citizens expressed towards their Sovereign.

They are answered, That his Majesty can distinguish some good Subjects in the Citie from the bad, not all guiltie: but what confidence can the King have there, where the Laws of the Land are notoriously despised, and the whole Government of the Citie submitted to the arbitrarie power of a few desperate persons of no reputation, and names them, Pennington their pretended Mayor, the principal Authour of these Calamities, which threaten ruine to that heretofore famous Citie, Ven, Foulk, and Manwaring, all of them notoriously guiltie of Schism and high Treason, in oppressing, robbing, and imprisoning his good Subjects, because they will not rebell against his Majesty, nor assist those that do: not that he condemns all for some that are guiltie: and yet he offers his gracious pardon to all, (except such as are excepted) if they shall yet return to their dutie: if not, he sums up the miserie that will necessarily fall upon every such person as shall continue acting and assisting the Rebellion.

This Answer full and home to the Cities conscience, startled many into reluctancy, when it was therefore thought fit by the Parliament to visit their Common Council, and to carefs them with a Committee of some Members, lest this Answer should work too much with reluctancy. And are told by Mr. Pym and others, That this Answer reflects with wounding Aspersions upon persons of very eminent Authority, of very great fidelitie amongst them; that the Parliament owns them and their actions, and will live and die in their defence: and evermore concluding, that their protection is the Armie, and that it is hoped they will enlarge their Contributions for the maintenance of this Armie, wherein as they have been liberal in former necessities, so now they will exceed, for safetie of themselves.

At the end of every period which Mr. Pym made in his Speech, the applause was so great and so loud that he was silenced, not without jugling, and so concludes, *Worthy Citizens*, (turning to the Rabble, you see what the Parliament will do for your Lord Mayor and you; return your affections to do for the Parliament and State.

To which they replied, *We will live and die with them, live and die with them.*

All which (says their printed Paper) *we may sum up in that Triumph of that Man of God, In the thing wherein they dealt proudly God was above them.*

There

There were some humble Desires and Propositions presented to the King at Oxford, February 1. by four Lords and eight Members of the Commons, but with so wilde and ranting a Preamble, and the Desires so peremptory, no less than fourteen, viz.

anno
1642.

To disband his Armie, and to return home to his Parliament; Leave Delinquents to Trial; Papists to be disarmed; Bill for abolishing the Church-governours and Government, and to pass such other Bills as shall be devised for a new Reformation; Recusants to abjure Papacie; To remove malignant Counsellours; To settle the Militia as the Parliament please; To prefer to the great Offices and Places of Judicature such of the Parliament as they name, and to take in all such as have been put out of Commissions of the peace; A Bill to vindicate the Lord Kimbolton and the five Members; To enter Alliance with his Protestant Neighbours for Recoverie of the Palatinate; To grant a general pardon, with Exception of the Earl of Newcastle, the Lord Digby, and others; To restore such of the Parliaments Members to their Offices and Places, and to satisfie for their Losses, &c.

Parliaments desires presented to the King at Oxford, by the Earls of Northumberland, Pembroke, Salisbury, and Holland, with eight of the Commons.

The King answers with amazement, If he had not given up all the faculties of his soul, to an earnest endeavour of a Peace and Reconciliation, or if he would suffer himself by any provocation to be drawn to a sharpness of language as a time of Overtures of Accommodation, he could not otherwise but resent their heavie charges upon him in the preamble, and not suffer Reproaches which they cast upon him: but his Majestie will forbear bitterness, or the heat of his own sufferings throughout, that if it be possible the memory thereof may be lost to the world. And how unparliamentarie it is by Arms to require new Laws. And he is pleased that a speedie time may be agreed upon for a Meeting, and to debate those Propositions of theirs, and these of his, viz.

Answered.

That his own Revenues, Magazines, Towns, Ships, and Forts be restored; That what hath been done contrary to Law and the Kings right may be renounced and recalled; That all illegal power claimed or acted by Orders of Parliament be disclaimed; The King will readily consent to the execution of all Laws made or to be made concerning Popery and Reformation; so he desires a Bill for preserving the Book of Common Prayer, and against Sectaries; That all persons to be excepted against in the Treatie may be tried per pares, & with the cessation of Arms, and for a free Trade.

But nothing followed till the third of March.

In the North parts, from Yorkshire this Account came to the Houses, that Sir Hugh Cholmley for the Parliament hath carried himself gallantly, giving several Defeats to the Enemy at Malton, and on the sixteenth of January joyning his Forces to Sir Matthew Bointon, they fell upon Colonel Slingsbie at Gisborough, who was defeated, and six hundred Horse and Foot that had done much spoil in the North.

The actions of the North.

Anno
1642.

North. *Slingsbie* taken Prisoner, and an hundred and fourty persons besides, many killed, and two hundred Arms recovered.

About Bradford and Hallifax God hath blessed my Son Sir Thomas, (says the Lord Fairfax) having seized the Lord Savil's house at Howley, and his Design against Leeds was thus; he drew out from Bradford thither, where Sir William Savil commands in chief, after Summons the Assault began with great resolution on his Sons part, the Town being fortified on all sides, furnished with two Brass Sakers, and manned with fifteen hundred Souldiers, yet they forced an entrie in two Hours fight, with loss on both sides not more than fourtie men; but Sir Thomas took four Colours, and five hundred Prisoners, (of which six are Commanders) many Arms, the Sakers and all their Munition. On the Parliaments part were lost thirteen men, Captain Brigs and Lee sore wounded. The people observed (he says) that Sir William Savil and the chief Commanders on the other side soon after the Fight began, fled by secret ways towards Pomfrait, and their men after them by degrees, but by the way Serjeant Major Beaumont was drowned crossing the River, and Sir William narrowly escaped the like. Sir Thomas intended to have marched to Wakefield, where Sir George Wentworth commanded, but the Enemy in fear was fled to Pomfrait, and so Wakefield is invested for the Parliament.

The five and twentieth of *January* the Kings Forces marched out of *Doncaster*, which was soon taken up by six Companies of Foot, till more Forces shall come from the South to keep it.

The Earl of *Newcastle* hath drawn down all his Forces from the South of *Yorkshire*, excepting those that keep *Pomfrait* Castle, and yesterday marched from *Sherborn* to *York*, with six and thirty Colours, two Pieces of Cannon, and three and fourty other Carriages, and supposed to meet the Arms and Munition coming from *Newcastle*, or to prepare for the Queens entertainment at *York*. *Selbie*, *Jan. 26. 1642.* *Fer. Fairfax.*

The Lord
Fairfax and
others pro-
claimed Trai-
tors.

There had come forth two Proclamations, the one from the Earl of *Cumberland*, dated the first of *December* last; the other from the Earl of *Newcastle*, *January 17. last*, publishing, *Ferdinando* Lord *Fairfax*, *Sir Thomas Fairfax*, *Sir Edward Loftus*, *Sir Matthew Bointon*, *Sir Henry Forbes*, *Sir Thomas Malle-verer*, *Sir Richard Darby*, *Sir Christopher Wray*, *Sir Henry Anderson*, *Sir John Savil*, *Sir Edward Rodes*, *Sir Hugh Cholmley*, *Sir Thomas Rennington*, *Sir Thomas Norcliffe*, Knights. *Jo. Hotham*, *Tho. Hatcher*, *Will. Lister*, *John Legard*, *Jo. Dudsworth*, *John Wastel*, *John Perce*, *Will. White*, *John Robinson*, *Arthur Beckwith*, *Thomas Robinson*, and *Thomas Stockdel*, and divers others and their Adherents to be Traitors; which the Parliament resenting, do as much against the Earls, and so are alike quit upon that score.

The

The King had propos'd a Treaty February 3. together with the cessation of Arms sixteen days since, to which he received no Answer, but puts them in minde thereof again; whereupon the Parliament vote, *That there shall be a Treaty upon the Propositions before the disbanding, and to begin March 4. next, for twenty days and no more, and a safe conduct desired by the Parliament for their Commissioners; the Earl of Northumberland, Lord Say, Mr. Perpoint, Sir William Ermine, Sir John Holland, and Mr. Whitlock.*

Anno
1642.

A Treaty propos'd by the King.

But the King excepts against the Lord Say, having been proclaimed Traitor the third of November at Oxford, and by Writ to the Sheriff to proceed against him for high Treason; and so he was not admitted, the rest were. March 3. Oxford.

The Cessation of Arms was thus limited.

That all Arms, Victuals, Money, Bullion, and all commodities passing without safe conduct may be seized on either sides, and the persons so passing.

That the Kings Forces in Oxfordshire shall advance no nearer Windsor than Wheatly, and in Buckinghamshire no nearer to Alisbury than Brill, and in Barkshire either Forces to continue as they are.

The Parliaments Forces in Oxfordshire to advance no nearer to Oxford than Henley; In Buckinghamshire no nearer than Alisbury.

The Kings Forces shall take no new Quarter nearer than twelve miles from Oxford any way; nor the Parliament twelve miles from Windsor, where the Parliaments Armie lay.

That no Siege shall be against Gloucester, but the Kings Forces to return.

And that the Parliament Forces remain as they are in Gloucestershire, &c. February 28.

And having treated without any success the Committee returns to the Parliament the seventeenth of April after.

The Treaty ends.

During this Treaty comes out a weekly Assessment from the Parliament of England and Wales, which amounted unto thirty three thousand nine hundred eighty one pounds thirteen shillings; vast sums, additional to the former, and others subsequent.

In this time the Queen in Holland now imbarques for England the sixteenth of Feb. and with contrary windes and foul weather was forced back again, and thereafter with much hazzard anchored at Burlington Bay the nineteenth, and lands at the Key the two and twentieth, with Officers, Munition, and Money.

The Queen returns from Holland.

To her comes the Earl of Montrose and Lord Ogleby, with two Troops of Horse, being now received at York, and the Queen forming a pretty Army whereof she hath the command, and meets the King hereafter at Edg-hill three moneths hence.

H h h h

Indeed

Anno

1642.

The State of
the County of
Glocester.

Indeed she had been in very great danger in her passing out of Holland, Of which the King assures her, he shall not be out of apprehension, untill he may have the happiness of her company. Thinking it not the least of his misfortunes, that for his sake she hath run so much hazard, which it is impossible for him to repay, but his heart being full of affection for her, and admiration of her, and impatient passion of gratitude to her, he could not but say something, leaving the rest to be read by her out of her own noble heart.

Oxford, Febr. 13. 1642.

The County of *Glocester* being mostly engaged in the Parliament service, in the midst of their Enemy, *Oxford* being the Kings head Garison, *Herefordshire* his Forces, *Worcester* entertain'd a strength, *Wales* under power of the Lord *Herbert*. The Earl of *Essex* and his Army drawn to *London*, the Parliaments Forces in the West have their hands full, two Regiments at *Bristol*, and one at *Glocester*, this County the most likely game for winter action; but the strength of the County drawn to *Cirencester* a Frontier Town towards the Kings head Quarters, and now made a Garison, and Colonel *Thetiplace* that commanded a Regiment, and two Companies of Foot added after some Horse and Dragoons, raised by the Countrey, and the rest of the *Militia* were to assist in danger, more voluntary than regular, but resting chiefly on Sir *Robert Cook*, Sir *John Seymer*, Mr. *Stephens*, and Mr. *Hodges*, with the middle Rank of people: the Gentry in general for the King, which made the Contribution heavy upon the other, grumbling at Taxes always, covetous where they are not affected.

In *January* it was that the Kings Forces marched, resolving to storm *Cirencester*, but they onely faced the Town and retired.

And the Parliaments Forces had their Design upon *Sudeley Castle* kept by Captain *Bridges* for the Lord *Chandos*; Lieutenant Colonel *Masse* draws from *Glocester* with three hundred Musquetiers, two Sakers, and four Companies of Dragoons from *Cirencester*. In the Castle were sixty Souldiers, and all things sufficient, and endured several shot and Cannon. The next day they drew up to the Assault, and kept by the help of Beds and Woolpacks tumbled before them, to save them from shot; the Horse and Dragoons possessing a Garden under the Castle, fired the Hay and Straw, smothering the House, in the Blinde whereof the Ordinance were brought up and planted against the West part of the Wall, and so became surrendred upon quarter, to pass to their homes, and to leave their Arms, and were to pay for the Goods in the Castle five hundred pounds in six days, or to lose them.

Cirencester
taken by storm
of Prince Ru-
pert.

But some days after comes Prince *Rupert* with four thousand Horse and Foot pretending to regain it, but marched by to *Cirencester*, a stragling open Town, neither fortified, nor indeed capable of

of defence, the champion Countrey helpfull to the Horse, his greatest strength, and on the first of *Febr.* the Assault was first made upon a House a flight-shot from the Town, defended an hour by an hundred shot, then the Prince draws up their Musquetiers, and by *Granadoes* fired the Barns, smothered the Guard, and marched into the Town by main force, and in two hours mastered all, and the Earl of *Stamford's* Regiment put to the sword, and many more slain, eleven hundred Prisoners, and three thousand Arms laid up for the Countrey Magazine are taken, and so carried in triumph to *Oxford*, to shame them for disobedience.

The next day the Prince marches to *Glocester*, his hasty Summons startled them at these strange turnings: but *Massey* makes Answer, *That they were resolved to defend the Citie for the use of the King and Parliament, and would not surrender at the Command of a foreign Prince.*

And to maintain its strength, the outward Garisons as *Sudeley* was deserted, *Teuxbury* Garison wanting to secure themselves, the Countrey backward to come in to them, the Governour draws up Propositions for Peace, and sent them to Sir *William Russel*, which were granted.

The Army in *Wales* raised for the King by the Earl of *Worcester* and his Son the Lord *Herbert* begins to appear, and designed for *Glocester*, and was marched forwards and come to *Cosford* in the Forest of *Dean*, three Miles from *Monmouth*, where Colonel *Burrans* Regiment for the Parliament had made a loose Garison for defence of the Forest, where the *Welch* fell on and drave their Enemy before them, divers Officers slain, Sir *Richard Lundy* Major General of *South-Wales*; and for the Parliament Lieutenant Colonel *Winter*, and many other, and fifty taken Prisoners. And thus this *Welch* Army prevailing march on towards *Glocester*, and settle at *Hingham* house, two miles off, and there intrench, and Sir *Ferome Bret* Major General demanded the Town, but was refused with scorn, as not to yield to a *Welch* Army, that denied twice Prince *Rupert's* Summons before; but indeed they expected the Prince to assist them on the other side of the Town, the cause that they lodged nastily so long as five weeks never attempting their Enemies out-guards, nor the least party that issued out.

Mean while the Prince was to wait upon other Designs, the *Bristol* Plot offered it self, upon which he attended before their Gates: thence he was drawn off to stop Sir *William Waller's* advance for the Relief of *Glocester*, who deceived the Prince, by false Reports and Night-marches, drilling along his small Army.

The Governour *Massey* could attempt nothing till Captain *Fohn Fines* came from *Bristol* with two hundred Horse and Dragoons, which issued out and skirmished with the *Welch*, and so imployed till that after the taking of *Malmsbury*, *Waller* came to *Glocester*, laying his Design to surprize the *Welch*; and *Massey* to draw out at the

Anno

1642.

time appointed Horse and Foot before *Hingham*, and to keep them in action, not to understand his approach, and for the flat-bottom'd Boats brought from *London* to be sent to *Frampton* passage six miles below *Glocester*, where the Horse and Foot arrived by noon, passed over by night, and intrapped the *Welch*; *Massey* likewise drew up all his Horse and five hundred Foot with his Ordnance near to the House, keeping them near fifteen hundred in play till evening: at Sun rising they were fresh allarm'd by the great Guns, and held to it by the Musket-shot, when in the forenoon the *Welch* Horse forced their way through the Horse-guard, and put them to a disorderly Retreat, but coming up to the Foot-guard received a Repulse, which Foot-guard was thought too weak, and had Relief of a party drawn from the Artillery; the *Welch* at that instant fell upon the Ordnance, likely to be deserted: in this point of action *Waller* comes up with his Warning Piece on the other side, much amazing the *Welch*, and revived the other, who thus encouraged, they ran upon a Redoubt, and took it with two Captains and thirty Souldiers. *Waller* made a better shew than in substance, two Foot Regiments made some few shot of Cannon upon the House, and the *Welch* sounded a Parley, with this Result, *To render the House, and themselves Prisoners, but the Officers should receive quarter as to their qualities.* Upon these hard terms they resolved to break through in a dark and rainy night, but the common men would not, and so they yielded upon these terms. Divers persons of quality were here taken, the Gentry of *Herefordshire*.

The next day the Prisoners were lead to *Glocester*.

The *Scots* Army marched Southward, and crossed *Tine*, *March* 13. and met no Enemy till they were forced from *Bowden Hill* by the Earl of *Newcastle* twenty days after.

Synod began
to sit.

And to end this Year, the Synod began to sit at *Westminster*, and what to do: to reform, or rather to set up a new model of Church-government, *Presbyterian*: and what they shall do, God knows, what they have done we can tell, received their Wages for many years since of four Shillings a Day, and rose again without finishing so much as their intended *Directory*.

We conclude with these two Letters of the Pope sent to his people of *Ireland*, which were returned from them to the Parliament of *England*, to put them in minde of that miserable Kingdom.

The Pope was not wanting to encourage the Rebellion with his *Apostolical Letters* to *Oneal*, and other Letters to the *Ecclesiasticks*, thus:

Dilecto filio Eugenio O Nello, &c.

To

To our beloved Son *Eugenius* O Neal Health and Happiness.

Anno

1642.

Beloved Son,

It hath ever been our constant custom, to lay hold on every opportunity, whereby you (following the steps of your progenitors) might make known your more than ordinary zeal and studious care of defending the Church. But now you have more apparantly demonstrated it, by resolving to go for Ireland, and to be a present succour to the Catholick affairs: wherefore your Letter was exceeding welcome to us, wherein you intimate your stedfast purpose, desiring to begin the succesfull management of these affairs from the heavenly assistance; and do no less humbly, than religiously crave our Apostolical benediction; we highly commend in you this renowned zeal, and constant resolution, to defend the true faith against Hereticks: and we being long since perswaded of your piety, do expect the proofs of your couragious and lofty spirit, in this opportunity, which heretofore hath rendered your name so illustrious.

We do much approve of the determination of those whom you certifie to be excited by your example. And we hope that the Highest will be present to your cause, and make known to the people your prowess and virtue.

And that ye may with the greater confidence give the onset to these Designs, we without intermission intreating the divine clemency to bring to nought adversaries attempts, do freely communicate our benediction to you, and the rest of them who manage the catholick affairs in that Kingdom.

And to all and every of them (truly penitent, making confession, and devoutly partaking (if opportunely) of the holy Communion) we do bestow a plenary forgiveness and remission of their sins, and in the point of death a full and absolute Indulgency.

Dated at *Rome* under the Seal of the Fisher, *Octob. 18. 1642.*
in the nineteenth Year of our Popedome.

Another Letter six moneths after.

Universis Archiepiscopis, Episcopis, &c.

To all Arch-bishops, Bishops, Nobles, and People of the Kingdom of *Ireland.*

Venerable Brethren, and beloved Sons; The Relation which we have heard of the present Estate of your Kingdom, (out of that singular affection wherewith we did ever embrace your Nation) doth cause our deep sorrow; for although you are removed from us by distance of place, yet we always bear you in the bosome of Apostolical affection, and cannot but tremble

Anno
1642.

tremble at the least danger of our Children; notwithstanding in this so great sadness, we are refreshed, when we minde your magnanimity and resolution, evidenced by very many and great Trials; which likewise doth suggest to us a strong confidence, that in every occasion your wonted height of spirit will eminently appear, not onely to defend and keep safe the Catholick Religion, but also by example you will demonstrate to others with what alacrity and ardour of affection eternal things are to be preferr'd before mortal, heavenly before fading, the salvation of the soul before all earthly things whatsoever.

Account it all joy (venerable Brothers, and beloved Sons) when you fall into divers temptations, think not your selves exempted from the condition of those whom Christ the Searcher doth try and prove by the evils of this life.

There will be a just ground to hope for a plentiful crop of happiness from these seeds of conflicts, as also be assured of the aid and assistance of the omnipotent God, if so be ye shall prefer the safety of the Catholick faith before what respects soever, not suffering any thing to be transacted which in the least may prove prejudicial or destructive thereunto.

Thus much all Catholick Nations do expect from your approved constancy, thus much the Church promiseth it self concerning you, and thus much our pastoral care and paternal benevolence doth most rightfully require to be performed from our most loving Sons.

Neither need we go far to fetch Examples of this religious constancy to which we exhort you: call to minde by what Masters you have been disciplined in the ways of virtue; call to minde those famous Champions of the faith, who have lead you the way; inquire of your Predecessors, and they will certifie you, that in times of hazzard and peril those counsels and determinations with all possible zeal and resoluteness are to be entred into, which may prove a Bulwark to the true faith, and a Refuge to Ecclesiastical men.

Put on then vigorously by your actions to make good that noble Encomium of your Nation, frequently stiled, The Island of Saints; And those men whom you so much glory to extoll, be not unwilling to imitate.

Truly we do expect from you what is meet to proceed from an eminent piety to God, and a most ardent affection to the Church, to whom we willingly impart the Apostolical benediction, beseeching God of his divine clemency to vouchsafe to be propitious to your godly endeavours and enterprizes.

Dated at Rome;

Febr. 1. 1642.

But whilest we are entring into a Sea of misery, let us take breath and see what our Neighbours did beyond Seas in Germany, this year overwhelmed in blood. The Protestant Forces with the Duke of Brunswick laboured to reduce the strong Town *Wolfsbottel*, having stopped a Brook that watered the Town, and almost drowned their

Anno
1642.

their lower Lodgings; *Piccolomini* for the Emperour advanced with his Troops, entered the Town, set upon *Brunswick*, who beat the other, and killed two thousand men, and forced his Retire to some other Towns, from whence the Protestants were furnished of provisions, which now failing they were fain to quit the Siege.

Lamboy also for the Emperour was about *Bohemia*, and his Regiment distributed about the Villages were defeated for want of good Guard; in one of them himself was taken prisoner, on *St. Anthony's* day, in that Town of the same name, and dedicated to that Patron Saint; he was carried to *France* with many others, and imprisoned in the *Bois de Vincennes*, to visit *John de Werdt* who was there before; and this done by the *French Count de Guebiran*, for which service he received the Marshal Staff.

The *Swedes* under their new General *Torsten*son, lately come over with seven thousand fresh men, performed gallant service, against whom the Arch-duke *Leopold* and *Piccolomini* marched, and found him in *Misnia* besieging *Leipsick*, fell upon him, and broke through his left Wing, and fell to plunder; the *Swedes* rally, and furiously run upon their Enemy, who flighting *Leopold's* command, refused to fight, and by cowardice and treachery began to run; those that were seized six thousand, never shot off; this Battel was in *November*.

The *Swedes* march on, take in *Liepsick*; in *January* we finde them before *Fribergh* enduring a gallant Siege for two moneths, which *Piccolomini* succoured, wiping off his former affront, and having done so well, took leave of *Leopold* and the Emperours service, sumptuously feasted, retires to *Brussels*, and there entertained into the *Spanish* service.

In *Catalonia* the *French* were commanded by *de la Motte Handan-*
cour, who after beat the *Castilians*, took many Towns, and succoured more, for which he merited the Marshalls Staff, fitting the affairs there for the King and Cardinal *Richlieu*, who came to the upshot of taking *Salces*, *Perpinian*, and in a word all *Roussellion*, formerly engaged to the Crown of *France*, but was restored by *Charls* the eighth.

Monsieur le Grand was there, a person much in favour with the King, which so alarmed the Cardinal, that finding him tripping in some counsel for accommodation with *Spain*, and pressing for a peace, so hatefull and dangerous to the Cardinal, he was sent to *Lyons* with *Monsieur de Thoü*, and there both beheaded. The Duke of *Bovillon* was condemned on that score, but saved by Intercession of the Prince of *Orange*, who had rendered *France* remarkable service in *Germany*, and so meriting no less than the saving of an innocent sufferer.

Thus this ambitious Cardinal, choaked with the bloud of the *French* Peers, and some coldness to him from the King, took sickness,

Cardinal Ri-
chlieu dyes.

Anno

1642.

His Character.

ness, and the fourth of *December* 1642. died. His Life was like that of *Sejanus*, their Death different, this Man in his Bed, who deserved violence.

He was born at *Paris*, of noble Extraction, took Priesthood at *Rome*, where Pope *Paul* the fifth by his visignomy told him, *That he should become the great Cheat of the Word*. The Queen Mother preferred him first to be Bishop of *Laron*, where he wrote that Book of controverfie, full of wit and learning, then she put him to the King, and afterwards commends him to the Pope, who sent him the Cap, and after the famous Siege and forcing *Rochel*, he became Commander of the King and Kingdom, his policy made him ingratefull to his Mistress, cruel to any that shadowed him from the Sun-shine of glory and ambition; he cut off the *Marshal de Marillac's* head, and many others of the greatest eminency, sparing none that opposed him, pardoning none, an accomplisht *Machiavel*, if not exceeding; beloved by the most zealous Protestants, and hated by the most devout Catholics. His task was to ruine *Lorain*, beginning with that of *Guise*, and in deadly malice with *Austria*.

He was the Engine to imbroid this Monarchy of *Great Brittain*, tampering with the *Scots* into their Rebellion, and after with *England*, the onely means to ruine Religion, in which he observed to much settlement, as that *in fine* it might have given a turn to the *Romish*. And indeed he imbroid'd the World into Divisions, that himself might govern by that means; and thereby hath the honour of settling *France*, by his superlative service. His Life tyrannous, cruel, which caused him in continual fears, and much disquiet. He deserves a voluminous memory, and he hath it, made up a Medley of good and evil merit.

Most men expected a mighty change in that Government, but he settled his Succession upon his Confident Cardinal *Mazerine*, whom he so instructed, that the work went on in the former Frame, and so continues to this day.

But the *French King* outlived not long the Hareffer of this his Journey to *Catalonia*, but returning to *Paris* extreme sad, and loth to die, was forced the more to leave this life, and to declare the Queen Regent, or Governess of his young Son the King, recommends the Cardinal to her, who had received him long before.

This King was kept under by *Richlien*, who indeed did his work, and made him outward glorious, ambitiously hurried on to War; his own good nature desirous of peace. In whose time though the *Hugonots* were destroyed, he assisted the Duke de *Nevers* to the Succession of the Dutchy of *Mantua*, seized upon *Lorain*, allied with *Swede* and the Protestant Princes against the Emperour and House of *Austria*, disturbing the peace of all *Europe*. In these great men ends this Year.

Lewis the just
and the 13.
dies.

His Character.

The Reign of King Charls.

609

We begin this Year 1643. with a Treaty of peace; for in truth honest men and wise men were weary of War: and therefore Sir Benjamin Rudyerd said well in a Speech, when he told the Parliament in February last, *The War would soon ruine all.*

Anno
1643.

Sir Benjamin
Rudyerd's
Speech.

He did verily believe, (said he) That the Vote already pass'd, For the Disbanding the Armies the next Moneth, will finde us no farther on our way, than where we now are, besides the ill Accidents that may happen, and so much precious time spent, as till then.

The main Business is, whether we shall have a present Treaty or no? and this concerns us in all that we have, and Are. Since we refused a Treaty at Nottingham, I do not finde that we have gotten much ground, although our Army then was fresh, full, and full paid; the People erect, bountifull, and forward to the War. Now, the Disposition of the Kingdom, for the greatest part, stands bent towards a Peace: so that where-soever the Refusal or Delay of the way to it shall be fixt, the Disadvantage will fall on that side. How clear soever the Intentions of the House are, yet abroad it will be taken but as a Shew without Reality, and so it will be returned upon us.

For the Propositions, I have not known, nor heard, that all the Propositions in any Treaty of Importance, were ever swallowed whole. If some be harsh and rough, they may be wrought and suppld by wise Treaters, made fit for an acceptable Agreement. If other be unpassable, they may be totally rejectd. Those that are our unquestionable Rights, may be so claim'd and held.

We have already tasted the bitter bloody Fruits of War, we are grown exceedingly behinde-hand with our selves since we began it: if we persist, there will such a confluence of Mischiefs break in upon us, as I am afraid will ruine the King, the Kingdom, the Nation; unless God be mercifull to us, and do step in with a great Miracle, for a little one will not serve our turn.

I have long and thoughtfully expected, that the Cup of Trembling which hath gone round about us to other Nations, would at length come in amongst us. It is now come at last, and we may drink the Dregs of it, the worst; which God divert.

There is yet some comfort left, that our Miseries are not likely to last long. For, we cannot fight here as they do in Germany, in that great, large, vast Continent: where although there be War in some parts of it, yet there are many other remote quiet places, for Trade and Tillage to support it. We must fight as in a Cock-pit, we are surrounded with the Sea. We have no stronger Holds, than our own Sculls, and our own Ribs, to keep out Enemies; so that the whole Kingdom will suddenly be but one flame.

It hath been said in this House, that we are bound in conscience to punish the shedding of innocent blood with blood. But Sir, who shall be answerable for all the innocent blood which shall be spilt hereafter, if we

Anno
1643.

do not endeavour a Peace, by a speedy Treaty? Certainly, God is as much to be trusted in a Treaty, as in a War: it is He that gives wisdom to treat, as well as courage to fight, and Success to both, as it pleaseth him. Bloud is a crying sin, it pollutes a Land: why should we defile this Land any longer?

Wherefore Mr. Speaker, Let us stint bloud as soon as we can. Let us agree with our Adversaries in the way, by a present, short, wary Treaty. God direct us.

Treaty at Oxford.

It was found counsel, and for the present begat a Treaty, which met the three and twentieth of March, and sate till the seventeenth of April, without any good effect; and it is no wonder, for sithence the first occasion taken to quarrel with the King, which I reckon to be January 1641. concerning the Lord Kimbolton, and the five Members, how many Messages, Answers, Remonstrances, passed from him, and in the most of them a continual complying for a peace, both heretofore and at Nottingham, (which the Parliament Member is pleased onely to remember) but several times since on the Kings part. 'Tis true, they sent their humble Desires and Propositions to the King February 1. but the Kings Answer and Offer then begat this Treaty now, and it was a Moneth after, ere the King had Answer and consent, but how? to begin the fourth of March, and to last but twenty days.

The Votes agreed on were these, *So much of the Kings Propositions as concerneth the Magazines, Forts, and Ships, and the Propositions of the Parliament for the disbanding of the Armies should be first treated and concluded on before they did proceed to any other Propositions.*

A short time for twenty general Propositions, fourteen of theirs, and but six for the King; but the former day agreed to sit was spun out in Debates and Votes till March 21. when their Committee comes to the Court at Oxford, but with Commission so limited and circumscribed by private Instructions, that they had not power to explicate the Terms, or agree to Expressions.

And though the King desired, *That a Cessation might be granted during the Treaty, and free Trade during the Cessation, and that all matters might be settled by their Committee.* But not granted, for after in small time spent in Disputes, and the Committee not able to make Reply, immediately they had a Message, *Not to consume any more of the time in any further Debates upon the Cessation.*

Now for the Propositions, the Committee had no power to enter into any Treaty of them before the Articles of Cessation were assented to, which seems a Riddle, if you observe it.

But the King being willing to treat however, had much to do to procure the Parliaments consent but to the two first Propositions, though to his disadvantage. And the King willing to expedite the business, desired a Copy of their Instructions, which they utterly refused.

fused. But when they desired to repair to him for satisfaction of any Doubt concerning his Papers, before such time as they transmitted them to the Parliament, he presently condescended: which shews clearness in him, reservedness in them. But to the business.

PROP. I.

His Revenue, of which though he was totally deprived into the condition of a private Gentleman, yet had they confidence to tell him, *That they had received a very small proportion of it, which for the most part was employed in the maintenance of his Majesties Children.* But the King was content to rest upon the promise of the Parliament, to satisfy him for the Arrears due, and to leave the same for the future in the former way as before the War: yet this came not from them without a clog, upon condition, *That the King would restore what had been taken for his own use upon any of the Bills assigned to other purposes by Act of Parliament, or out of the Provision made for the War in Ireland; as if the King had converted some sums of money for Ireland to his own use, when it was made evident, that the King had none, but that the Parliament Treasurers received all; so that this point was soon agreed upon.*

PROP. II.

Magazines, Forts, and Ships. The Magazines were agreed after the Treaty to be delivered to the King into the Tower of London, but much controverted, into whose custody, whether into such hands as the Parliament would name, or into the custody of the sworn Officers unto whose place it belonged; but the Parliaments pleasure carried it.

As for the *Forts*, the Parliament would have all Forts and Castles, to be put into such hands as they should confide in, and so for the Cinque Ports.

The King would put in such against whom no exception can be made, and would remove them upon just cause and reason of misdemeanour. And for the Cinque Ports, a noble person was intrusted by him, and in justice he could not put him out without just exceptions.

And for the *Ships* also the like; but for all of those it is resolved by the Committee, *That the Parliament shall have the approbation of either of the persons into whose hands they should be put.*

The King on the contrary thought to have all his own rendered to him without conditions so peremptory.

But whilst they were treating on these particulars, and so much time spent to receive the Parliaments direction to their Commissioners at this distance, the King sends a Message to the two Houses April 12. 1643.

Anno
1643.

That as soon as he was satisfied in his first Proposition concerning his own Revenue, Magazines, Ships, and Forts, in which he desired nothing but his just legal and known Rights to be restored to him, and to persons trusted by him. And as soon as the Members of both Houses should be restored unto the same capacity of Sitting and voting in Parliament, as they had upon the first of January 1641. (exclusively of such whose Votes had been taken away by Bill, or by new Elections or new Writs) and that as soon as his Majesty and both Houses may be secured from such tumultuous Assemblies, as to the high dishonour of the Parliament had awed the Members of the same, (which he conceived could not otherwise be done but by adjourning the Parliament to some place twenty miles from London, such as the Houses should agree upon) his Majesty most chearfully and readily would consent to the disbanding of the Armies, and would return speedily to his two Houses of Parliament, according to the time and place which they should agree upon.

To which the Parliament vouchsafed no other Answer than the calling back of their Commissioners the next day after, and the dissolving that Treaty, which ended April 15. being the day by them determined.

And immediately after General Essex marches on to besiege Reading.

Sir John Hotham having heretofore quarrelled with the King, and done so much for the Parliament, was not willing to be subject to any Overseer, and so had no heart to submit to the Lord Fairfax, the Northern Commander for the Parliament, and upon complaints on either side, Hotham had the fewer Friends, and therefore the Parliament writ a Letter, discovering their intention to displace him, which he intercepted, and returns an angry Letter to the House of Commons full of Expostulations, and after all, *That if they harboured any such Designs, they would finde it sooner said than done.* And from henceforth he was unsettled towards them.

L. Brook killed at Lichfield Close.

The Lord Brook for the Parliament, having in the beginning of March the Convoy of some Ordnance from London to St. Albans, marched forward to Northampton, and plundered it of some Ammunition, and went on to Warwick, and there refreshed, fell upon Strafford Avon, commanded by Lieutenant Colonel Wagstaff, Colonel Croker, and Trist a Dutchman, and some Companies of Foot, with these they made good the Bridge, faced the Enemy, but not able to endure the Ordnance, made a safe Retreat, and left the Town to the Enemy, who in fear of some stratagem made a hasty plunder, and retreated to Warwick, and so to Staffordshire, where his Lordship by his Reputation and presence sought to dissolve the Association of the Gentry there, and reduce the County to the Parliament. Being come to Lichfield, he gets into the Town indefensible and unarmed:

ed: but those Forces that were there under the Earl of *Chesterfield* retired to the precincts of the Cathedral, (called *A Close*) a place more tenable. *Brook* being Master of the Town gave on upon the Enemy, and whilest they fought, he was got up into a chamber-window, and peeping at a loop-hole of the Window received a fatal Shot upon the Ey-ball, of which he instantly sunk down and died.

The remarkable passage is, that the Lord *Brook* was shot in the eye on Saint *Chad's* day, the first Bishop of the *Mercians* of that Church, and that by the Son of a Clergy man the Enemy of the Church was killed.

The Assailants having lost their Leader, retired for a while, but came on again, and took the Church, together with the Earl of *Chesterfield*, and all his Souldiers, being many, and some good Ordnance.

The Report was constant, that the Lord *Brook* had ordered his Chaplain, at his setting forth to this Encounter, to preach upon this Text, *If I perish, I perish*, *Hest.c.4.* And himself prayed and used this Execration upon himself and Souldiers, *That if the cause he followed were not right and just, he might be presently cut off, and that he hoped to live to see the day when one stone of Saint Paul's Church in London should not be left upon another.* Should be killed in the Eye and not the Lid touched: He that disliked the *Letany* for the Prayer against *Sudden Death*, should die stone-dead.

But on *Sunday* afterwards, *March 22.* the Commanders of the Kings Forces besiege *Lichfield*, received intelligence that Sir *Fohn Gell* and Sir *William Brereton* for the Parliament with a Body of three thousand were coming to the Relief of the Besieged, they drew out eight hundred Horse and three hundred Dragoons, and came upon them unexpected, and the Parliaments Horse not able to endure the Charge were put to flight, and the Foot seeing themselves deserted forsook the Field, leaving the Victory intire to the Kings party, many killed, and Prisoners taken with Ammunition and Baggage, some Ordnance, and four Drakes; but all these were full dearly bought; for though the King lost but few men, he had it at no less price than the Earl of *Northampton's* life, a gallant faithfull Lord, who charging in the Head of his Troop, was so engaged, that his own Saddle-horse being shot, and failing, he was unfortunately slain, and though he lost his life, yet Victory attended him to his grave, vanquishing those by whom he suffered, and died a Protestant professour, contrary to the feigned Report devised on him.

Lichfield Close
besieged by the
Kings party.

But afterwards *Lichfield Close* was gotten for the King by Prince *Rupert*, the one and twentieth of *April*, who having sprung his Mine, made a reasonable Breach, which assailing, and at the same time others scaled the Walls, both which failing, and he sent for to Court, gave them a fresh Attempt as a Farewell, at which they yielded.

Lichfield won
by *P. Rupert.*

Anno
1643.

Reading be-
sieged by the
Parliament.

yielded (Lieutenant Colonel *Russel* commanding in chief) to depart with fourscore Horse, Men, and Arms, as many Musquetiers, with Colours flying, a free Pass, and eleven Carts for their Baggage to *Coventry*, and all Prisoners taken on either side since the Lord *Brook* came into the Countrey should be released.

It was on *Saturday April 17.* that the General *Essex* fate down before *Reading*, and the next day made an Attempt thereon, but was beaten off by Sir *Arthur Aston* the Governour, an old Souldier, bred up in the Wars of *Germany* from his youth. A second Onset followed, and entered upon one of the Out-works, and repulsed with loss, and for that good service the King sent them thanks, with a Supply of seven hundred Musquetiers, and sufficient Ammunition, which was conveyed to *Dorchester*, and so by a considerable strength of Horse to the water-side just against the Town by break of day, and by Boats got in, the Besiegers seeing it done, but far off to hinder it. But the place not able to indure the several Attempts of so great an Army daily supplied with fresh men, the City of *London* Trained Bands, and plenty of all provisions, the last Encounter of the Besiegers with their great Ordnance shooting into the Town, the Governour got a dangerous Bruise on the Head, by the fall of some Brick-bats, and in much danger the command devolved on Colonel *Fielding*, and by him the Town was delivered up to their Enemy upon noble Conditions.

All the Forces to march out in warlike manner, with free passage to *Oxford*, with fifty Carts for Carriage, the Town not to be plundered, and such as will may remove from thence within six weeks; and this was done on *May* day.

Of which sudden Surrender *Fielding* was questioned, and committed at *Oxford*, and by a Council of War sentenced to lose his head, but left to the Kings mercy, and by importunity of his Kindred the *Villiers* he had pardon.

And Sir *Arthur Aston* recovered of his Mischance to do the King good service for many years after.

Cheapside
Crofs pulled
down.

In *May* the Overseers for demolishing all *Pictures*, *Crosses*, and what not that were so idolatrous abominable? concluded their Reformation in that Monument of Adornment to the City *Cheapside*, the great *Cross*, after the Multitude had defaced the excellent Statues thereon of former *Kings* and *Queens*, they pulled down the whole Fabrick to the ground, in hate to Idolatry, as was pretended; but more certainly they made good use of the Gold and Lead, which the pride of the City formerly had set out with much cost, and now as forward to pull it down, for the benefit of the State service.

And

And the next good Act, they voted the *Queen a Traitor*, for taking part with her Husband, for now she was ready to march with good Forces towards the King.

Anno
1643.

Captain *Hotham* the Son being imprisoned by the Parliament, made his Escape, and sent to the Earl of *Newcastle*, that he would cast himself into his arms, and that *Hull* and *Lincoln* should be rendered to him, and is now gone to his Father at *Hull*, and both of them stand upon their guard.

Hotham to betray *Hull* and *Lincoln*.

The *Queen* now at *Newark* with some Forces, intends to lie at *Werton*, and thence to *Ashby*, and there resolve what to do, the Enemies Forces from *Nottingham* being gone to *Leicester* and *Derby*, to intercept the *Queens* passage.

The *Queens* Army.

The *Queen* before she departed left for the safety of *Lincolnshire* and *Nottinghamshire* two thousand Foot, and Arms for five hundred more, and twenty Companies of Horse under command of Sir *Charls Cavendish* Brother to the Earl of *Newcastle*: the Enemy having left within *Nottingham* a thousand Foot.

The *Queen* marched with three thousand Foot, thirty Companies of Horse and Dragoons, six Pieces of Cannon, and two Morters. Mr. *Fermin* commanding all these Forces as Colonel of her Guard, and Sir *Alexander Lesley* a traiterous, cowardly, murderous *Scot*, ordered the Foot, and Sir *Gerard* the Horse, and Captain *Leg* the Artillery, and her Majesty *Generalissima* extremely diligent, with an hundred and fifty Wagons.

The King and *Queen* met at *Edg-hill*, the first time since she landed out of *Holland*, and so to *Oxford*, where she continued till the seventeenth of *April* the next year, and then she took her last leave of the King at *Abington* for the West, and was brought to Bed at *Exeter* of a Daughter the sixteenth of *June*, named *Henrieta Maria*, and afterwards in *Cornwall* she passed over to *France*, lands at *Brest* the fifteenth of *July*, and so to *Paris*, where she since continues, a sad, sorrowfull, afflicted Princess, with incomparable sufferings which she hath undergone.

The King and *Queen* meet at *Edg-hill*.

And now comes over an Ambassadour from *France*, *Monsieur Harcourt*, to mediate an Accommodation between the King and Parliament, but prevailed not, and so returned, it being rather a flourish from the policy of Cardinal *Mazarine*, to pry into the Actions of this great Difference, and so to set them at a greater distance; for it was *Richlieu's* Master-piece to frame the Quarrel first, and now for *Mazarine* not unlike to put them far asunder.

Ambassadour from *France*.

And presently after is Sir *William Armin* sent to *Edinburgh* from the Parliament to hasten the *Scots* Army hither, having first sworn

Anno
1643.

Solemn
League and
Covenant
with the Scots.

Eikon Bas.
C. 14.

sworn to the Solemn League and Covenant each to other. The English Presbyters now scotified throughout, take Example by the Brethrens Principles in their former Insurrections of Scotland; and therefore as they did heretofore, so now the Parliament engage that Nation in a strict solemn League by Vow, Oath, and Covenant taken by the Parliament, and afterwards sent down to all the Counties in England and Wales, upon which the King observes :

That the Presbyterian Scots are not to be hired at the ordinary Rate of Auxiliaries; nothing will induce them to engage, till those that call them in have pawned their Souls to them by a solemn League and Covenant.

Where many Engines of religious and fair pretensions are brought chiefly to batter, or rase Episcopacy; This they make the grand evil Spirit, which, (with some other Imps purposely added, to make it more odious, and terrible to the Vulgar,) must by so solemn a Charm and Exorcism be cast out of this Church, after more than a thousand years possession here, from the first plantation of Christianity in this Island; and an universal prescription of time and practice in all other Churches, since the Apostles times, till this last Century.

But no Antiquity must plead for it: Presbytery, like a young Heir, thinks the Father hath lived long enough; and impatient not to be in the Bishop's Chair and Authority (though Lay-men go away with the Revenues) all Art is used to sink Episcopacy, and lanch Presbytery in England; which was lately buoyed up in Scotland by the like artifice of a Covenant.

Although I am unsatisfied with many passages in that Covenant, (some referring to my self with very dubious and dangerous limitations) yet I chiefly wonder at the Design and drift touching the Discipline and Government of the Church; and such a manner of carrying them on to new ways, by Oaths and Covenants; where it is hard for men to be engaged by no less, than swearing for, or against those things, which are of no clear moral necessity; but very disputable, and controverted among learned and godly men, whereto the application of Oaths can hardly be made and enjoined with that judgment and certainty in one's self, or that charity and candour to others of different opinion, as I think Religion requires; which never refuses fair and equable Deliberations; yea, and Dissentings too, in matters onely probable.

The enjoining of Oaths upon People must needs in things doubtfull be dangerous; as, in things unlawfull, damnable; and no less superfluous, where former religious and legal Engagements bound men sufficiently to all necessary duties. Nor can I see how they will reconcile such an Innovating Oath and Covenant with that former Protestation, which was so lately taken, to maintain the Religion established in the Church of England; since they account Discipline so great a part of Religion.

But ambitious mindes never think they have laid Snares and Gins enough

enough to catch and hold the Vulgar credulity: for, by such politick and seemingly pious Stratagems, they think to keep the populacie fast to their parties under the terrour of perjurie: Whereas certainly all honest and wise men ever thought themselves sufficiently bound by former ties of Religion, Allegiance, and Laws, to God and Man.

Nor can such after-contracts, devised and imposed by a few men in a declared partie, without my consent, and without any like power or precedent from God's or Man's Laws, be ever thought by judicious men sufficient either to absolve or slacken those moral and eternal bonds of dutie, which lie upon all my Subjects consciences both to God and me.

Yet, as things now stand, good men shall least offend God or me, by keeping their Covenant in honest and lawfull ways; since I have the charity to think, that the chief end of the Covenant, in such mens intentions, was, to preserve Religion in purity, and the Kingdoms in peace: To other than such ends and means they cannot think themselves engaged; nor will those, that have any true touches of conscience endeavour to carry on the best Designs, (much less such as are, and will be daily more apparently factious and ambitious) by any unlawfull means, under that title of the Covenant: unless they dare prefer ambiguous, dangerous, and un-authorized novelties, before their known and sworn Duties, which are indispensible, both to God and my self.

I am prone to believe and hope, That many, who took the Covenant, are yet firm to this judgment, That such later Vows, Oaths, or Leagues can never blot out those former Gravings and Characters, which by just and lawfull Oaths were made upon their Souls.

That which makes such Confederations by way of solemn Leagues and Covenants more to be suspected, is, That they are the common Road, used in all factious and powerfull perturbations of State or Church: where formalities of extraordinary zeal and piety are never more studied and elaborate, than when Politicians most agitate desperate Designs against all that is settled, or sacred in Religion, and Laws; which by such Scruces are cunningly, yet forcibly, wrested by secret steps, and less sensible degrees, from their known Rule and wonted Practice, to comply with the humours of those men, who aim to subdue all to their own will and power, under the Disguises of holy Combinations.

Which Cords and Withs will hold mens Consciences no longer, than force attends and twists them: for every man soon grows his own Pope, and easily absolves himself of those ties, which not the commands of God's Word, or the Laws of the Land, but onely the subtilty and terrour of a party casts upon him; either superfluous and vain, when they were sufficiently tied before; or fraudulent and injurious, if by such after-ligaments they finde the Imposers really aiming to dissolve, or suspend their former, just, and necessary obligation.

Indeed, such illegal ways seldom, or never, intend the engaging men more to Duties, but onely to Parties; therefore it is not regarded how

Anno
1643.

they keep their Covenants in point of piety pretended, provided they adhere firmly to the Party and Design intended.

I see the Imposers of it are content to make their Covenant like Manna; (not that it came from Heaven, as this did) agreeable to every man's palate and relish, who will but swallow it: They admit any mens senses of it, though divers, or contrary; with any Salvo's, Cautions, and Reservations; so as they cross not the chief Design which is laid against the Church, and me.

It is enough if they get but the Reputation of a seeming-increase to their party; so little men remember that God is not mocked.

In such latitudes of sense, I believe many that love me, and the Church well, may have taken the Covenant, who yet are not so fondly and superstitiously taken by it, as now to act clearly against both all piety and loyalty: who first yielded to it, more to prevent that imminent violence and ruine, which hung over their heads in case they wholly refused it, than for any value of it, or devotion to it.

Wherein the latitude of some general Clauses may (perhaps) serve somewhat to relieve them; as of Doing and endeavouring what lawfully they may, in their Places and Callings, and according to the Word of God: for, these (indeed) carry no man beyond those bounds of good Conscience which are certain and fixed, either in God's Laws, as to the general; or the Laws of the State and Kingdom, as to the particular Regulation and Exercise of mens duties.

I would to God such as glory most in the name of Covenanters, would keep themselves within those lawfull bounds, to which God hath called them: Surely it were the best way to expiate the rashness of taking it: which must needs then appear, when besides the want of a full and lawfull Authority at first to enjoin it, it shall actually be carried on beyond and against those ends which were in it specified and pretended. I willingly forgive such mens taking the Covenant, who keep it within such bounds of Piety, Law, and Loyalty, as can never hurt either the Church, my self, or the Publick Peace: Against which no man's lawfull Calling can engage him.

As for that Reformation of the Church, which the Covenant pretends, I cannot think it just or comely, that by the partial advice of a few Divines, (of so soft and servile tempers, as disposed them to so sudden acting and compliance, contrary to their former judgments, profession, and practice) such foul scandals and suspicions should be cast upon the Doctrine and Government of the Church of England, as was never done (that I have heard) by any that deserved the name of Reformed Churches abroad, nor by any men of learning and candour at home: all whose judgments I cannot but prefer before any mens now factiously engaged.

No man can be more forward than my self to carry on all due Reforms, with mature judgment, and a good Conscience, in what things I shall (after impartial advice) be, by God's Word, and right Reason, convinced

vinced to be amiss; I have offered more than ever the fullest, freest, and wisest Parliaments did desire.

But the sequel of some mens actions makes it evident; that the main Reformation intended, is the abasing of Episcopacie into Presbyterie; and the Robbing the Church of its Lands and Revenues: For, no men have been more injuriously used, as to their legal Rights, than the Bishops and Church-men. These, as the fattest Deer, must be destroyed; the other Rascal herd of Schisms, Heresies, &c. being lean, may enjoy the benefit of a Toleration: Thus Naboth's Vineyard made him the onely Blasphemer of his Citie, and fit to die. Still I see, while the breath of Religion fills the Sails, Profit is the Compass, by which Factious men steer their Course in all seditious Commotions.

I thank God, as no man lay more open to the sacrilegious temptation of usurping the Churches Lands and Revenues, (which issuing chiefly from the Crown, are held of it, and legally can revert onely to the Crown, with my consent) so I have always had such a perfect abhorrence of it in my Soul, that I never found the least inclination to such sacrilegious Reformings: yet no man hath a greater desire to have Bishops and all Church-men so reformed, that they may best deserve and use, not onely what the pious Munificence of my Predecessours hath given to God and the Church, but all other additions of Christian bountie.

But no necessitie shall ever, I hope, drive me or mine to invade or sell the Priests Lands: which both Pharaoh's divinitie, and Joseph's true pietie abhorred to do: so unjust I think it, both in the eye of Reason and Religion, to deprive the most sacred Emploiment of all due Encouragements; and like that other hard-hearted Pharaoh, to with-draw the Straw, and increase the Task; so pursuing the oppressed Church, as some have done, to the Red Sea of a Civil War, where nothing but a Miracle can save either It, or Him, who esteems it his greatest Title to be called, and his chiefest glorie to be, The Defender of the Church, both in its true Faith, and its just Fruitions; equally abhorring Sacrilege and Apostacy.

I had rather live as my Predecessour Henry the third sometime did, on the Churches Alms, than violently to take the Bread out of the Bishops and Ministers mouths.

The next work will be Jeroboam's Reformation; consecrating the meanest of the People to be Priests in Israel, to serve those golden Calves who have enriched themselves with the Churches Patrimonie and Dowrie; which how it thrived both with Prince, Priests and People, is well enough known: And so it will be here, when, from the tuition of Kings and Queens, which have been nursing Fathers and Mothers of this Church, it shall be at their allowance, who have already discovered; what hard Fathers and Step-mothers they will be.

If the povertie of Scotland might, yet the plentie of England cannot excuse the Envie and Rapine of the Churches Rights and Revenues.

Anno
1643.

I cannot so much as pray God to prevent those sad consequences, which will inevitably follow the paritie and povertie of Ministers, both in Church and State; since I think it no less than a mocking and tempting of God, to desire him to hinder those Mischiefs, whose Occasions and Remedies are in our own power; it being every man's sin not to avoid the one, and not to use the other.

There are ways enough to repair the Breaches of the State without the Ruines of the Church; as I would be a Restorer of the one, so I would not be an Oppressor of the other, under the pretence of Publick Debts: The Occasions contracting them were bad enough, but such a discharging of them would be much worse; I pray God neither I, nor mine, may be accessory to either.

And now dies Mr. *John Pym* a Member of the House of Commons, and a notable stickler for the Parliament, he was ever observed to be an high Prebyterian in profession, whose subtilty managed the most of their publick affair, and ended his days when he had wrangled for the Mastery, and left all in great doubt which party might overcome, not without some regret and repentance (they say) that these Differences which he hatched should prove so desperate, as he now too late fore saw would undo this Nation.

In the midst of *May* it was, that Colonel *Nath. Fines* Governour of the City of *Bristol* had discovered a Plot of the Inhabitants to betray the Town, which after much Examination lighted upon *Robert Yeomans* and *George Bouchier* who had secretly provided themselves of Arms, intending to kill the Centinels by night, and possess the Main Guard, whereby to master the greatest part of the other side within the Town, to kill the Mayor, and many others affected to the Parliament, and by that means to betray the City to the Kings Forces, which should lodg near hand for that purpose two miles off, but the Plot pretended was discovered, and those men condemned by a Council of War to be hanged.

This was known at *Oxford*, whereupon the Kings Lord Lieut. of all his Forces the Lord *Ruthen*, lately made Earl of *Forth*, writes to the Governour of *Bristol*.

I having been informed, that lately at a Council of War you have condemned to death Robert Yeomans late Sheriff of Bristol, who hath his Majesties Commission for raising a Regiment for his Service, William Yeomans his Brother, George Bouchier, and Edward Dacres, all, for expressing their loyalty to his Majesty, and endeavouring his Service according to their Allegiance; do therefore signifie to you, that I intend speedily to put Mr. George, Mr. Stevens, Captain Huntley, and others taken in Rebellion at Cirencester into the same condition; I

do

*Yeomans and
Bouchier
hanged at
Bristol, and
why.*

do further advise you, that if you offer by that unjust Judgment to execute any of them, that those here in custodie must expect no favour or mercie. At Oxford, May 16. 1643.

Anno
1643.

To the Commander in chief of the
Council of War in Bristol. Forth.

The Answer comes from the Governour Colonel Nathaniel Fines and the Council of War at Bristol, in effect:

That if you shall not make distinction between Souldiers of Arms and secret Spies and Conspirators, we will not onely proceed against them, but others: and if by any inhumane and unsouldierlike Sentence you shall execute those persons you named, then Sir Walter Pye, Sir William Crofts, and Colonel Connesby, and others, whom we have here in custodie must expect no favour or mercie. May 18. 1643.

To Patrick Earl of Forth Nath. Fines President, &c.
Lord Lieutenant General.

And so notwithstanding the Kings Letter also to the Mayor and Citizens in their behalf, Teomans and Bouchier were hanged, May 30.

There was a Plot discovered at London the last of May, against the Cities of London and Westminster, and by consequence the whole Parliament: the chief of the Conspiracy were Mr. Waller a Member of the House of Commons, Mr. Tomkins his Brother in Law, and lately Clerk of the Queens Council, Mr. Chaloner, Mr. Hasel, Mr. Blinkhorn, Mr. White, and others.

Tomkins and
Chaloner
hanged at
London, and
why.

As for the Plot, we have ravelled into the search of the truth, but must take it from the Parliaments Declaration.

That they should seize into their custodie the Kings Children, some Members of the Parliament, the Lord Mayor, and Committee of Militia, all the Cities Out-works and Forts, the Tower of London, and all the Magazines.

Then to let in the Kings Forces, to surprize the Citie and destroy all Opposers, and to resist all payments of Taxes.

And much heartened they were by a Commission of Array sent from Oxford at that time, and brought secretly by the Lady Aubigne Daughter to the Earl of Suffolk, Widow of the late Lord Aubigne, wounded at Edg-hill, and died at Oxford the thirteenth of January. This Commission was directed to Sir Nicholas Crisp, and divers others. This Plot was discovered the last of May.

They were arreigned in publick at Guild-hall, and all those four named condemned, onely Tomkins and Chaloner executed, the first before his Door in Holborn, the other in Corn-hill; but the chief

Con-

Anno
1643.

Conspirator *Waller* was by General *Essex* reprieved, imprisoned a twelve-moneth in the *Tower*, and after for a Fine of ten thousand pounds pardoned, and for shame sent to travel into *France*.

The reason is much studied for satisfying the World, why he the chief Actor (the other but brought in by the by) should receive such partial Justice; because he was ingenious, and confessed all; and Mr. *Pym* had engaged his promise for his Life, but certainly the most evident Reason is very apparent, his great Sum of Money paid down, and belike his ample confession of the particulars, which the other at their death did not acknowledg. *July 5.*

A new Seal
voted

The Parliament having been put to it in want of the great Seal of *England*, (now at *Oxford*) for confirmation of their Acts and Ordinances, it had been oftentimes disputed and committed, the making of another Seal for the use of the Parliament, yet deferred, the times not fitted for so great a business; the renewing of the Treaty being offered at on both sides.

But now the Parliament pass four Votes:

1. That it is necessary the Great Seal to attend the Houses.
2. That there hath been a failer of it at this Parliament.
3. Much prejudice to the King, Parliament, and Kingdom.
4. That the Houses ought to provide a Remedy thereof for the time to come.

Afterwards they made an Order, That if the Lord Keeper Littleton upon Summons did not return with the great Seal within fourteen days, he should lose his Place, and whatever should be sealed therewith by him after that time should be null and vacate in Law.

A worthy Member desired the Serjeant at Law, that ordered the Ordinance, not to wade too far in the business before he did consult the Statute of 25 Edward 3. where Counterfeiting the Great Seal is declared high Treason.

To which the Serjeant replied, That he purposed not to counterfeit the old Seal, but to make a new.

Indeed the Parliament, being the highest Court and Council, had shewn their legislative power by passing Ordinances, without the Kings assent, to binde the Subject in the exercise of the *Militia*; and that there wanted nothing but the executive part with a Great Seal for the administering justice in all Courts of Law and Equity, which would sufficiently declare their power in all necessary Incidents of that supreme Council. That since inferiour Courts had their proper Seals, the greatest should not be without one. And so a new one was framed, engraven thereon the Picture of the House of Commons and Members sitting; Reversed the Arms of *England* and *Ireland*, Cross and Harp Palie.

And

and framed.

And presently after Mr. *Henry Martin* a Member, without much authority forced an entrance into the Abby Church at *Westminster*, with spoil upon the utensils and ornaments of the Church, and broke open two Doors into a private Room near the place where the *Regalia*, Crowns, Scepters, and other Ensigns of State used at Coronation of their Sovereigns, but finding some obstacle that barred his entrance, till Mr. *Wheeler* shewed him the secret, that opened the passage to their seizure, only prevented for that time by the Earl of *Holland* and some of the Commons House, perswading Mr. *Martin* to forbear till further pleasure of the Lords concurring, which he did by sealing up the Doors. His Assistants saying, *Let us take the Crown, and set it upon the Duke of Gloucester's head, whom we have with us.*

Tush, (quoth *Martin*) *ye are Fools to talk of Crowns or Kings, of which there will be so little use hereafter.*

But after dispute at a Conference, the Lords were brought to this Reason, *That many superstitious things amongst the Regalia were fit to be removed, as no longer usefull.*

Whereto one unhappily made a prophetick Reply, *He doubted the King himself will ere long be some superstitious Monument of decayed Divinity, and so thought fit to be removed, the King not making the Crown, but the Crown the King, which being now in their hands they may bestow the Kingdom on whom they please.*

The Earl of *Essex* hovering about *Tame*, gave Orders about to *Buckingham* Forces to allarm the Kings Forces, some Skirmishes had been on *Saturday* night *June* 17. and the nex morning Prince *Rupert* provokes a Body of Horse to appear early the next morning, whom he wasted, many Prisoners, Captain *Sheffield* Son to the Earl of *Moulgrave* the chieft, but their chief Commander Serjeant Major *Gunter* shot dead in the place, and Mr *John Hambden* a principal Member of the fire, died a Week after of those wounds he had in this Fight *June* 18. He was a Gentleman of good Descent in *Buckinghamshire*, the great Incendiary from the first of these Troubles, setting the Wheel on work in the great Sute of Ship-money against the King, and so forward in Junto with the five Members, so troublesome to the Kings proceedings: then he takes Arms, and is made a Colonel for *Buckinghamshire*, whose interest in that County, together with his subtilty, fairly shadowed by his civil carriage, he became the ablest Actor of all, though Mr. *Pym* spake more in the Parliament, this man gave best counsel. And now he dies on the Bed of Honour, being a Soldier, but unfortunate, and before he had brought his Engines to some end, he had buried his Son and Heir, and two Daughters, and his Grand-childe, two onely Sons surviving, the one a Cripple, the other somewhat like a Lunatick. He received his deaths wound in

Anno
1643.

Mr. H. Martin
seizeth the
Regalia at
Westminster.

P. Rupert's
fight near
Tame.

Mr. Jo. Hamb-
den slain.
His Chara-
cter.

Anno

1643.

The *Hothams*
of *Hull* seized
Prisoners to
the Parlia-
ment.

in *Chalgrave* Field, the place where he first appeared to draw up his Men, to shew himself a Commander in this unhappy War.

It was before that Captain *Hotham* had been taken Prisoner, and escaped ten Days since from *Nottingham*, thence to *Lincoln*, and recovered *Hull*, so opportunely, that together with his Father Sir *Fohn* they were both seized upon, and sent Prisoners to the Parliament, and the Commissioner Sir *Matthew Bointon* for his pains therein, took possession of the Town and Command, for he coming thither unsuspected (being *Hotham's* Brother in Law) and much intrusted, makes himself Master of the Magazine and the affections of the Souldiers, ere Sir *Fohn* had espied the practice; but then too late he got out to *Beverley*, where he was set upon by his own Souldiers, corrupted by *Bointon*, who pursued him back to *Hull*, and at the Town-gate called *Beverley*, the very place where he acted against the Kings person heretofore, was himself knocked off his Horse by the But end of a Musket, and taken Prisoner, seizing his Wife and Children, rifled his House, and legally plundered him of all his Treasure, which he had raked together in the Ruine and Ranfack of his neighbour Subjects, to the value of ten thousand pounds, sending him and his Son, Wife and Children in a Ship Prisoners to the Parliament, to the effect of their future sufferings on the Scaffold the first of *January*, 1644.

Lands-down
fight against
Sir *W. Waller*,
by the *Cornish*,
July 5.

Thus were the military actions managed this way, whilest Sir *William Waller* was in the West with his whole Body upon the higher end of *Lands-down*, in a place of great advantage, whence he sent out a good party of Horse and Foot towards the Cavaliers; Sir *Bevil Greenvile* and Sir *Nicholas Slaining*, two gallant Gentlemen of *Cornwall*, lining the Hedges towards their Champain, and there advanced a strong party of Horse under protection of his Musketers, so that some of *Greenvile's* Horse being drawn out within Musket-shot retired in some disorder towards the Rear of his Foot, whereupon the *Cornish* Foot advanced, and bravely beat them out of the Hedges, and the former Horse speedily rallying again recovered their ground. Then a strong party of *Waller's* Horse drew into a large Field upon their Adversaries left Wing, which were charged by their Horse, and intirely routed; the *Cornish* Foot likewise driving theirs from Hedge to Hedge, through Woods, and down steepy Hills, back to their main Body, and at last forced them from the brow of a Hill which they had barracadoed, and whereon they had planted Cannon; for the ground they had was advantageous, an high Hill walled behinde and on both sides, with Works on the Front, the passage up very narrow and dangerous, one side Wood, the other side Hedges, and both lined with Musketers. This ground *Waller* had got, and stood in

an

Anno
1643.

an intire Body, his Foot within the Flank of stone-laid Walls, through which he had made places for his Horse to fall, being drawn up in *Battalia* at the Rear of his Foot, before the other party Horse and Foot could be drawn up in order, *Waller* charged them with his Horse, & played so thick with his Cannon and Muskets, that he forced them from the Hill, which yet was again assaulted, twice, nay thrice, and the fourth time with very great difficulty the Hill was regained, which *Greenvile* himself maintained with a Stand of his own Pikes against the power of the others Horse, and Foot and Cannon, to the acknowledgment of his Gallantry and Honour even by his Enemies, where he was unfortunately slain in the Front of his men, with his Serjeant Major and Captain Lieutenant dead at his feet; and in earnest, I have heard it confest with as much Honour as ever was conferred on an Enemy. Then the Cavaliers rallied their Horse, and drew up their Cannon, it growing dark, but shot on all sides till Mid-night, when their Adversaries stuck light Matches on the Hedges which received Volleys from each part of the Body; but in stead of answering these, they ran quite away, leaving the Field with five hundred Muskets, fourteen Barrels of Powder, a whole Stand of Pikes, with some Arms, but their Cannon they got off.

This Fight lasted from two a clock afternoon till one the next morning.

These aforesaid we finde slain with eight Officers, and some Gentlemen of note, Mr. *Leak* Son to the Lord *Daincourt* found dead at day-light with his Enemies Colours about his arm, Mr. *Barker*, Lieutenant Colonel *Wall*, Serjeant Major *Lower*, Captain *James*, Captain *Chalwell*, and Mr. *Bostard*.

But then it is said, that *Waller's* Foot were absolutely dispersed or cut off, with great loss of Officers Horse and Foot, modestly reported, onely it is assured the Cavaliers kept the Field, Arms, and Pillage, and such other signs of Victory. And this was done the fifth of *July*.

Whilest *Waller* fights, their General *Essex* solicites the Parliament with Letters inclining to petition for a Peace, which though it took well with some Lords, yet being read to the Commons, Mr. *Vassal* a London Burgeis desired that their General should be pressed to speak more plainly, and that if after the expence of two Millions of Treasure he had a minde to lay down Arms, he should let them know it, & that as good a Souldier as he should take them up: mentioning Sir *Will. Waller*, who was generally cried up by the City, untill they heard of his Defeat near the *Devises*, *Round-way-down*, whither the King having sent some Troops of Horse towards the West, which came within three Miles of the *Devises*, were met with by *Waller's* Forces being on the Down, between the Cavaliers and the Town,

Gen. *Essex* advises of peace.

Fight at
Round-way-down.

Anno

1643.

The Queen
entereth Ox-
ford.

E. of Lindsey
returns from
his Imprison-
ment by the
Parliament.

The Earls of
Bedford and
Holland revolt
to the King,
and back again
to the Parlia-
ment.

Prisoners ani-
mated to trea-
chery.

to hinder their joyning with the rest of the Army. Some Regiments of Horse on each side began the fight with equal success, till *Waller's* Horse made a Retreat to their Strength which lay on a Hill, where he was, and drew out his Foot, and commanded the Onset, but his Horse not enduring the hazzard, left the Foot to their Enemies Sword or mercifull Quarter, hundreds of them slain, and more Prisoners taken, four fair Brass Guns, Ammunition and Baggage, eight and twenty Colours and nine Cornets.

I wonder at this Defeat, for Sir *William Waller* had advantage of number in Men and Arms, five Regiments of Foot, six of Horse, five hundred Dragoons, eight Brass Guns. It is confest, that the Cavaliers were but fifteen hundred Horse additional to the other Forces, with two small Pieces of Cannon.

And to adorn the Victory, the Queen made her triumphant Entry into *Oxford* that day, her Return from beyond Seas.

And on the other side, to encourage Sir *William Waller* at this time when their *Generalissimo* was suspected, the Parliament voted to make and confirm Leases of the Office of *Botelier* of *England*, a Place of good profit and credit both.

The twelfth of *August* the Earl of *Lindsey* Great Chamberlain of *England* was welcomed to *Oxford* from his Restraint and Imprisonment since *Edg-hill* Fight, being now received by the Queen, Council, and Court, with all Expressions of Honour to him, and more could not be done for the present, in respect of the Kings absence at *Glocester* Siege.

The five and 20. of *August* the Earls of *Bedford* and *Holland* went from *London* towards *Oxford*, and being gotten to *Wallingford* intrusted themselves with the Kings Forces, untill their coming to submit to his Majesty: in the mean time they are received by the Governour Colonel *Blagge* with honourable respect, and so at last they were brought to the King, professing their Duty and Allegiance, and acknowledging their Errours this long time, whom the King received with favour and forgiveness. They held not out in this their Protestation, but fled back again to the Parliament.

The Committees of *Nottingham* and *Lincoln* held intelligence with some Prisoners of theirs in the Marshalls custody at *Newark*, whom they designed to blow up or to surprize the Magazine there, whilst they had some favour and freedom of the Goaler, their Letter conveyed to the Imprisoned discovers as much as will be necessary to know the men more than the matter.

Gentlemen and Prisoners for the Lord Jesus, our longlaboured Design is now ripe. Your care is expected according to your faith and promise.

Anno
1643.

mise. We doubt not but the opportunity of the Liberty afforded, you may advance the good Cause. The Magazine is near enough to you. Give notice to our Brethren under the Provost Marshall. Blessed is that Servant whom his Lord when he cometh shall finde so doing, *Matth. 24.46. The appointed time holdeth, which (we hope) to our hands.* Lift up your heads, for your Redemption draweth nigh, *Luke 21. 28.* Wherefore comfort one another with these words, *2 Thess. 4. 18.* The rest will we set in order when we come, *1 Cor. 11.24.* Greet all the Brethren, *1 Thess. 5.26.* The Lord establish the Work of our hands upon us, the Work of our hands establish he it, *Psal. 90. is the Prayer of*

Yours in the Lord,
The Committee of Nottingham and Lincoln.

Scripture is often made use of by the Sectaries to factious and seditious ends, and here to the hazzard of Murder; the easiest terms I can afford them.

The Lecturers were the most busie meddling men, even so, as ever have been the Kirkmen of Scotland; and therefore Mr. Saltmarsh, a seditious Minister, contrived certain Propositions of Counsel, which were read in the House, amongst many were these:

Ministers
make Proposi-
tions.

1. *That all means should be used to keep the King and his People from sudden union.*
2. *To cherish the War under the Notion of Popery, as the surest means to engage the People.*
3. *If the King would not grant their Demands, then to root him out, and the royal Line, and collate the Crown upon some body else.*

This last was too harsh to be swallowed by reasonable good men, who excepted against it; but Mr. Henry Martin said, *He saw no reason to condemn Mr. Saltmarsh: adding, That it were better one Family should be destroyed than many.*

To which Mr. Nevil Pool replied, *That Mr. Martin might explain what One Family he meant.*

Martin bold and beastly answers, *The King and his Children.* For which Speech, before the time was ripe to discover that Secret, he was voted a Prisoner to the Tower, Mr. Pym himself urging upon him, his extreme lewdness of life; but this punishment was but to cool the heat of the House for that time, for Martin was soon released upon the change of the Lieutenant of the Tower forthwith following.

The Recruits of the Army fell heavy upon the City of London, who were carested with all kindness to finish the Work, and to set out Sir William Waller again, and to win upon them, Sir Edward

The City
must set out
Sir W. Waller
again.

Anno

1643.

General Essex
musters at
Hounslow-heath.

Coniers was commanded to surrender his Lieutenancy of the *Tower* unto *Pennington* the Mayor of *London*, and so *Mistris Mayorefs* was quit with *Mistris Ven*, that she should be Governess of *Windfor* Prison, as she called it, and thereby command over Souldiers, which was a power she now might equal with hers.

But all would not do to the purpose which the Parliament expected, for the City were not able to effect more, and so the time calling for the General *Essex* to march out, he mustered on *Hounslow-heath* but ten thousand, and so *Sir William Waller* would be the longer attendant for his; yet on goes *Essex*, fresh Supplies being promised, and soon sent after him, for two Designs, to take *Oxford*, or to raise the Kings Siege against *Glocester*, which he did, marching for this purpose to *Maidenhead*, and so forward, and by the tenth of *September* raised the Siege; as hereafter in due place.

But the King failing at *Glocester*, his Service was performed by Prince *Maurice* at *Exeter*, which City he summoned often, and at last had this Answer.

That no evil counsels or hard opinions should abate the loyalty of their affections, and they neither did nor would enjoy any thing whereof his Majesty should not have the just and true command.

Exeter delivered up to
P. Maurice.

And accordingly on the fourth of *September* he took possession of *Exeter*, for having given a fierce Assault the day before, flung in their Granadoes, fired part of the Suburbs, and came to parley; but not liking their Conditions for that day, and having slept upon it also; on went the Prince, made himself Master of the great Sconce or Bulwark, turn'd the great Ordnance thereof upon the Town it self, which the Souldiers considered, as having no safety but in their seasonable submission, with all their Ordnance, Arms, and Ammunition, the Officers to depart with their Swords by their sides, and the common Souldiers with cudgels in their hands. And *Sir John Berkley* made Governour thereof for the King.

The King
caresses the
County of
Cornwall by
Declaration.

The King having prospered so well in the West, by the merit of his County of *Cornwall*, as also other wonderfull Successes which it hath pleased God to bless that loyalty in despite of all humane probability, He declares and significth, that as he cannot be forgetfull of so great Deserts, so could he not but desire to perpetuate the memory of these their merits, and of his gracious acceptance of them: and to that end did thereby render his Royal thanks to them in the most publick and lasting manner that he could devise. Commanding Copies thereof to be printed and published, and to be read in every Church and Chapel of the County, and there to be preserved upon good Record, that so as long as the Hi-

storie

storie of this State continueth, the memorie of their merits in the present action may be derived to perpetual posterity.

A gracious Act, not more conducing to the praise and honour of them who receive, than of him that gave it.

Judg Berkley one of the Judges for the promoting of Ship-money hath been long a Prisoner for that cause, and now was censured in a Fine of twenty thousand pounds, to be incapable of Dignity and Office in the Common-wealth, and to be continued a Prisoner during pleasure; so being formerly accused of high Treason, this Sentence seemed very partial to condemn him for Misdemeanours.

The strength of *Glocester* for the Parliament was no more than two Regiments of Foot, one hundred Horse, and the Trained Bands, with some Reformadoes, one hundred Horse more from *Berkley Castle*, in the whole about fifteen hundred men, fourty Barrels of Powder, and a slender Artillery, the Works large, and not perfected, from the South Gate Eastward to the North Port, defended with an old Wall lined with Earth, with a slender Work at the end thereof, with a Stone Barn that commanded several ways; upon the lower part of the City from the North to the West Gate, there was a Work newly raised, and the advantage of Marsh-grounds without, and a Line drawn within, from the inner North Gate under the College Wall to the *Priorie* of *St. Oswalds*, the West side defended by the River, the Meadows beyond level with the Town, from the Castle to the South Port with a firm and lofty Work, which commanded the ground in the Suburbs; the Ditches narrow, but full of Water round about. Thus they within, when the King hovers over the Hills, and now and then skirted upon the Town, before he laid his close Siege.

Upon the tenth of *August* they descended the Hills, the Mayor of the Town having heretofore answered Prince *Rupert's* Summons, *That he kept it according to his Oath for the King.* It was considered with themselves what Answer novv to make to the Kings person, this then.

True it is (say they) It was held so, but as to the sense of the Parliament; and the Citizens put no difference between a Command in Person, and a Deputation.

Whereupon tvvo Heralds gave them this Summons.

CHARLS Rex.

Out of our tender compasſion to our City of Glocester, and that it may not receive prejudice by our Armie, which we cannot prevent, if we be compelled to assault it, we are personally come before it to require the same;

Anno
1643.

Judg Berkley
fined.

Siege of Glo-
cester by the
King.

Anno
1643.

same, and are graciously pleased to let all the Inhabitants, Souldiers, and others, to know, that if they yield, all shall have pardon, without Exception, and that in the word of their King, and without prejudice to any person or their Estates; and a Governour shall be appointed, and such a moderate Garison for ease and security of the City and County: but if they shall neglect this offer of grace, they must expect the issue. To this Message we expect a clear and positive Answer within two hours; and for any persons safely to repair to, and return from us.

And novv vvas the King dravvn dovvn before the Tovvn, attended by Prince Charls and the Duke of York, Prince Rupert, and General Ruthen, vvith about six thousand Horse and Foot on that side, and tvo thousand Horse on the other side. And by this time an Ansver is come, presented by Major Pudsey and one Citizen.

We the Inhabitants, Magistrates, Officers and Souldiers within this Garison of Gloucester unto his Majesties gracious Message return this humble Answer, That we do keep this Citie according to our Oath and Allegaunce, to and for the use of his Majestie and his Royal Posteritie, and do accordingly conceive our selves wholly bound to obey the Commands of his Majestie, signified by both Houses of Parliament, and are resolved by Gods help to keep the Citie accordingly.

The King vvondered at their confidence vvithout any hope of Succour, Waller not in being, and Essex cannot come; and therefore they vvell to vvork, advancing forvvards into the East Suburbs, vvhich the City instantly fired for their better security vvithin. The next day they intrenched on the South and East parts under the shadowv of the night, but induring some Sallies from the Town vvith loss on both sides, the Ordnance also killed some few, and a Lieutenant Colonel and Captain of the Queens Black Regiment, Sir *Jacob Ashley* also shot in the arm.

By this time the *Welch* Forces under command of Sir *William Vavisor* vvere advanced to the Bishops house, leaving a Guard half a mile from the West Gate, the place deserted by the Enemy, and so passed over the River to joyn vvith the *Worcester* Forces, and made Leaguer on the North-vest side; General *Ruthen* behinde the Priory of *Lanthony* on the South side; Sir *Jacob Ashley* quartered in the East Suburbs. The East and South ports dammed up, and rammed vvith Earth, Cannon-proof, and the Walls from Port to Port lined to the Battlement, vvhere the Tovvn expected the main shock.

Three days after Captain *Grey* vvith an hundred and fifty Muskietiers sallied over the Works upon the *Worcester* Forces, vvith vvhom the *Welch* vvere not come, marching up to the Main Guard, killed

killed half a dozen Souldiers, took five Prisoners, burnt their Guard, and retreated. And not to be idle comes out Captain *Mal-lery* with an hundred and fifty Musketers to surprize some Ordnance which they supposed lay in some ground near North Gate, but retired with loss.

The sixteenth of *August* Captain *Crispe* did as much on the East side, sallied out with loss on both sides, the Cannon and Muskets playing to eithers detriment.

The Design of the Besiegers, swift and serious, yet hastened their Works effectual and certain for safeguard also, not chusing the weaker side for Assault, but the easier for their intentions, on the South and East side, raising their Works without trouble of the Springs, and to make Battery within Pistol-shot of the Wall, that wanted Flankers, and being once entered might possess the highest part of the Town.

And now they plant three Pieces of Ordnance of fourteen and four and twenty pound Bullet on the South side, and played upon the corner point of the Wall and a Brick house, killing some men, and so furiously also upon the Town Ordnance, making a slight Breach, which was soon made up with Wool-packs and Cannon-Baskets. And by this time had trenched near the Moat, making a Drain that sunk some of the Water, but were beaten off. Divers Granadoes shot out of Morter-pieces into the Town, many brake, and one had the Fuz quenched ere it fell, and was weighed sixty pounds.

The *Welch* and *Worcester* Forces now come up, four Pieces of Ordnance were placed before their Leaguer, and one against the *Avon* Gate; to oppose them, issues out at the North Gate some Forces, whilst their Lieutenant with fifty Shot was sent over the Works to make the Allarm, and so the greater party got behinde the Cannon, fell upon their Main Guard, and killed some, wounded more, nailed the Cannon, but lost many, and some Prisoners.

The Besiegers had now planted three Pieces of Cannon against the South, three on the East, and two at the East Gate within Pistol-shot of the Wall, with above an hundred and fifty Shot, battering the corner point, but being so near, if the Bullet missed the Wall, it flew quite over the Town, or lighted at Randum; but in the Intervals the Muskets played from the Walls, the Granadoes tearing the Houses, with some execution on the people.

After ten days Siege, two parties came out, the one commanded by *Sterin*son and *More*, at the North Gate, and to fall into their Trenches there, but by a Misguide they were carried round about to Sir *Jacob Ashley's* Quarter, took two Officers, and so retreated, two being killed, three hurt, and a Serjeant taken Prisoner.

The other party of the Lord *Stamford's* Regiment commanded by *Blunt* and *White* sallied down the River by Boat on the South part

Anno
1643.

A general
Storm.

A Mine
wrought.

part towards the Main Leaguer, skirmished by the way, but missing their other party, who were misled, and did not meet, and by help of their Ordnance, made a hard Retreat with many hurt.

By these means the Besiegers were kept awake with petty Alarms, whilst the King prepared for a general Storm, mean while wasting the Magazine within, daily acting to the terrour of the Inhabitants with Granadoes, Fire-balls, and such like confusion, and had now planted a Battery on the South side Westward, shooting into the lower part of the Town in one night twenty Fire-melting-hot-iron Bullets of twenty pound weight flying in the air like the streaming of a Star, playing their great Shot against the Walls, filling the Moat with Fagots, whereon they built a Gallery over the head of the Trench, four a breast, the shelter whereof they almost had wrought over the Moat, and with a Mine under the East Gate, which was countermined within, but given over on both sides, the Springs interrupting. But to discover, a Serjeant with five bold Fellows crept out at a Port hole in the Dungeon, at the East Gate, came up to the mouth of the Mine, took off the Board that covered it, and viewed the Miners, and cast a Hand-Granado amongst them, and so got back again: but with wondrous labour the Mine was wrought under the Gate, and were heard to work; and withall, the Besiegers had planted store of Cannon-baskets within half Musket-shot of the East-gate, point-blank intending a Battery there at the Spring of the Mine. To oppose which, the Town within made a very strong Work cross the Street, with a large Trench before it filled vvith Water, intending to raise it up to the Eaves of the Houses, and to plant Cannon there. A Sconce also vv as raised, vvith four Pieces of Ordnance, to vievv the out-Trenches, to clear vvithin the Walls, and scour the Flank, if in case they enter at the East Gate; and to hinder their Gallery they vvithin undermine a place to put forth a Piece of Ordnance at the bottom, to batter the Flank; and vvhen all this Plot vv as ready, and began to play, they vvithout sunk a Piece against the Port-hole of the others Mine, and forced them vvithin to vvithdrawv that Design.

The King constantly residing a miles distance, the slowness of whose design in this form of a Leaguer, proceeded from a prudent desire to save his foot, with this presumption that there was no power in being to raise the siege, which confidence deceived him till too late; wherefore besides the Mines, Gallery, and Batteries, there were framed sundry imperfect, chargeable and troublefom Engines to assault the lower part of the City, they ran upon wheels with Planks, musket proof, placed on the Axel-tree, with holes for musket shot, and a Bridge before it, the end whereof (the wheelings falling into the ditch) was to rest upon the Enemies breast-work.

They

They within, from any relief, or comfort of any intelligence by a strait siege, Only two spies sent out long since returned from *Warwick* giving them news of the March of the Earl of *Essex*, but was not assured, he lodging then under a cloud of disgrace being beaten out of the *West*.

Sir *William Waller*, (the City of *London*s favorite) had not recruit sufficient, *Essex* Army crumbled away, the City of *London* mutining, and insurrections in *Kent* distracted all, and certainly the Kings wasting time at *Glocester* with the lingring hope of having one paltry Town, lost him the means of gaining all, had he but Marched up to *London*, for the House of Lords had voted a Treaty of the King, the House of Commons debated the matter, the business of *Glocester* turned the stream of much concernment to their affairs, and was resolved to be relieved, the recruit of the Parliaments Army was too slow for the service, the *London* trained bands must do the deed, and shop-windows must be shut up and trading suspended, the expedition cried up out of every Pulpit, and an Army was raised in an instant, and upon their March. Against whom Prince *Rupert* is sent from the siege at *Glocester*, to retard their speed untill the King might rise and be gon, which was upon the fifth of *September*, and the Rear guard had fired their huts.

The Earl of *Essex* came to the brow of the Hills, seven miles from the City and gave his warning piece, but the Town had no minde to hinder the King, being glad of his departing, when all his indeavours were now prepared ready for a storm, the besieged in want, their Amunition consumed to three Barrels of powder, but the Towns loss of men were not many, not one hundred. (say they) and two or three Officers Captain *Harcus* and his Ensign, the King lost many more, and especialy his precious time to no purpose, had he waved *Glocester* and Marched to *London* directly, whilst the Parliament had no Army in the Field, *London* full of discontent and disorder, and their actions of Council unresolved, The Kings Northern Army under the Earl of *Newcastle* there also prevailing, but it was his fate to be overtaken with this idle siege.

Sir *Nicholas Crisp* One of the Farmers of the Kings Customs of *England*, had a high command also, both in the Army by Land, and afterwards in the Navy by Sea. He being Colonel of a Regiment of Horse, and his first service, took the charge of Convoy of the train of Artillery sent from *Oxford* to the siege of *Glocester*, and brought it in safety to the Kings Camp, and there very much esteemed. He was quartered in *Rouslidge* near *Glocester* at a Knights house, where finding Sir *James Enyon* and other Gentlemen of no Command in the Army, and had taken up so much of the house as was Incommode to the Colonel, yet he continued then there with much civility. Not long it was that the Guests had some horses missing out of the Pastures and so charged upon default the Colo-

Anno
1643.

Two spies re-
turn unto the
Town.

*Essex*s Army
in distress.

The Leaguer
take leave to
depart the fifth
of *September*.

Sir *Nicholas
Crisp* kills Sir
James Enyon.

Anno

1643.

nels Souldiers, and indeed very ruffly demanding the accompt from the Colonel himself, who promised indeavours to finde them out, but refused to draw out his Regiment for that purpose onely to satisfie Sir *James*, who urged it for his friend, himself no otherwise concerned. But being a person of eminency, and of a Spirit answerable, impatient of any delay or orderly proceedings, departs and sends a Gentleman with this summon to Sir *Nicholas Crisp* to meet him with his sword in a field near the Quarters and with this express addition, *That if he did refuse upon any pretence he would pistoll him against the wall.*

Upon which sharp and suddain summons of an hours warning the Colonel accompanied with a Gentleman, findes Sir *James* at the place with him that brought the challenge, and as it became a Christian, desired to understand the true reason of the meeting, professing that his Duty to the King, in the charge he had there of present service, might justifie his refusal to fight, Yet (he told him) he was come to give him all satisfaction, first as a Christian if he had done him Injury of which he professed ignorance. Sir *James* shortly replied, He came thither to receive no other satisfaction but by the sword, which instantly he drew out, and as soon so don by the other, whose fortune was at an encounter to give a pass that pierced Sir *James* about the rim of the belly, of which he was caried off to the same house in eminent danger. But whilst he had life and memory the Colonel gave him a visit, beseeching him to put by all passions and receive him infinitely afflicted at this misfortune, unwillingly provoked to this mischief, and so with Christian reconciliation they parted, and he died two daies after. Hereupon a legal trial was offered for any complainant to prosecute the matter. And after some time on *Munday* the second of *October* a Council of war being set thereupon gave their opinion and sentence thus.

In the cause depending against Sir Nicholas Crisp Knight, concerning the death of Sir James Enyon Knight, slain by him in a Duel in September last, The Court being informed that an Affixer was duly set up upon the Court house door according to their Order of the eight and tewentieth of September last, and the affixer afterwards taken down and brought into the Court, and Proclamation being made and no man appearing against him, according to the Affixer yet upon examination of all the matter, and difference between them, and that the friends of the slain taking notice thereof. The Court proceeded to sentence.

That although the Court doth condemn all manner of Duels and utterly disallow them, yet in this particular case of Sir Nicholas Crisp, in consideration of the great injury he received in his own Quarter and how much he was provoked and challenged, the Court hath thought fit to acquit him from any punishment in this Court, and doth leave and
recommend

The Reign of King Charls.

635

recommend him to his Majesties mercy for his gracious pardon, the second of October 1643.

Anno

1643.

Forth (Lord Lieutenant general and President) Dorset, Bristol, Northampton, Andover, Dunsmore, Jacob Astley, Arthur Aston; William Brumchard, John Byron.

Who all reported to the King the whole matter, and brought him to kiss his hand, and received a Pardon under the great seal of England, and to confirm him in the Kings affection, He had a Commission to be Admiral of a Fleet at Sea, set out by himself, and was undon for his Masters service.

The solemn League, by Oath and Covenant, being ordered to be sworn unto by all, and divers consciencious persons excepting against the same, and refusing, were therefore committed and sequestred to their utter undoing. Amongst many, Doctor Featly that excellent and learned Divine and Minister at Lambeth, had given by Letter to the Lord Arch-Bishop of Armagh Primate of all Ireland, an accompt of his demeanour in this business of the Scottish Covenant, and was therefore committed to the prison in the Lord Peters house in Aldersgate Street (as many other noble houses turned into Jayles) both his livings given away and his books bestowed upon White of Dorchester. It was the Doctors reasons that raised all this stir.

Solemn
League and
Covenant,

Dr. Featly
imprisoned
and why.

He first excepted against these words.

[We will endeavour the true reformed Protestant Religion in the Church of Scotland, in Doctrine, Discipline, worship and Government according to the word of God.]

These words (said the Doctor) imply that the Worship, Discipline and Government of the Church of Scotland is according to the word of God, which (said he) is more than I dare subscribe unto, much less confirm by an Oath, for first, I am not perswaded that any Plat form of Government in each particular circumstance is Jure Divino. Secondly admit some were, yet I doubt whether the Scots Presbytery be that. Thirdly although somewhat may seem to be urged out of Scripture for the Scots Government with some shew of probability, yet far from such evidence as may convince a mans conscience to swear it is agreeable to Gods word.

Next the Doctor excepted against that passage [I shall endeavour the extirpation of Prelacy in the Church of England &c.] I (saith he) dare not swear to that. First, In regard that I believe Episcopacy is an Apostolical Institution. Secondly, That the Church never so flourished, as within five hundred years after Christ when it was governed by Bishops. Thirdly, That our English Episcopacy is justified by the prime Divines of the Reformed Churches beyond the Seas. Fourthly, That our English Bishops now and ever since the Re-

Anno

1643.

formation have disclaimed all Papal dependency. Fifthly, That the four General Councils (confirmed in England by Act of Parliament, 1 Eliz.) assert Episcopacie. And sixthly, (vvhich all men need to consider) the Ministers of the Church of England ordained, according to a Form (confirmed by Act of Parliament) at their Ordination take an Oath, that they will reverently obey their Ordinary and other chief Ministers of the Church, and them to whom Government and charge is committed over them. This Oath I and all Clergie men have taken, and if we shall swear the Extirpation of Prolacie we shall swear to forswear our selves. Lastly, he excepted against that passage [I will defend the Rights and Privileges of Parliament, and defend his Majesties Person and Authoritie in defence of the true Religion, and Liberties of the Kingdom.] Here (said he) the Members are put before the Head, the Parliaments Privileges before the Kings Prerogative, and the restraint of defending the King onely in such and such cases, seems to implice something which I fear may be drawn to an ill consequence.

The Doctor urged that the intent of this Covenant vvas to bring in the Scots and to continue this horrid War, the taking up Arms against the King being a thing supposed, vvhich must not be contradicted.

In the end of the Letter the Doctor subscribed two Greek Letters for his Name, *Delta* and *Phi*, the *Phi* vvritten within the *Delta*, which troubled the Parliament to interpret, till Sir *Walter Earl* told them, that *Phi Delta* stood for Fidelity, yet because *Delta* stood above *Phi* it signified Malignancy, and so the Doctor was punished accordingly, for being afterwards convened before the Committee, where the Counsellour at Law Mr. *White* (the others Kinsman) was Chairman, not much better at Bar than able to dispute Arguments with that excellent School Divine: but Mr. *White* went another way to work, down-right conclusion to the Doctors last words, who said, *I am of this minde, and unalterable hercin.*

To whom the Chairman said, *If you will not be of another, you must suffer.*

The Doctor modestly made Reply, *Sir, I must give you an Answer out of St. Chrysostome upon the like Censure.*

*Nec mihi ignominiosum est pati quod passus est Christus:
Nec tibi gloriosum est facere quod fecit Fndas.*

And so he was sent back to their Gaol, when not long after the learned Synod at *Westminster* were put upon a piece of work somewhat difficult for them, and therefore writ a courteous Letter to him, beseeching his pains and sufficiency in that excellent Comment upon *St. Paul's Epistles*, which at their instance, and for their honour

honour he admirably performed in Prison: yet for that service to them, and his excellent merit of our Church, these men of *Westminster* never moved Tongue, Pen, or Hands, to help him out of Prison, there he sacrificed the remain of his days and died a Martyr, upon that score of the *Scots Covenant*.

Sir Robert Harloe moved in the House, that the Popes Bull to the *Irish* might forthwith be printed, For (said he) it will draw on the *Covenant*. A pretty Spectacle (said another) to see a Bull draw a *Covenant*. The *Covenant*, Money, Money, War, War, Liberty; and Liberty Rebellion: for such were the Links of this Chain, the City making this Order, for the speedy raising of Money for the sudden advancing of the *Scottish Armie*. And together with the presence of Religion and Liberty, there is now added a more eminent Danger, assuring the Citizens, That unless they sent in Money, not onely these Islands will be ruined, but the true Religion will be destroyed in all Protestant Churches, &c. And therefore the Ministers and Lecturers are to stir up their Congregations thereunto, and to subscribe their Sums of Money, &c. for which they shall have the Publick Faith of both Kingdoms of England and Scotland, together with such other Security as shall give content to all true lovers of their Religion and Country.

These ways hastened on the *Scots Army*, whilest they cunningly lingred for their Salary, a good Sum of Money.

And to let you see what that was, take the particles of this Speech.

Our Brethren of Scotland (says one) are now moving to relieve us out of captivity; That the Cities great Honours and Privileges were conferred by Parliament, and not by the King; That the Cities chiefeft glorie had ever been to cleave to the Common-wealth, when Kings were seduced, &c. That the Scots coming would regain Newcastle, whereby they might set a Rate upon Coals, and raise great Sums of Money, &c. That the Scots did not value Money as the end of their coming, because we owed to them above two hundred thousand pounds. And so be that they might have but this one hundred thousand pounds, (the Sum proposed) they would demand no more, but will assist us with twenty thousand Horse and Foot, to free us from that popish plundering Armie, &c.

But the King to undeceive his people, not to swear to be forsworn, publishes his Proclamation against the *Covenant*.

That whereas there is a Printed Paper intituled [A Solemn League and Covenant for Reformation and Defence of Religion, the Honour and happiness of the King, and the Peace and Safety of the three Kingdoms of England, Scotland, and Ireland] pretended to be ordered

Proclamation
against the So-
lemn League
and Cove-
nant.

Anno
1643.

ordered by the Commons in Parliament, on the one and twentieth Day of September last to be printed and published, which Covenant though it seems to make specious expressions of Pietie and Religion, is in truth nothing else but a traiterous and seditious Combination against him, and against the established Religion and Laws of this Kingdom in pursuance of a traiterous Design and Endeavour to bring in foreign Forces to invade this Kingdom. His Majestie doth therefore straitly charge and command all his loving Subjects of what degree or qualitie soever upon their Allegiance, that they presume not to take the said seditious and traiterous Covenant, most straitly forbidding all his Subjects to tender the said Covenant, as they will answer the contrary at their extremest peril.

Aud this Proclamation came to the hands of the new Mayor of London, Mr. Wollaston, who succeeded Isaac Pennington, and was sworn by Baron Trevor on Munday the last of October, 1643.

And yet that one of the Savoy (who succeeded Mr. White) in the Mastership or Ministry there) did preach to his Auditory, That they ought to contribute, and pray, and do all they were able to bring in their Brethren of Scotland, for the settling of Gods cause. I say (saith he) this is Gods cause, and if ever God had a cause this is it, and if this be not Gods cause, then God is no God for me, but, &c. Such Blasphemy followed as I forbear to insert. This Speech was then frequently reported, nay imprinted, and to this hour pretends to be justified by divers of his Parishioners, and others; and if the party be innocent, he might do well to vindicate himself from such Aspersions, in hope of which I forbear to name him.

Yet Sir George Chidleigh of the West, and earnest sometime he had been for the Parliament, ingeniously acknowledges his opinion of the Cause in a purposed Declaration written by himself to satisfie his Friends.

That Petitions of Right are commendable, and Remonstrances may be lawfull, but Arms though defensive are ever doubtfull. My Lot (saith he) fell to be cast on the Parliament side, by a strong opinion of the goodness of their Cause, which to my judgment then appeared to be so; Religion and the Subjects Libertie seemed to me to be in danger; but the Destruction of Kingdoms cannot be the way to save it; nor can the loss of Christian Subjects, nor the Subjects loss of their Estates by Plunder or Assesment concur with pietie, nor yet with proprietic: as for Religion, which is the chief, his Majestie (whom God long preserve) hath given us unquestionable Securitie. I have cast my self at my Sovereign's feet, and implored his gracious pardon. I will contend no more in word or deed. And this my Resolution with the undisputable grounds thereof, I thought good to declare to my Friends and Countrey-men, that they may understand my sitting to proceed from no compulsion.

Minister of
the Savoy his
Blasphemy.

Sir G. Chid-
leigh leaves
the Cause.

Anno

1643.

The Earl of Holland returns to the Parliament.

The Earl of *Holland* having been of the Parliaments cause and in Arms against the King from the first beginning, was conscious it seems of the Cause, and therefore without taking leave, accompanied onely with the Earl of *Bedford*, was come to the King at *Oxford*, where he had but slender Reception for the present, although he put himself in a posture of Arms with the King in the Field; but that not prevailing, after nine Weeks he as privately returns back again to *London* the sixth of *November*, and in some hope to be readmitted into the House of Lords, he made the best means he could by his Friends, but without the favour of admittance: then by weak counsel advised, he publishes in print his Reasons of stepping aside to the King, and the best Arguments he could for his Return to the Parliament again, with whom he professes to live and die. By which the Parliament were sure to have him devoted to their service, if they should accept of his proffer, which being retarded, and he not constant to himself to attend the time, he most unfortunately engaged afterwards against the Parliament, was taken Prisoner, arreigned, and this Apology of his the greatest Evidence to conclude him guilty; and suffered death, as hereafter in its due place.

The King had sent to the Marquess of *Ormond*, Lieutenant General of his Majesties Forces in *Ireland*, for the present Transportation of a part of his Army into *England*, *Novemb. 13.* every Officer and Souldier taking Oath to maintain and defend the Protestant Religion, the King and his just power against the Forces under Conduct of the Earl of *Essex*, and all other Forces against the King. These *Irish* Forces coming under command of Sir *Michael Ernley* an experienced Souldier in the *Low Countreys*. And being landed in *Wales* were saluted by Letters from the Parliament Commanders there, lest either party might be mistaken in the publick Quarrel; telling them,

Irish Forces come over to the King in *England*.

That we apprehend, and are assured, your Voyage into *Ireland* was to fight against Popish Rebels, and for the Protestant Religion: and we imagine you are not fully informed of the cause to be engaged against us; and if you be the same you were when you went over, we doubt not, but to procure satisfaction from the Parliament for your faithfull Service there, with like Preferment here.

Wrexham, *Novemb. 18.*

1643.

Your affectionate and faithfull Friends, &c.

To which the five Colonels from *Ireland* return this Answer.

Gentlemen, We were not engaged in the Service in *Ireland* otherwise than by the Kings command. The Service we have done none dares extennate.

Anno

1643.

tenuate. And although we are very sensible how unworthily we have been deserted by your pretended Parliament, yet we are not returned hither without his Majesties special Commission and Authoritie. If you have the like from the King for the Arms you carry, we shall willingly treat with you, otherwise we shall bear our selves like Souldiers and loyal Subjects.

Hawerden, Novemb. 20.

Michael Ernley, &c.

1643.

Postscript. That Officer of your Armie, which came into our Quarters without safe Conduct, we detain till his Majesties pleasure be further known.

And these *English* from *Ireland* not long after take in *Hawerden Castle* near *Chester*, being soon yielded up to them by the greater number of *Souldiers* within, which lately came out of *Ireland*, and enforced to the *Parliaments* Service, surrender to their old *Comrades*.

Cessation of
Arms in Ire-
land for a year.

At this time was the Cessation of Arms with the *Rebells* in *Ireland* concluded by the *Kings* command, for one whole year, from the fifteenth of *September*, 1643. at twelve a clock. And because it was then and since charged home upon the *Kings* account, and the effects of evil counsel, we shall endeavour to lay down some *Motives* and *Grounds* inducing to the Cessation, and the *Articles* themselves, with the opinion of sundry of the *Noblemen* and *Officers* of the *Kings* Army there.

It was I confesse the greatest Argument with which the peoples affections have been infected by the subtilty of the *Contrivers* of the *Civil War* of *England*, *The Kings* neglect of his poor *Protestant Subjects* in *Ireland*. Though we may remember his several *Messages* and *Importunities* to the *Parliament* in that business, his Offer to engage his Person in that War, his consenting to all *Propositions* for raising of *Men* and *Money*, till it was evident, that under colour of those *Men* and *Money* to quench that *Rebellion*, were both imploied in kindling and maintaining the unnatural War at home, nay the King grants his *Commission* to such as the *Parliament* named for managing the *Irish* affairs, according to their own *Instructions*, but none of them performed.

Vide the Kings
Narrative of
Uxbridg Treas-
ty.

So then, afterwards, about *November* last, 1642. the King had been advertised by the *Privy Council* in *Ireland*, and by several *Petitions* and *Remonstrances* of all the principal *Commanders* and *Officers* of his Army there, of the miserable condition of his *Forces*, in want of *Money*, *Victuals*, and *Ammunition*, *Apparel*, and what not? of either of which they were not like to be supplied from the *Parliament* of *England*, that undertook for all. The very *Men* raised by the *Kings* *Commission* here for that purpose were imploied

Anno
1643.

employed in the Army of General Essex. These things were known in *Ireland*, and the effects foreseen, which encouraged the Rebels there in some hopes of Peace by the Protestants necessities, if not, it might be possible for some Pacification or Cessation.

To that end the *Irish* frame a short Petition to the King, presented to the Lords Justices and Council there, in the Name of the *Roman* Catholicks for to be heard to speak for themselves.

In the beginning of *December* after, the *Irish* Committee petition the King at *Oxford*, of the *miserie and necessitie of that gasping Kingdom, unless timely Relief were not, his loyal Subjects must yield their fortunes a prey, their lives a sacrifice, and their Religion a scorn to the merciless Rebels.*

Upon which Commissioners meet on both sides, but so unsatisfactory, that the Kings Lieutenant General there, being troubled with the cavils and proceedings of the Rebels, marched out in *Feb.* with two thousand five hundred Foot, and five hundred Horse to force Victual from them for his Army, not having received any Relief from *England* in four Moneths before, so that in *March* 16. following the Lords Justices and Council signifie, *That the State and Army there were in terrible want, and that unless Money, Munition, Arms, Cloaths were speedily sent thither, utter destruction and loss of that Kingdom must follow.*

Instead of Redress, the very Ships as were to transport thither Cloaths and Victuals from charitable people, were seized and taken by the Earl of *Warwick*, and endeavours here to draw the *Scots* Forces from thence into this Kingdom to assist the Parliament.

Whereupon the Marquess *Ormond* the Kings Lieutenant General there had (the 31. of *July* last) Commission to agree of a Cessation for a year, which was concluded at *Singinston* the fifteenth of *September*, at twelve a clock, for a year, and confirmed by Proclamation of the Lords Justices and Council at *Dublin* the nineteenth of *September*, 1643. *Donough Viscount Muskery, Dillon, Plunket, Talbot, Barnwell*, and others were for the Catholick Subjects, as they styled themselves.

The Articles are ordinarily the same as usual, free Trade, and Prisoners of War released. And as a Gift to the King, they ingage for thirty thousand eight hundred pounds, to be paid as a Present to the Kings use, at several Payments before *May-day*.

Then to justify the necessity of the Cessation for the good of the Kingdom, we finde an Instrument setting down the misery of the Nation, and want in the Army. It had been proposed to very many persons of Honour and others in the Army, who framed a Writing importing all the former particulars, and there conclude, *They for these causes do conceive it necessary for his Majesties Honour and Service that the said Marquess Ormond assent to a Cessation of Arms for*

Anno
1643.

one whole Year on the Articles and Conditions drawn up, and to be perfected by virtue of his Majesties Commission, for the preservation of this Kingdom of Ireland; witness our Hands this fifteenth of Sept. 1643.

Clanricard and St. Albans, Roscomon, Dungarven, Brahazon, Inchequin, Lucas, Ware, Erule, Hunks, Paulet, Eustace, Povey, Gifford, Percival, Warren, Cook, &c.

Upon the Rebellion and Troubles in Ireland, and upon the Cefation of Arms there, the King hath exprest himself with that clearness, as to the satisfying of all malicious Aspersions, which some men have endeavoured to charge upon him, where he saith;

Eikon Bas.
c. 12.

That the Commotions in Ireland were so sudden, and so violent, that it was hard at first either to discern the Rise, or applie a Remedie to that precipitant Rebellion.

Indeed, that Sea of Bloud, which hath there been cruelly and barbarously shed, is enough to drown any man in eternal both infamie and miserie, whom God shall finde the malicious Authour or Instigatour of its Effusion.

It fell out as a most unhappie Advantage to some mens malice against me; that when they had impudence enough to lay any thing to my charge, this bloudie opportunitie should be offered them, with which I must be aspersed: although there was nothing which could be more abhorred to me, being so full of sin against God, disloyaltie to my self, and destructive to my Subjects.

Some men took it very ill not to be believed, when they affirmed, that what the Irish Rebells did, was done with my privitie (at least,) if not by my Commission: But these knew too well, that it is no news for some of my Subjects to fight, not onely without my Commission, but against my Command and Person too; yet all the while to pretend, they fight by my Authoritie, and for my safetie.

I would to God the Irish had nothing to allege for their imitation against those whose blame must needs be the greater, by how much Protestant-principles are more against all Rebellion against Princes, than those of Papists. Nor will the goodness of mens intentions excuse the Scandal and Contagion of their Examples.

But who ever fail of their Dutie toward me, I must bear the blame; this Honour mine Enemies have always done me, to think moderate Injuries not proportionate to me, nor competent Trials, either of my patience under them, or my pardon of them.

Therefore, with exquisite malice, they have mixed the Gall and Vineger of falsitie and contempt, with the Cup of my Affliction; charging me not onely with untruths, but such, as wherein I have the greatest share of Loss and Dishonour by what is committed; whereby (in all Politic, Reason, and Religion, having least cause to give the least consent,

and

and most grounds of utter detestation) I might be represented by them to the world the more inhumane and barbarous: Like some Cyclopick Monster, whom nothing will serve to eat and drink, but the flesh and bloud of mine own Subjects; in whose common welfare mine interest lies as much as some mens doth in their perturbations; who think they cannot do well but in evil times; nor so cunningly as in laying the odium of those sad Events on others, wherewith themselves are most pleased, and whereof they have been not the least occasion.

And, certainly, 'tis thought by many wise men, that the preposterous Rigour and unreasonable Severitie, which some men carried before them in England, was not the least Incentive that kindled and blew up into those horrid Flames, the Sparks of Discontent, which wanted not pre-disposed fewel for Rebellion in Ireland, where, Despair being added to their former Discontents, and the Fears of utter Extirpation to their wonted Oppressions, it was easie to provoke, to an open Rebellion, a People prone enough to break out to all exorbitant violence, both by some Principles of their Religion, and the natural Desires of Libertie; both to exempt themselves from their present Restraints, and to prevent those after-rigours, wherewith they saw themselves apparently threained, by the covetous zeal, and uncharitable furie of some men, who think it a great Argument of the Truth of their Religion to endure to no other but their own.

God knows, as I can with Truth wash mine hands in innocencie, as to any guilt in that Rebellion; so I might wash them in my Tears, as to the sad apprehensions I had, to see it spread so far, and make such waste. And this in a time, when Distractions and Fealousies here in England made most men rather intent to their own safetie, or Designs they were driving, than to the Relief of those, who were every day inhumanely butchered in Ireland: Whose tears and bloud might, if nothing else, have quenched, or, at least, for a time, repressed and smothered those Sparks of civil Dissentions and Fealousies, which in England some men most industriously scattered.

I would to God no man had been less affected with Irelands sad estate than my self; I offered to go my self in Person upon that Expedition; But some men were either afraid I should have any one Kingdom quieted; or loth they were to shoot at any mark here less than my self; or that any should have the glorie of my Destruction, but themselves. Had my many offers been accepted, I am confident, neither the Ruine had been so great, nor the Calamitie so long, nor the Remedie so desperate.

So that, next to the sin of those, who began that Rebellion, theirs must needs be, who either hindered the speedie suppressing of it by Domestick Dissensions, or diverted the Aids, or exasperated the Rebels to the most desperate Resolutions and Actions, by threatening all Extremities, not onely to the known Heads and chief Incendiaries, but even to the whole Communitie of that Nation, resolving to destroy Root and Branch, Men, Women, and Children, without any regard to those usual

Anno
1643.

Pleas for Mercie, which Conquerours, not wholly barbarous, are wont to hear from their own breasts, in behalf of those, whose oppressive Fears, rather than their malice, engaged them; or whose imbecillitie for Sex and Age was such, as they could neither lift up a hand against them, nor distinguish between their right hand and their left: Which preposterous, and (I think) un-evangelical Zeal, is too like that of the rebuked Disciples, who would go no lower in their Revenge, than to call for fire from Heaven upon whole Cities, for the repulse or neglect of a few; or like that of Jacob's Sons, which the Father both blamed and cursed: chusing rather to use all Extremities which might drive men to desperate obstinacie, than to applie moderate Remedies; such as might punish some with exemplary Justice, yet disarm others, with tenders of Mercie upon their Submission, and our protection of them from the furie of those, who would soon drown them, if they refused to swim down the popular stream with them.

But some kinde of zeal counts all mercifull moderation, lukewarmness; and had rather be cruel, than counted cold; and is not seldom more greedy to kill the Bear for his skin, than for any harm he hath done. The confiscation of mens Estates being more beneficial, than the charitie of saving their Lives, or reforming their Errours.

When all proportionable Succours of the poor Protestants in Ireland (who were daily massacred and overborn with numbers of now-desperate Enemies) were diverted and obstructed here, I was earnestly intreated and generally advised, by the chief of the Protestant partie there, to get them some respite and breathing by a Cessation; without which they saw no probabilitie (unless by miracle) to preserve the Remnant that had yet escaped: God knows, with how much commiseration and solicitous caution I carried on that business, by Persons of Honour and Integrity; that so I might neither encourage the Rebells insolencie, nor discourage the Protestants Loyaltie and Patience.

Yet, when this was effected in the best sort that the necessitie and difficultie of affairs would then permit, I was then to suffer again in my Reputation and Honour; because I suffered not the Rebells utterly to devour the remaining handfulls of the Protestants there.

I thought, that in all reason, the gaining of that respite could not be so much to the Rebells advantages (which some have highly calumniated against me) as it might have been for the Protestants future, as well as present safetie; if, during the time of that Cessation, some men had had the grace to have laid Irelands sad condition more to heart; and laid aside those violent motions which were here carried on by those, that had better skill to let blood than to stanch it.

But in all the mis-constructions of mine actions, (which are prone to finde more credulitie in men to what is false and evil, than love or charity to what is true and good) as I have no Judg but God above me, so I can have comfort to appeal to his omniscience, who doth not therefore deny mine Innocence, because he is pleased so far to try my patience, as he did his Servant Job's.

I have

I have enough to do to look to mine own conscience, and the faithfull discharge of my Trust as a King; I have scarce leisure to consider those swarms of Reproaches, which issue out of some men mouths and hearts, as easily as smoak or sparks do out of a Fornace; much less to make such prolix Apologies, as might give those men satisfaction; who, conscions to their own depth of wickedness, are loth to believe any man not to be as bad as themselves.

'Tis Kingly to do well, and hear ill: If I can but act the one, I shall not much regard to bear the other.

I thank God I can hear with patience, as bad as the worst of Enemies can falsely say. And I hope, I shall still do better than they desire, or deserve I should.

I believe it will at last appear, that they who first began to imbroil my other Kingdoms, are in great part guilty; if not of the first letting out, yet of the not timely stopping those horrid Effusions of Bloud in Ireland.

Which (whatever my Enemies please to say or think) I look upon, as that of my other Kingdoms, exhausted out of mine own veins; no man being so much weakened by it, as my self: And, I hope, though mens unsatiable cruelties never will, yet the Mercy of God will at length say to his Justice, It is enough: and command the Sword of Civil Wars to sheath it self: his mercifull Justice intending, I trust, not our utter Confusion, but our Cure; the abatement of our sins, not the desolating of these Nations.

The English Parliament Commissioners in Scotland had Instructions to treat there, concerning the maintenance and ordering of the Scottish Army in Ireland, and to settle some mutual course to mannage that War.

Articles for
the British
Army in Ire-
land.

Accordingly seven Articles were agreed upon at Edinburgh, the eight and twentieth of November, 1642. by a Committee of both Kingdoms, there after advising with sixteen Agents and Officers sent from the Scottish Army.

In the fourth Article of that Treaty, they agreed, That he who doth or shall command in chief over the Scottish Army by joint consent of both Kingdoms, shall also command the rest of the British Forces in Ireland.

2. For the manning of that War, and prosecuting the ends expressed in the Covenant, that the same be done by joint advice of the Committees of both Kingdoms, and afterwards agreed upon by Votes of both Houses.

3 That the Earl of Leven, Lord General of the Scottish Forces in Ireland, being now by the Votes of both Houses agreed to be Commander in chief over all the Forces, as well British as Scots, according to the fourth Article, be desired with all convenient speed to nominate and appoint a Commander in chief under his Excellency

Anno

1643.

Cirencester
surprized.

Newbery fight.

lency over the said Forces to reside with them upon the place. And a joynt Committee of both Kingdoms are appointed to reside with the said Forces, and enabled with joint Instructions of both Kingdoms for Regulating the said Forces, and carrying on of the war, and accordingly the Committee were sent and so remained there.

Glocester now relieved, the loss of their Enemy, the Earl of *Essex* leaves with them three Culverins, 46. barrels of powder, and sets the Garison in order with the plunder & provision of the Country, filling their Granaries very plentifully and so departs. The *London* Trained bands, having done their work would needs go home, but must pass the Kings pikes first, and how their General also could escape the Kings Ingagement of a return was difficult, not to be penned up in those parts, and so made speed after the King, who was Marched some miles before, and passed by *Cirencester* leaving there a strong party, where *Essex* his forlorn hope came and entred the Town, whilst his Army surrounded it, killed the Centry sleeping, Marched up to the Market place without opposition (being supposed Prince *Maurice* his forces that night expected) entered their houses and surprized the people in their beds without any Allarm, seized four hundred men and thirty Cart loads of Provision, their onely support of the Souldier against the next battel at *Newbery*; From thence *Essex* Marches to *Chilieton*, the Cavaliers facing them on *Mauvart* hills, but to amaze them, *Essex* seems to retreat, but sent out a party of horse who met and fired, but were fain to wheel off with loss, then the foot came on with a gallant charge, accompanied with a volley of Dragoons, and were answered as bravely by the King for an hour without ceasing, and but time for *Essex* to bring on the Trained bands, and Auxiliaries without any effect, for night parted the fray, and so from hence he Marches the next day to *Newbery*, where the King being before hand had the advantage of the ground, and planted his Ordinance, with all the forces thereabouts. On *Wednesday* the twentieth of *September*, early as the sun the General takes a view of the Cavaliers set in Battalia at *Newbery* Common, draws up and falls to firing, for notice being brought to the King with his forces at *Eversham*, that the Earl of *Essex* was returning from *Glocester*, gave order to follow him: and on the eighteenth of *September*, his Majesties foot marching towards *Wantage*, Prince *Rupert* with the whole body of horse advanced on the right hand to finde out *Essex*, and got view of them that afternoon in a bottom near *Auburn* in *Wiltshire*, and gave them two charges by the commanded party of Colonel *Urrey* falling upon *Essex* Rear of his Horse, where both encountred with equal loss, *Essex* stands in Battalia for an hour and then marches; the Prince overtakes him with a second charge adding the Queens Regiment as a reserve to the commanded party, and his own Brigado to follow both. *Essex*'s horse appointed

pointed to bring up the Rear, haſtned forward within the Foot, and brought *Ruperts* ſo near that it was neceſſary to decline them by falling off to the Right hand, where two great Bodies of *Effex's* Horſe came down a Hill and in excellent order received the others charge, and after with eithers ſwords, where the Lord *Fermin* received a flight wound on his Arm, and the Lord *Digby* a ſhot on his head piece, with loſs of ſome men: then thoſe wheeling about ingaged the Lord *Fermin* with part of his Regiment, almoſt to a loſs, but that they forced through ſome Bodies of Foot, and got the better at that encounter, onely with loſs of Colonel *Conſtable*, and that brave Gentleman the Marqueſs *de la Viennville* who was firſt taken priſoner, and in cold blood unhandſomely ſlain, and ſo night made either party retire. The Kings Infantry was now at *Wantage*, from whence *Rupert* deſired them to march directly to *Newbery*, with all ſpeed, the Horſe reſreſhing at *Lamborn*, and *Effex* towards *Hungerford*, arrived there the next morning ſix miles off, & ſo to *Newbery*, but the King being come up before prevented them of accommodation there, and lodged there himſelf that night, all his Horſe and ſome Muſketiers were immediately drawn out, beyond the water towards *Effex* his Army, his whole body being within two miles and a half, ſo as the parties fell to ſkirmiſh, till dark night. On goes *Effex* and ſurprizes the Kings new raiſed Troops at *Cirenceſter*, ſcarce warm in their quarters.

And the twentieth of *September*, the King ſaw his Enemy ſeated in a place the moſt advantageous, the Horſe, Foot and Cannon ſo planted for ſafety to themſelves, and annoyance of the King, that it was conceived his Maſteſty was forced firſt to fight for a place to fight on, which he did and gained the Hill; the other pelting upon them from choſen ground, buſhes, and hedges.

This Hill (near *Newbery*) and *Enbarn-heath* were the places where the moſt of this fight was performed. The chief Commanders of Horſe for the King, (beſides Prince *Rupert* and the Lord *Wilmot* his Lieutenant General) were the three Noble Lords, the valiant Earls of *Carnarvan* and *Northampton*, and the Lord *Chandoys*, Sir *Charls Lucas*, Colonel *Charls Gerrard*, and Lieutenant Colonel *Oneal*. In which fight were ſlain couragious *Carnarvan*, whoſe memory ſince his undertaking to be a Commander, is precious in Acts of honour, and he that killed him lived not an inſtant after. So was there ſlain the Noble Earl of *Sunderland*, Colonel *Morgan*, Lieutenant Colonel *Feilding*, and many Gentlemen volunteers, by name Mr. *Stroud*, and there were hurt of the prime Officers the Lord *Andover*, Sir *Charls Lucas*, Colonel *Gerrard*, Colonel *Ivers*. And of the Volunteers the Earls of *Carlisle* and *Peterborough*, Mr. *John Ruſſell*, Mr. *Edward Sacvile*, Mr. *Henry Howard*, Mr. *George Porter*, Mr. *Progers*. The Kings foot were commanded by Sir *Nicholas*

Noble men
ſlain and hurt.

ANNO

1643.

cholas Byron, and the Horse by Sir *John Byron*. The chief Officers hurt, were Colonel *Derry*, Lieutenant Colonel *George Lisle* (who led on the forlorn hope) and Lieutenant Col. *Edward Villiers*, and here at the dispute of the Hill was slain that learned Lord *Viscount Falkland*, Secretary of Estate. The number slain on both sides are uncertain, for what is confessed of the Cavalier, supposes more of their Enemies, I would there had been less then there were of either. Only thus much is notorious, not a Lord of the other side; but in earnest we must give assurance many of their chief Officers were killed. The slaughter fell foule on the *London* Trained bands and Auxiliaries, as being put upon the worst of service for their former ingratfull abuse and nicknaming their Noble General.

Now for the Honour of the field: The General *Essex* Army marched away, but left their heavy carriages behind, some Barrels of shot, Surgeons chests and their dead bodies, to the view of the Cavaliers, which the General *Essex* gave warrant to bury, viz. To Mr. *Fulk* Minister, and the Constables of the Parish of *Enburn*.

These are to will and require you forthwith upon sight to bury all the dead bodies lying in and about Enburn and Newbury-wash, upon your peril if disobeying, the one and twentieth of September, 1643.

Essex.

But the Kings care also appeared to the dead and wounded, thus.

Our will and command is, that you forthwith send into the Towns and Villages adjacent, and bring thence all the sick and hurt Souldiers of the Earl of Essex's Army, and though they be Rebels and deserve the punishment of Traytors, yet out of our tender compassion upon them as being our Subjects, Our will and pleasure is that ye carefully provide for their Recovery as well as for those of our own Army, and then to send them to Oxford, the one and twentieth of September, 1643.

To the Mayor of Newbery.

And so they were buried on both sides. Many colours of the Kings Cornets were brought to *London*, amongst them one was a draught of the Parliament House, with the heads of the two Gunpowder Traytors set upon it, with this Motto *Ut extra, sic intus*, and being concluded to be of Colonel *Spencers*, he and his Posterity, were voted to be extirpated out of the Kingdome, but yet it proved not his Colours.

The King and Queen stood the day upon the Hill, and saw the fight, a harder bout to both sides than that of *Edge Hill*.

Essex his aim was but to get through and pass to *London*, so on they march homewards, but Colonel *Hurry* makes after with a good

good party of Horse, and falls upon theirs that brought up the Rear, and daring to stand, directly ran forwards quite through their own Foot, and being in a narrow lane pressed them under the Horse heels, routing themselves to the full, so that the Cavaliers had less need to raise any courage, for their Enemy suffered exceedingly, whilst they clambred over or through the hedges, took the shot or the sword, at pleasure of the Assailants; then indeed those that were gotten into the field, did their part and forced the Horse to return back again.

The success of which Battel gave much grace to the General *Essex*, and repute to the *London* Trained bands, a piece of service gallant on all sides, enabled by its wonderfull rise, lively progress, nimble expedition, Brave adventures, but more advantage to the Parliaments party, by which advance they might have framed an Army, easily to have mastered the Country, and distressed all the Kings Chief Garisons, now reduced to those thereabout, *Bristol* and *Oxford*, and to engage the rest as *Hereford* and *Worcester*, by stopping their supply of men and money.

And after *Newbery* fight the King sends Sir *William Vavisor* to *Hereford*, with a strong party to raise Forces in those parts, and to command in Chief in that County, and *Glocestershire*, to distress *Glocester* on the *Welch* side of the County, and to Garison *Tenxbury*, which he did coming from *Hereford* with seven hundred Horse and Foot, carressed the Country with all candour, but could not work upon them, and therefore retyred back again, yet the King had Garisons round about, *Snidley* Castle, maintained by the Lord *Chandos*, stopt the entercourse with *Warwick*, which was the only way of commerce with *London*. *Berkly* Castle also for the King, and kept by a *Scotish* Captain; In the Forrest of *Dean* was Sir *John Winter* strongly settled, and to boot a Garison was put into *Beverston* Castle, which enlarged their Quarters, and stopt the Parliaments parties contribution, and especially from *Glocester*, who to subsist were forced to seek forrage placing a company at *Frampton* house, to stop the incursions from *Berkley*, Colonel *Devereux* his Regiment garisoned a strong house at *Presbury*, within four miles of *Snidley* Another guard was set at *Westbury* on the edge of the Forrest to affront Sir *John Winter*, who from the Pen (secretary to the Queen) was put to the pike, and did his business very handsomely, for which he found the enmity of the Parliament ever after.

Indeed he was assisted with the Lord *Herberts* Horse, and threatened the Enemy out of the Forest, and had made a passage over the *Severn* and *New haven* for that purpose.

Some weeks after the departure of the siege from *Glocester*, *Massie* marched with his two Troops to *Berkley* Castle; the Musketers faced and kept in the Castellians, whilst the Horse designed to

Several successions on either side.

Sir William Vavisor for the Kings retire.

Sir John Winter for the King.

Ann^o

1643.

fetch in Malignants, but met with the Lord *Herberts* Troop and one hundred and fourty Horse, besides which came to relieve the Castle, which were fought with and retreated, so did the Enemy return home again.

Sir *Fohn Winter* now entered upon the Government of *Newnham*, and plundered all the Villages about, and came within three miles of *Glocester* driving away store of Cattel. *Massy* draws out seventy Horse, pursues them to their Garison, where they were entered with all their plunder: five Troops of the Lord *Herberts* fell on *Masseys* Rears: which stood them with advantage, but Sir *Fohn Winter* chiefly respected his former secure Garison, his own Horse in the Forrest and plagued the whole Country.

On the other side of *Glocester* the royall party erected new Governments, *Tedbury* and *Wootten-under-edge*, *Massy* marches that way, with an eye upon *Beverston* Castle newly garisoned against him, and commanding the rich Clothiers of *Stroodwater* hither, he advanced with three hundred Foot and eighty Horse, which did execution at *Tedbury*, put to flight Sir *Horatio Cary's* Horse, but with loss of twenty men slain and taken prisoners. *Massy* brings up his men and two sakers against *Beverston* Castle, surrounded it and planted his guns within pistol shot of the gate, fifty Musketiers fixing their Pittar upon the Gate, which failed, and were forced back, but the gate was not forceable, and night coming on they drew off, and advanced to *Wotton-under-egge*, a temporary Garison of a Regiment of Horse, which drew out upon a tilt, retreated in at night, but Issued out again, fought *Massy* with indifferent success, and so retreated to *Bristol*.

In this absence of *Massy* from *Glocester*, Sir *Fohn Winter* taking that oportunity, gathered forces from *Monmouth* and *Hereford*, for surprizal of *Glocester*, not without some Overtures from within; Late at night *Massy* had Intelligence, drew out fifty Musketiers from the Guard, and sent them out with Captain *Crisp* three miles off, to strengthen a good house in the passe, but within a mile they were encountred by Horse and Foot drawn up in a broad lane near *Higham* house, who retreated to *Huntley*.

The *Welch* forces though, kept their Randevouz at *Cofford* in the Forrest, and threatned *Glocester*, divers of the Cavalier party in the County importuned the King that Colonel *Charls Gerrard* might quarter upon the City, with all the mischief that *Hebert* and *Varvisor* could do besides.

At this time comes over out of *Ireland* more forces for the King, and land at *Bristol*, and thence fell down into *Glocester*, commanded by Colonel *Min*, and Sir *William St. Leger* with both their Regiments, making up one thousand Foot and one hundred Horse, with eight pieces of Ordinance and advance to *Thornbury*, and the twentieth of *December* a party of two hundred Horse and Dra-

goons

More Irish
Forces for the
King.

The Reign of King Charls.

651

Anno

1643.

The Kings
Garisons.

goons commanded by Captain *Backhouse* was set out to fall upon them, who were now quartered at *Wotton*, charged their main guard but were forced to retreat.

And now again the Clouds gather about *Glocester*, the County Cavaliers shew themselves and those of *Colsword* take arms with them, and garison several Houses. *Oxford* Forces expected at *Painswick* and *Stroud*, the *Irish* were to ly on this side *Barkley*, the Lord *Herbert* and Sir *Fohn Winter* in the Forest, the Lord *Chandois* at *Chettenham*, Sir *VWilliam Vavisor* and Sir *VValter Pie* at *Teuxbury*, round about *Glocester* they were thus designed.

Every corner of the County had Garisons likewise, at *Newnham*, *Lidney*, *Monmouth*, *Hereford*, *VVorcester*, *Dimock*, *Newent*, *Highleaden*, *Taunton*, *Teuxbury*, *Snidly*, *Sapton*, *Beverston*, and *Berkley*, and had in field at once twenty six hundred Horse and Foot.

After some stay, a party of these Forces were drawn off towards *VWarwick-shire* to joyn with the Kings party, waiting thereabout to intercept the supplies from *London*; for *Glocester* was in want of Powder and Match. Sir *VValter Pies* Foot, and Colonel *VVrough-tons* Horse remained at *Teuxbury*, to block up *Glocester* on that side, about which City fifteen hundred Horse were constantly quartered, for Colonel *VVashingtons* Regiment was garisoned at *Evesham*, and a Regiment of Horse also at *Parshore*, besides what were at *Snidley*, and all these to watch supplies of the City.

The Parliament party had these out guards, *Presbury*, *Welbury*, *Efsington*, *Framton* and *Froster*, which were set to keep Markets open, which amongst all these was but little, these Garisons eating up all, the County impoverished, the Commission of Excise not settled, and the King was Petitioned by the County, to free the County, and distress *Glocester* at once.

Parliaments
Garisons.

Massy had built a Friggot for service upon *Severn*, to hinder the Landing from *Bristol* and *Wales*: this Frigot manned with Sea men and Souldiers for any attempt, which ariving at *Chepstow*, the Musketers hastned a shore, entered the Town, surprized some Officers of Colonel *Oneals* Regiment; and returning with their Prisoners, seized a vessel laden with Oil, Wine, Sugar, but did so no more, for the County set up many Vessels upon the River, to prevent mischief.

The Counties thus pestered with Garisons to little purpose, and straitned of quarter, were fain to seek out for contribution, two thousand Horse and Foot march out of *Teuxbury* to *Painswick* and *Stroodwater*, and divided into three bodies; whom to encounter *Massy* draws out two hundred Foot and one hundred Horse, whilst two parts faced him, the third got down a lane and drove him to a flight with loss of many, two Lieutenants and sixteen Souldiers prisoners, the rest ran back to a reserve for such an accident,

Cavaliers seek
for Forage
with success.

Anno

1643.

Captain
Backhouse was
to betray Glo-
cester.

and gave liberty to the Cavaliers to return to *Tenxbury* laden with plunder, suddenly after this the Parliament lost two Garisons, *Huntly*, which were taken by Sir *John Winter*, from Captain *Davis*, who betraying them it was said, went to *Westbury* and received there as a friend, led in his train of Cavaliers, and so both places surprized in two hours and one hundred men and arms taken.

The great design upon *Glocester* was thus: what force could be spared from *Oxford*, and *Irish* are drawn together, *Herbert*, *Vavisor* and *Winter*, lodged in their Garisons, and Prince *Rupert* at *Newent*, fifteen Cornets of Horse arrive at *Cirencester*, and five hundred Horse and Foot advanced to *Saperton* and *Misanden* within ten miles of *Glocester*: so that round about the Cavalier party were six thousand. One *Stanford*, a cunning gallant, assaults Captain *Backhouse*, his old friend, by Letter, presuming of former friendship to tender him the Kings pardon and preferment, urging his Loyalty and Duty to render up the Town of *Glocester*, being bound not to obey an unjust power, and to deceive them was no deceit. This hasty and abrupt temptation wrought the first onset, which he communicated to the Governour *Massy*, and both agreed to drill on the design, and to accept the offer, and so they take into the Junto Captain *Singleton* an Alderman and Captain *Read*, and so *Backhouse* returns his professed duty and service to the King by any way to prove Loyal, agreeing upon a trusty Messenger, and to have money in hand as part of reward, and draws the model of the plot in a Letter to *Stanford*,

Sir.

Backhouse his
Letter of
design.

You desire my proposals and Plot: Thus then, whether to draw out my Troop in an evening, meet with your Forces, bring them in and Master the first guard. My Troop alwaies in the Rear and at your Mercy? whether if I perswade the Governour with a strong party of Horse and Foot, upon some design to lie out all night eight or ten miles off, and I stay at home, and you to advance, in the evening, whom I can bring in as our own Forces, or whether, I shall draw off the Centinels, and you to enter? whether I send out for Hay, and you have notice of their return in the night, and you clap in like Carters with ammanition in the Carts, master the first guards, possess the Ordinance & so let in Horse & Dragoons, these or any other as you shall direct. For my reward, though against my Spirit to indent before hand, but my straits and necessity such, as I would expect two thousand pounds to be secured, two or three hundred in hand, for service, likewise to the Souldier if need be, and to ingage my own Troop with a silver Cord, these I leave to you and hope to meet when all the world shall not know, R. B.

These being sent to *Oxford*, the Lord *Digby* returns answer and ratifies the proposals.

Sir

Sir,

You having so far declared your desire to serve his Majesty, unto Mr. Stanford, I think fit to give you more assurance than his bare word: therefore I do solemnly engage my word unto you, as a Minister of State and a Gentleman, that immediately after your faithfull performance of your promise, you shall actually receive such a Pardon as your self shall desire, and two thousand pounds; and as soon as I shall receive your Answer hereto under your Hand, the three hundred pounds shall be paid to any person or any place which you shall appoint. As for the Proposals for effecting the Design, so rational in either of yours, it is left to your choice, who are to execute; with whom if possible you should meet at some unsuspected place, it is at your choice, whether of these persons to be imparted, and no other, Sir William Vavisor Commander in chief of the Forces in Gloucestershire, or Colonel Min Commander of the English Brigade that came out of Ireland, or Colonel Washington at Eviham, or the Governour of Berkley Castle. As soon as you send an Answer, you shall receive satisfaction from

Your assured Friend G. D.

Backhouse replies, and conceives Sir William Vavisor the fittest to comply, and gives his Reasons; but the present payment of the three hundred pounds was waved by Stanford, and as deeply pressed by Backhouse, till they in private met at Coshawn without Arms or Attendants, where he receives two hundred pounds, and a promise to disengage a Bond of his of fifty pounds. And the Plot was thus, that Colonel Mafsie should be drawn out of Gloucester with a strong party towards Berkley Castle, with assurance that the Castle should be rendered; in whose absence Backhouse was to open the Gates and deliver the Word, but with some counter considerations. The fifteenth of February was now come, the time assigned, and nine a clock at night the hour, and a Messenger is sent to the Cavaliers Quarters, with the Word, but the Design of Backhouse was discovered, and so nothing was effected. But how Backhouse could receive the Money, and dispence with his deep Oaths, to be sincere and just to his promise, I know not; certainly, so much Money could not satisfy for an evil conscience; nor can his part be excused from corruption in the highest nature, if duly examined.

The Actions of Gloucester against the Welch set up Sir William Waller, and the Kings party thereabout to withdraw; for Sir Matthew Carew forthwith quitted Teuxbury, which within twelve hours was possessed by Captain John Fines with sufficient strength of Horse and Dragoons, to whom also their affected Friends at Gloucester came home again, hastily and with much confusion, but no sooner warm in their new possession but the former Forces with a greater power returned upon design. The Assistance was of Horse

Anno

1643.

Lord Digby's
Answer.

Gloucestershire
Actions.

Anno
1643.

Horse, a gallant Brigade commanded by the Lord *Grandeson*, which came from *Chiltenham*, without the least intelligence to the other, and as little to his Lordship, to be met with by *Glocester* Forces, which came suddenly to the succour, yet *Fines* had been surprized with all his Horse, had not a ridiculous Accident prevented it; Captain *Fines* at a Miles distance off the Town meets a Man whom they question, he supposing them a party of the Parliament, to curry favour, tells them of vast numbers and great strength of Cavaliers, but seems to defie them with indignation; this frightens *Fines* to a Council of War, and were about to fall back, which delay gave an hours respite, and so the Enemy entered.

Waller retreats
to Monmouth.

After Sir *William Waller* had refreshed his Men about the first of April, he advanced towards *Monmouthshire*, invited by some Gentlemen to reduce their parts; at his coming to the Town of *Monmouth*, the Garison of the Lord *Herbert* retired, leaving a naked place to Sir *William*, where finding small success of his parties, sent abroad for Supplies of Moneys, he marched to *Usk*, and spending some time to no purpose in that County, he returns, the stream of the people affording him no welcome, being all universal Tenants of that County to the Earl of *Worcester*.

Prince Maurice
enters Teux-
bury.

In this time Prince *Maurice* enters *Teuxbury*, with a Brigade of Horse and Foot added to the Lord *Grandeson*, resolving to make after *Waller*, or to meet his return out of *Wales*. A Bridg of Boats wafts him over *Severn*, with a Body of two thousand Horse and Foot; *Waller* was nimble in his Retreat, not to be catcht in a noose or neck of *Wales*, but by a Bridg of Boats came back at *Chepstow*, with his Foot and Artillery, and himself with his Horse and Dragoons passed through the lowest part of the Forest of *Dean*, near the River side of *Severn*, and ere the Prince had notice sends forth two Parties to fall upon two of the Princes Quarters, which was performed, whilest *Waller's* main Body slipt between both, and a Party was left also to face them and make good the Retreat, which came off but disorderly with loss of some Souldiers. It was held a handsome conveyance, and unexpected, to bring himself out of the Snare by uncouth ways.

Teuxbury sur-
prized.

This Allarm soon reached *Glocester*, and caused *Mafsie* there to send assistance of two Troops of Horse and three hundred Foot to fetch him off. This Party met him two Miles off the Town, where being combined, they design to set upon *Teuxbury*, and taking conveniency by the Princes absence and *Waller's* supposed Defeat, instantly they march, and come up to the Town by break of day, one part whereof fell into the *Ham*, seized the Guard left with the Bridg of Boats and cut off that Bridg, but his Horse

with

with the rest of the Foot came up *Glocester* way, surprized and slew the Centinel, climbed over the Works, cut down the Draw-Bridges, the Horse and Foot rushing in, and the party on the other side *Avon* ready to enter also. There they found in the Town three hundred men commanded by Sir *Matthew Carew*, whom the Triumph of yesterday's supposed Victory had lull'd asleep, and now awakened by this sudden Alarm, rowed up to a shuffling fighting posture, and then to a Retreat and after to an Escape, and but some Souldiers taken. These sudden Surprisals gave various intelligence to *Oxford*, not able to credit any Relations, being so strangely inconstant, but onely to chances.

Yet a party of the Princes Horse appear from the top of the Hill near *Teuxbury*, as if his Body were hard by, whereupon *Waller* marches thither that Evening, resolving to break down or make good the Bridg at *Upton* upon *Severn*, besides which there was no Pass nearer than *Worcester*; but the Scouts told him, the Prince was there before, and guarded it. The next day *Waller* advances, and found him in *Ripple-field*, his Army drawn up, and divided into three Bodies, faces him, but would not fight, being fewer in number, no Shot prepared, no Cannoneers, few Foot, the Winde nor Sun to friend; and their Retreat, if need were, through a long Lane. In this posture, though some perswade to fight, others would not; and so *Waller* retreats into the Lane, commanding a Party of Dragoons to face the Prince, and the Musketers to stand at the corner to make good his Retreat. But the Prince falls on, the Dragoons fly over Hedg and Ditch, broke over the Bridg, disordering their own, and were killed or taken; *Masse* sends to *Teuxbury* for Supply, but *Haselrig* with his Troop and some Foot made a Charge, which in part took off the foulness of the Flight; for at the end of the Lane a Ditch stopt their haste, and a Gate flung off the Hinges barred the Pursute, with time to make a Stand, no longer than that the Prince came up, but then faced about and fled in a great hurry and loss, till a Supply of Foot from the Town met them near *Mith-hill*, and there made a false Stand, rather to take breath than to fight, for their Heels were their best Weapons of Defence, which carried a few home again to their Quarters, and others to *Teuxbury*, now put under command of Sir *Robert Cook*, by Commission from *Waller*.

P. Maurice
defeats Waller.

Parliament
Forces de-
feated.

The main Forces of the Kings party were drawn from these parts in *Glocestershire* towards *Reading*, then besieged by the Earl of *Essex*, and so *Waller* got freedom for a while, and with some success without blows cried him up *The Man of God*; and being now free, not to defend, but to seek his Game, he advances to *Hereford* with a thousand Horse and Dragoons, assisted by *Masse* and the greatest part of the Lord *Stamford's* Regiment, drew up before
Bister's

Anno

1643.

Bister's Gate on the North side of the Town, aloof off, and shot at Random, untill Captain *Grey* with a party of Musketers over the River towards *Wye* Bridg made shew there of an Assault, and if need were to fall back to the Water side, where Seconds stood to relieve them; and it was time, for the Town-horse sallied out, and drove them to a Church near *St. Owen's* Gate: *Mafsie* this while draws up two Sakers against *Wigmarsh* Gate; the first shot pierced the Gate and strook off an Officers head behinde it, and flew others; following with other shot, and scowring the Street, they came to parley the whole day and the next to surrender; the Prisoners were the Lord *Scudamore*, Colonel *Conesby*, and Sir *William Crofts*, some Arms and Ammunition, but the Souldiers this time of Parley got over *Wye* Bridg, and went into *Wales*. The Town compounded from Plunder, and so deserted. And so here as other where, *Waller* seldom staid to endure any Siege of Surrender, but with his Forces flew up and down, no where to be found.

The next Attempt of these Forces thus combined, flesh'd for any place, came up before *Worcester* City, viewed it for a day and a night, but hastened away, and some disorder at the noise of the Lord *Capel's* advance.

Then was *Waller* ordered to march to the West of *England*, to prevent the joyning of Sir *Ralph Hopton's* Forces with the rest of the Kings Army, and Sir *Robert Cook* was sent after him, and *Tenx-bury* slighted.

Mafsie in chief over *Glocester*, who with an hundred and twenty Horse and Dragoons marched to *Stow* in the *Wolds*, to beat up the Royalists Quarters, and by break of day fell upon them, took a Lieutenant and twelve Troopers Horse and Arms, thence to *Odington* a Mile off, and there surprized a Captain of a Troop with forty Men and Horse, but by this they were alarmed, fell upon *Mafsie's* Rear near *Slaughter* with execution; and having also Supply from *Sudeley* Castle, charged *Mafsie* again at *Andovers* Ford, which put him to dismount his Dragoons, dividing his Men into three Bodies, the Horse into the right and left Wing; but looking back to bring them on, he found them faced about and flying, which put *Mafsie* to a pitifull shuffle amongst the Troops, but came off with loss, excusing that Design with the fault upon his new raised Forces. Colonel *Stephens* with his Lieutenant and five and twenty Souldiers taken Prisoners, and a dozen slain. *Stephens* was forward enough, but followed this Design unsent for, and against *Mafsie's* desire, who liked no partners in honour, and so suffered him and his party to be led away Prisoners to *Oxford*, where he died.

Sir *J. Winter's*
house in *Dean*
Forrest.

Sir *John Winter* was now got up in good command for the King, his House in the Forest of *Dean* in *Glocestershire*, and of a sudden claps

claps in a sufficient Strength of his own Confidents, made it tenable, and afterwards inaccessible, as a Goad in the side of *Glocester* *Garilon*, and of terrour to all the Parliaments party thereabout: for during this *Sir William Waller* in his March to the West, was met with at the *Devices*, and there defeated, to the hazzard of his whole party, casting these parts into a miserable plight, the Parliament placing a great interest in the success of his Forces, so that the King became Master of the Field, and with his gallant Army came up to the Gates of *Glocester*, *Bristol* yielded up, the Earl of *Effex's* Army pined away, *Sir William Waller* at *London* for fresh Forces, the Earl of *Stanford* shut up within *Exeter*, and now the Kings open Field had Campaigne from *Cornwall* to *Scotland*, dividing his Army, the one to besiege *Exeter*, this other with himself come to *Glocester*.

The City and Castle of *Bristol* had been governed by *Sir Thomas Effex* for the Parliament, against which Prince *Rupert* had made an Attempt, but was called off upon other Designs. Afterwards comes Col. *Nathaniel Fines*, supplants *Effex*, and hangs up several Citizens for intending to have delivered the same up to Prince *Rupert*. But now the Prince at leisure sets down before it the twenty fourth of *July*, made some Attempt, and had it surrendred after three days Siege.

Bristol surrendered to Prince *Rupert*.

It was in the very entrance of this War, that the Parliaments Forces garisoned *Coventry*, and had a squint eye upon such as were for the Commission of *Aray*. Amongst many others, Doctor *Bird* of the Civil Law was exposed to their scrutiny for his affection to the Kings Service; and therefore the first man of note thereabout who under that score of Malignancy, suffered the strange Justice by Plunder, a new Name for a new Offence.

The Doctour took leave of his Habitation, intending by the power of the Sword to repair his Losses: and so soon as occasion offered, he was intrusted with the garisoning of *Eccleshall* Castle in *Staffordshire*, belonging to Doctour *Wright*, the Bishops See of *Coventry* and *Lichfield*, with Commission to raise two hundred Foot, and a Troop of Horse, and to be Commander in chief there, and the County adjacent subordinate to none but to the King and his Lieutenant General.

Eccleshall Castle and Town taken.

About *April* 1643. the *More-landers* (Inhabitants so called from the low grounds in *Staffordshire*) were got together into a Body, not as yet for any cause, and so not certain for any side, untill Colonel *Gell*, and others of his Faction, took them up for the Parliaments Service, and presently were called *Gell's* Brigade. To suppress these, the Garisons thereabout for the King drew out together, viz. Colonel *Bagot* Governour of *Lichfield* Close, Colonel

Anno

1643.

Stafford taken
by treachery.

Lane Commander of *Stafford* Garison, and Captain *Bird* Governour of *Eccleshall* Castle: and from each of these such men as could be spared met at a Rendezvouz four Miles from *Stafford*, but their Enemy fled, and these returned.

And that night was *Stafford* Town taken by treachery of one *Stephens*, formerly Lieutenant Colonel under command of Colonel *Cumberford*, heretofore Governour of *Stafford*, and high Sheriff of that County. *Stephens* was now got to the *Morelanders*, and being well acquainted with the Avenues into the Town, surprized the place so suddenly, that without any stroke of defence, *Lane* and his Men (as many as could escape by flight) and others Gentlemen of good worth were seized and sent Prisoners to several places. I shall not lodg any suspition or jealousy upon *Lane*, because he saved himself, and others suffered.

Stafford taken, and *Eccleshal* Castle surrounded with the Enemies Garisons, the Governour the more wary adds to his former number of Men, and gets in good Provisions, and prepares for a Siege. And long it was not ere Sir *William Brereton*, Colonel *Gell*, Colonel *Greeves*, Colonel *Ridgby*, and Colonel *Jackson*, joyning Forces with the Counties of *Stafford* and *Derby*, tell suddenly into *Eccleshal* Town, and with easie bickering got possession of it, standing in guard within the Church which faces the Castle. The Governour burns all about, not an Out-house, Barn, or Stable affords them other shelter.

The next day *Brereton* summons the Castle for the King and Parliament.

Bird makes present Answer, *That his Commission was to keep it for the King, and unless the other could produce his Majesties Warrant to the contrary, it would be labour lost to expect any other Reply, but what power and strength should enforce.*

Immediately the Besiegers with two Pieces of Cannon of four and twenty pound Bullet played all day against the Wall without any effect; the next day they battered a Turret, which at the last fell down, and hurt three men; and so their Ordnance continued their utmost force for a Week, vyhen by so long trial they could not make any Breach, they drevv off their Guns, and made a Line to surround the Castle, not so soon done, but that they vvere fain to endure the good effects of several Sallies out of the Castle, whereby he lost a Lieutenant, and others, and some hurt, with greater execution on the Enemy. And thus it continued for some Moneths with extremity, to whose Relief the King sends in September the Lord *Capel* and the Lord *Loughborough*, with considerable Forces: against whom the Besiegers not able to withstand, quit their Trenches, and retire to the Church, and there fortified themselves. Then forthwith the Governour sends out what Forces he could spare, joyning with the Lords, sufficient now to attempt upon the

the Church by straitning or storming, ; But it seems they had order, onely to relieve the Castle, not to fight afterwards, and force the Enemy away, but to be gon themselves, and so to leave the busines to desperation, which the Governour knew would be destruction which he could not prevent, and therefore with long dispute and many reasons offered and nothing prevailing, he delivered it up to the Lords, who put in one Captain *Abel a Dane* to command there. But the old Souldiers not pleased with their New Governour, and a stranger to them, and a Foreign, most of them immediately quit their service, and marched away with Captain *Bird*. The Castle thus relieved, the Parliament Commanders call a Council, and now resolve to draw off and quit the Siege, but a false brother discovering the weakness of the Castle, and the discontent with their New Governour, the Enemy attempts the battery again, and after two daies the *Dane* surrenders it upon reasonable quarter.

Thus while the fight, they Parliaments Ordinance commands all men to pay nothing to his Majesty, the Queen or Prince, (*which is due or ought to be paid unto them*), whereas the Lords and Commons in September last, passed an Ordinance for seizing upon all his Majesties, the Queens, and Princes Revenues, and for receiving all and all manner of Rents, certain or casual, in *England and Wales*, with all the Arrears and Debts any way due to his Majesty, Queen, or Prince, shall be paid to the Receivers of the Committee for the Revenue &c. whose Acquittances shall be sufficient discharge.

Ordinance to
seize upon the
Kings Reve-
nues.

There was late news from *Virginia* that the Plantation there denied contribution to the Emissaries of the Parliament, complaining of the obstruction of their trade at *London*, whereupon an Ordinance of Moderation came forth, [*For abating the Excise upon Virginia Tobacco, that the Protestants their brethren in other Countries may not suffer among Malignants and Delinquents in England*] endeavouring to gain upon Foreign Plantations, which in truth were first settled, mostly by such as could not indure Discipline at home.

Virginia not
all sited with
Excise.

Sir William Waller having deserved well of the Houses, had a new Commission to be Sergeant Major General of *Hampshire, Surrey, Sussex, and Kent*, having layen long before *Arundel Castle*, and this Commission being promised heretofore, the General *Essex* obstructed it, being suspected to play his own game with much vanity.

*Sir William
Waller's* Com-
mission

It was wonderfull how much the Lectures were frequented in *London*, the Town so full of Schollars calling themselves plundered Ministers, and so began the coloured Leaguer, long Cloak, Boots and Spurs as constantly in the Pulpit, as heretofore the Gown, Canonical Cloak, or Cassock, but then, the Independant, a new name for such as liked neither, were working to set up themselves, or rather that spirit that set the other at work, plaies

Anno

1643.

Parliaments
Manifesto con-
cerning Pro-
fessours.

tricks with them, and scatters them into thoughts and factions, grinning on each other, but yet not settled into tenents neither, so that moderate men could not as yet tell what to make of either.

The Parliament therefore publish their *Manifest* in effect:

That it belongs to Christian Magistrates to be Leaders in Reformation of the Church.

That it is the duty of all people to pray for them, and wait upon them.

That the Parliament have required the Assembly of Divines, to make the Word of God their own Rule.

That nothing can be more destructive against the cause of Religion, than to be divided amongst themselves.

That the Assembly and Parliament (for so it runs) will not onely reform Religion throughout the Nation, but will concur to whatsoever shall appear to be the Rights of particular Congregations.

That all people forbear till they see whether the right Rule will not be commended to them in this orderly way, we enjoying more Liberty to serve God than ever was seen in England.

Here's fast and loose, the People in doubt what Profession to undertake, or by this Declaration of what Religion was the Parliament; then began *Jack Presbyter* (so styled) to be baffled in every Pamphlet, and they again to return encounters; the people had sport enough to be for neither, and in truth of no profession at all, but went a wool-gathering to pick up the flieces piled from the Orthodox Ministry, now in much misery, mourning for the fall of *Sion*.

The Committee for *Innovations*, appointed Workmen to pull down that famous Organ in *St. Paul's Church* at *London*, and it was imprinted; the like they did in *King Henry the Seventh's Chapell* at *Westminster*, and all other parochial Churches in and about *London*, and so by degrees the whole Church of *St. Paul's*, not repairing, but uncovering the Roof, whereby in time the whole Church and Steeple will fall down, after so great a Sum of Money that had been heretofore contributed to the Repair, or rather re-edifying thereof, more gracefull than the first erecting.

Organs in *St. Paul's Church* pull'd down.

Treason to assist the King.

And now the Parliament do publish, *That whereas his Majesty doth make a VVar against his Parliament, for the promoting thereof, divers Forces both of Horse and Foot have been and are levied; therefore that no man be mislead through ignorance, the Lord and Commons do declare, that all such persons as shall upon any pretence whatsoever assist his Majesty with Horse, Arms, Plate, or Money, are Traitors to the Parliament, and shall be brought to condign punishment.*

The

Anno

1643.

French Am-
bassadour af-
fronted.

The *French* in publick appearing very sensible of the unchristian civil War in this Nation, had sent the Prince of *Harcourt* Extraordinary Ambassadour into *England*, commissioned to mediate peace between the King and Parliament, being received at *London* with all due respects, but his Arrand was first to the King, and therefore desires the Parliaments Pass, and had it, but notwithstanding at the out Fort at *Hide Park* corner was stopped, the Guard having no such Warrant without searching his Coach and Train of Baggage, which he highly resented as the greatest injury from any Nation; but there he refused, and staid untill some Members of the House were sent to relieve him, with such publick scorns, Libells, and Pamphlets, without President; and knowing that he came to mediate, the Parliament would not be backward upon that score; and therefore voted Sir *Henry Vane*, Mr. *Saint Johns*, with the Lord *Wharton*, a Committee to relate to the City a great Plot discovered, which was set forth to the *Common Council* on *Monday* the seventh of *January*, still filling up the Periods of their Speeches with the *Gun-powder Treason*, which (they said) was much like this Plot for a Peace.

It was frequent with the Armies, whether necessity or special advantage, to act extraordinary business on *Sundays*, as *Keinton Field*, *Brainford*, *Hopton-heath*, *Leeds*, *Chalgrove Field*, *Basing*.

The King had now large Territories for his Army to march in, this Year set him up; for on this Day Twelve-moneths past he had but one small County of all the West; in *Yorkshire* but *York City* and *Pomfret Castle*; and except *Reading*, *Wallingford*, *Brill*, and *Abington*, he had not a Souldier quartered out of *Oxford*; when he had not one Ship, nor any Port, (save *Newcastle* and *Falmouth*) when the Parliament declared in print that he had not ten thousand Men. And yet the King hath now five small Armies (better than Brigades) and in all the Western Counties the Parliament hath not a Souldier but at *Plymouth* and *Pool*: in *Yorkshire* none but *Hull*: and in *Cheshire* onely *Nantwich*. The last Battels (if we may so call them) were at *Bodwin*, *Tadcaster*, *Hopton-heath*, *Ancaster*, *Middleton-cheany*, *Stratton*, *Bradford More*, *Chalgrave*, *Chuton*, *Lands-down*, *Round-way-down*, *Auburn*, *Newbury*, *Leek*, *Middlewich*; and if of some the King had the better, of the rest not much to boast.

The Kings
Succettes.

The remnant of *South Wales* is fully reduced, and *North Wales* cleared, the whole Principality Cavaliers.

The Parliament got from the King *Strafford* and *Warrington*; but all these Towns were the Parliaments last Year, which now the King hath, viz. *Saltaish*, *Cirencester*, *Burningham*, *Leege*, *Lichfield*, *Bradford*, *Hallifax*, *Wakefield*, *Taunton*, *Bristol*, *Bath*, *Dorchester*, *Weymouth*, *Biddeford*, *Barnstable*, *Appleford*, *Tenby*, *Harverford-west*, *Pembroke*, *Exeter*.

The

Anno
1643.

Arundel Castle
surrendered
to Waller.

The Marquess of *Newcastle* for the King in the Commission of *Array*, was met at *Chesterfield* in *Darbyshire* with a vast concourse of people, as a Novel to see and hear, where he lifted fifteen hundred Voluntiers, assisted by Sir *Fohn Gell* his interest thereabout, and Sir *Fohn Harpers*.

The Lord *Byron* had good success, and took *Crew House* with all the Arms and Ammunition, six Commanders, an hundred three-score and five Souldiers: as also he took *Dodrington* belonging to Sir *Thomas Delves*, being a Garison, and cleared many places, *Middlewich*, *Beeston Castle*, *Someback*, with sundry Prisoners, his Brigade being now near seven thousand Horse and Foot.

Sir *William Waller* having besieged *Arundel Castle* in *Sussex* eight and twenty Days, with the sacrifice of many men, had it surrendered: the Cavaliers at *Oxford* will not be perswaded but that it was not fairly delivered on their parts, but rather by connivence, if not for Reward: and if we consult the strength of the place it self, the Fortifications, Men, and Ammunition, we may suspect no less, not to credit the Purchasers; for then it will seem true, whose relations of the numbers of Men slain, and strength of Ammunition surrendered, (as it is usual with all conquerours to account) comes to a great Sum.

This Service made Sir *William Waller* to fly high, desiring the Parliaments Commission to him, To place and displace all Governours of Towns and Castles within his Association.

But this took off the General *Essex* his Authority from whom all the military Commanders had Commissions. And was occasioned through a late difference between Sir *William* and the Governour of *Chichester*, who refused to admit Colonel *Norton* to enter his Garison, being routed and pursued by the Lord *Hopton*; which difference was by the Parliament referred to the General, as it appears by his Letter to the House of Commons, he tells them:

That in truth the Commission he sent to Sir William Waller was not so full as he usually grants, and the Reasons why he was so limited are not to be discovered. But tells them withall, that he did no more than what he ought to do; and that the charge he took upon him was not his own seeking, though it was a great encouragement to him, that the Houses thought him once worthy of the sole command, which however lessened, yet he will never desert the Cause as long as he hath any blood in his veins, till the Kingdom hath regained her Peace, or an end made by the Sword.

But Sir *William* not well pleased with all this, returned his Commission back to Mr. *Nicholas* with much regret, as it appears by

The Reign of King Charls.

663

by his Letters which accompanied this Surrender, I have (said he) returned the Commission which is as good as nought.

Anno
1643.

The Counties of Devon and Cornwall Cavaliers for the King unanimously joyned in Association in these words.

Whereas a few malevolent and ambitious persons in the name of two Houses of Parliament, have by treasonable practices imbroiled this Kingdom in a Civil War, pursued his Majesties person, murdered his good Subjects, some of them barbarously by the common Hangman against Law and Justice, others by hostile Assault, brought a general devastation upon the whole Kingdom, taking away all Liberty from the Members of both Houses, by awing, terrifying, and assaulting them with Tumults and Arms, usurping the Regal power, counterfeiting a great Seal to shew their horrid intentions against the King, Kingdom, and Government, and finding their Acts not likely to protect them from the punishment due to their merits, have unnaturally invited the Scots to invade this Kingdom, and in these Distractions to make a total Conquest of this Nation: for Resistance whereof, and preserving the common peace, the Inhabitants of Devon and Cornwall have united themselves, and for continuance of which union, this ensuing Protestation is to be taken.

Protestation
and Oath of
the Associates
of Devon and
Cornwall for
the King.

I A.B. do in the presence of Almighty God, promise, vow, and protest, with my utmost power to maintain and defend the true Reformed Protestant Religion established by Law in this Kingdom, against all Popery, popish, and all other Innovations of Sectaries and Schismatics, as also his Majesties person and Right, against all Forces whatsoever: and in like manner the Laws, Liberties, and Privileges of Parliament, and of this Kingdom. And I shall to my utmost power preserve and defend the peace of the two Counties of Devon and Cornwall, and all persons that shall unite themselves by this Protestation in the due performance thereof: and to my power assist his Majesties Armies for reducing the Town of Plymouth, and resistance of all Forces of Scots, Invaders, and others, levied under pretence of any Authority of two Houses of Parliament, or otherwise, without his Majesties personal consent.

And hereupon they agreed upon several Articles in reference to the taking of this Protestation, directed to all Sheriffs, Constables, Ministers of every Parish Church at the next general Meeting.

That the Army be governed according to his Majesties Articles.

That all such persons slain or as shall be slain in this War, or die in the Service (by whose life any other person held any other Lands or Rents) the said other person shall grant an Estate or pay such Rents for life under such Covenants, &c. as to the person so slain, and the Refusers to lose

Anno

1643.

University of
Cambridg or-
dered.

lose double value, one half to the King, the other to the party, and to be imprisoned till payment.

That if any Minister shall refuse or neglect his particular duty in his Service, or not reade the Kings Declarations, or do any thing contrary to his Majesties Instructions, to be secured, and his Estate sequestred.

That there be provided a thousand Barrells of Powder, and ten thousand Fire Arms at the charge of both Counties, whereof Devon three parts, and Cornwall to be a fourth, according to the proportion of the grand Subsidy.

The Earl of Manchester for the Parliament is as active in his Association, having gone over all vvith a high hand, came to the University of Cambridg, being not yet resolved vvwhether the Colleges and Halls be vvithin his Commission for Sequestration, for clearing vvhereof the Parliament sent out their Ordinance,

That the Estates, Rents, and Revenues of the Colleges and Halls in the University of Cambridg are in no wise to be seized on, but shall remain and be to the same University, Colleges and Halls, as if the Ordinance of Sequestration had never been made.

Which is most nobly done, like true Patriots of Learning; but then the next Proviso marrs all.

That if any part, portion, or dividend be due to any Head, Fellow, or Scholar in the said University, being, or which hereafter shall be a Malignant or Delinquent within any of the Ordinances of Sequestration, then they shalbe excepted from receiving any part or portion of his Allowance, but shall be dealt with as it shall be ordered by the Earl of Manchester, and none to be Receiver, Treasurer, or Bowser, but such as shall be approved by him.

Sir Richard Byron Governour of Newark for the King, understanding that the Adversaries vvere quartered at Harmiston and VVaddestdon, three Miles from Lincoln, sent out tvvo hundred and fifty Horse and some Dragoons under command of Sir Gervase Eyre, vvho beat up their Quarters, and took, kill'd some, but the reason, having Quarter, he carried avway above three hundred Prisoners, Horse and Arms.

The King at Oxford vvith sufficient Friends to finish his civil affairs, considered of the fitness and conveniency to assemble the Members of both Houses of Parliament at Oxford, and having to that purpose the tvvo and tvventieth of December last by his Proclamation summoned them for this day the tvvo and tvventieth of January, vvhere novv they met in the great Hall at Christ's Church, vvhere his Majesty declared the occasion of his calling them together

Parliament
assembled at
Oxford.

The Reign of King Charls.

665

Anno
1643.

ther, to be witnesſes of his actions, and privy to his intentions. Telling them, *That if he had the leaſt thought diſagreeing with the happineſs of this Kingdom, he would not adviſe with ſuch Counſellors as they are.* And ſo they went to the publick Schools, the Lords in the upper Schools, and the Commons in the great Convocation-houſe. Indeed he having renounced thoſe Members that ſate at *Weſtminſter*, he thought it fit to aſſemble ſuch as he might confide in to vote and act as his proper Parliament, countenanced with able Members, the moſt ancient and moſt honourable Peers, and very worthy Gentlemen, not amiſs to record them.

The Names of the *Lords* and *Commons* in the Aſſembly of the Parliament at *Oxford*, *January 22. 1643.*

Charls Prince.

Duke of York.

Cumberland.

Edw. Littleton C. S.

Fr. Cottington Treafurer.

Duke of Richmond.

Marqueſs of Hertford.

Lords.

Wentworth.

Cromwell.

Rich. Paget.

Chandos.

Howard of Charlton.

Lovelace.

Savile.

Mohun.

Dunſmore.

Seymour.

Piercy.

Wilmot.

Leigh.

Hatton.

Fermin.

Carington.

Earls.

Lindſey.

Dorſet.

Shrewsbury.

Bath.

Southampton.

Leiceſter.

Northampton.

Devonſhire.

Carlile.

Briſtol.

Barkſhire.

Cleveland.

Rivers.

Dover.

Peterborough.

Kingſton.

Newport.

Portland.

Viſc. Conway.

Lords.

Digby.

Mowbray and MatraVERS.

Knights and Gentlemen.

Sir John Fettiplace.

Sir Alexander Denton.

Sir John Packington.

Thomas Smith.

Francis Gamul.

John Harris.

Joſeph Fane.

Richard Edgcomb.

J. Raleigh.

G. Fane.

P. Edgcomb.

William Glanville.

Q q q

Robert

Anno

1643.

Robert Hoburn.
 Sir Ralph Sidenham.
 Sir Fr. Godolphin.
 Ger. Parry.
 Ambrose Manaton.
 Sir Richard Virvian.
 Jo. Palewheel.
 Jo. Arundel.
 Thomas Lower.
 Edward Hide.
 VVilliam Allestry.
 George Stonehouse.
 Edward Seymor.
 Peter St. Hill.
 VVilliam Pool.
 Roger Matthew.
 Richard Arundel.
 Ro. VValker.
 Giles Strangways.
 Jo. Strangways.
 Sir Thomas Hele.
 Gerard Nape.
 Samuel Turner.
 VVilliam Constantine.
 Henry Killebrew.
 R. King.
 Jo. Dutton.
 Henry Bret.
 VVilliam Chadwell.
 Theo. Gorges.
 Jo. George.
 Thomas Fanshaw.
 Humph. Conningsby.
 Richard Seaborn.
 Arthur Ranelagh.
 Thomas Tomkins.
 Sampson Evers.
 Jo. Culpeper.
 Jeffrey Palmer.
 Jo. Harison.
 Thomas Fanshaw.
 Roger Palmer.
 Sir Orlando Bridgman.
 VVilliam VVatkins.
 Fohn Smith.
 Sir Thomas Bludder.

Edward Littleton.
 Harvie Baget.
 Richard Leveson.
 Sir Richard Cave.
 Sir Richard VVeston.
 Richard Lee.
 Thomas VVhitmore.
 Edward Acton.
 C. Baldwin.
 R. Goodwin.
 Thomas Howard.
 Thomas Littleton.
 Robert Howard.
 Jo. Meux.
 Matthew Davis.
 Fr. Cornwallis.
 Thomas Germin.
 Jo. Tailor.
 VVilliam Basset.
 VVilliam Pateman.
 Edw. Ridney.
 Thomas Hanham.
 Edw. Philips.
 Jo. Digby.
 Edw. Kirton.
 Chr. Lewkin.
 Edw. Alford.
 Jo. VVhite.
 Jo. Ashburnham.
 VVilliam Smith.
 Thomas Leeds.
 F. Thin.
 VVilliam Pledel.
 Ro. Hide.
 Edw. Griffins.
 VValter Smith.
 George Lowe.
 Richard Harding.
 Henry Herbert.
 Endimion Porter.
 Samuel Sandys.
 Fohn Bedvil.
 William Morgan.
 William Thomas.
 Fohn Mistin.
 Henry Bellasis.

The Reign of King Charls.

667

Anno
1643.

Knights and Gentlemen.

George Wentworth.
William Malory.
Richard Aldbury.
Jo. Salisbury.
William Herbert.
William Price.
Jo. Price.

Knights and Gentlemen.

R. Herbert.
Charls Price.
Philip VVarwick.
Thomas Cook.
Herbert Price.
Jo. Whisler.

These Peers then disabled by several Accidents appeared since.

Viscount Cambden.
Lord Abergavenny.
Lord Arundel.

Lord Capel.
Lord Newport.

Peers imployed in his Majesties Service.

Marquesses.

Winchester.
VVorcestre.
Newcastle.

Lords.

Darcy and Coniers.
Sturton.
Evers.
Daincourt.
Pawlet.
Brudenel.
Powesse.
Herbert of Cherbury.
Hopton.
Loughborough.
Byron.
Vaughan.
VVithrington.

Earls.

Darby.
Huntington.
Clare.
Marlborough.
Viscount Falkonbridg.

Lords.

Morley.

Peers absent beyond Seas.

Earl of Arundel.
Earl of Saint Albans.
Lord Viscount Mountagne.
Viscount Strafford.

Lord Stanhop.
Lord Coventry.
Lord Goring.
Lord Craven of Hamsted.
Lord Craven of Ryton.

Peers confined by the Parliament at VWestminster.
Earl of Chesterfield and the Lord Mountagne of Boughton.

Anno
1643.

These Members, then disabled by Accidents, have appeared since.

<i>Peter Venebles.</i>	<i>Fervase Hollis.</i>
<i>Sir Jo. Pawler.</i>	<i>Sir Patrick Curwin.</i>
<i>Edward Bagshaw.</i>	<i>Sir Henry Bellingham.</i>
<i>Sir Jo. Burlacie.</i>	<i>Sir George Dalston.</i>
<i>Fr. Newport.</i>	<i>Sir Thomas Stanford.</i>
<i>Anthony Hungerford.</i>	<i>Sir VVilliam Dalston.</i>
<i>Jo. Russel.</i>	<i>Mich. VVharton.</i>
<i>Thomas Chichely.</i>	<i>Sir Ro. Hutton.</i>
<i>Earl of Cork.</i>	<i>James Sindamore.</i>
<i>Sir Fervase Clifton.</i>	<i>Sir Jo. Brich.</i>
<i>Sir Guy Palmes.</i>	<i>Sir Jo. Stepny.</i>
<i>Ro. Sutton.</i>	

Employed in his Majesties Service.

<i>Sir Jo. Finch.</i>	<i>Sir Jo. Malory.</i>
<i>Hugh Porter.</i>	<i>Jo. Bellasis.</i>
<i>VValter Kurl.</i>	<i>Sir Thomas Ingram.</i>
<i>VVilliam Stanhop.</i>	<i>Lord Mansfelt.</i>
<i>Sir VVilliam Carnaby.</i>	<i>Thomas Hebelthaite.</i>
<i>Sir Thomas Danby.</i>	<i>Sir Hugh Cholmsly.</i>
<i>Jo. Fennich.</i>	<i>Sir George VVentworth.</i>
<i>Ralph Sneade.</i>	<i>Sir VValter Lloyd.</i>
<i>Sir VVilliam Ogle.</i>	<i>John Vaughan.</i>
<i>Sir Thomas Fermin.</i>	<i>Richard Ferrers.</i>
<i>Sir John Stowell.</i>	<i>George Hartnoll.</i>
<i>Sir Robert Strickland.</i>	<i>Sir VVilliam Udall.</i>
<i>Sir Ph. Musgrave.</i>	<i>Robert Hunt.</i>
<i>Jo. Coucher.</i>	<i>Thomas May.</i>
<i>Jo. Coventry.</i>	<i>Sir Thomas Bourcher.</i>
<i>Sir Henry Slingsby.</i>	<i>Sir Thomas Roe.</i>

The Parlia-
ment at Ox-
ford write to
General Essex
for a Peace.

These Members taking into consideration the distressed estate of this Kingdom, did the seven and twentieth day of this instant January, send a Letter to the Earl of *Essex* for a Treaty of peace, signed by all the Members, with order to be published to this effect.

My Lord,

His Majesty having by his Proclamation of the two and twentieth of December last (upon occasion of this Invasion by some of his Subjects of Scotland) summoned all of the Members of both Houses of Parliament

liament to attend him here at Oxford, inviting us in the said Proclamation by these gracious Expressions, That his Subjects should see how willing he was to receive advice for preservation of the Religion, Laws, and Safety of the Kingdom, and as far as in him lay to restore it its former peace and security, (his chief and onely end) from these whom they had trusted though he could not receive it in the place where he appointed. *Which hath been made good to us, and seconded by such unquestionable Demonstrations of his deep and princely sense of the miseries and calamities of his poor Subjects in this unnatural VVar, and his passionate affection to redeem them from that deplorable condition, by all ways consistent with his Honour, or with the future safety of the Kingdom, &c.* We being most intirely satisfied of this truth, and sensible of the Desolations of our Countrey, and further Dangers threatned from Scotland, &c. And we being desirous to believe your Lordship (however ingaged) a person likely to be sensibly touched with these considerations, do invite you to that part in this blessed work, which is onely capable to repair all our miseries, and buoy up the Kingdom from ruine. *We therefore conjure you by all obligations that have power upon honour, conscience, or publick piety, you will co-operate with us to its preservation, by truly representing to, and promoting with those by whom you are trusted this our Desire. That they joyning with us in a right season, some persons be appointed on either part to treat of such a Peace as may redeem it from the brink of desolation.*

This Address we make, being assured by his Proclamation of Pardon, that his mercy and clemency can transcend all former provocations. God Almighty direct your Lordship, and those whom you shall present with these our real Desires, as may produce a happy peace, &c.

Oxford, Jan. 27. 1645.

Your affectionate Friends, &c.

To these he returns no Answer to them, but sends this Letter to the Parliament at *Westminster*, where it wrought upon the Members according to their several affections.

The haste which the *Scots* Covenanters made rushed in their Army into *England* the sixteenth of *January*, consisting of eighteen thousand Foot and two thousand Horse, marching forwards till they came to the warm Sea-coal fires at *Newcastle*; they knew the way hither, having fared so well the time before in their first Expedition, their then General and they being well rewarded here and at home by the Kings indulgent graces, he following them into *Scotland*, confirming unto them in full Parliament all the Privileges of Kirk and Kingdom, and conferred many Honours and Offices. He having done all this (as before in particulars) and ere he took leave to return, wishing them to continue in allegiance, and live in peace; and if any difference should happen in *England*, which he hoped

*Scots Army
enters Eng-
land.*

Anno

1643.

hoped God would divert; he desired them to continue *Neuters*, though he might expect Aid, yet he would not disturb the Peace of his native Countrey. To which they all obliged themselves by revival of their own Act to that purpose; and at the publishing, one of their chief that had been their General in the said Expedition, fell on his knees, and lifting up his arms and hands to Heaven, wished, *they might rot to his body before he died, if ever he would heave them up hereafter, or draw his Sword against his gude King;* yet this Wretch Sir Alexander Lesly whom the King had made Lord Leven comes General of this Army also.

Their Declaration.

But their Harbinger came before them, a Declaration spread abroad for satisfaction to their Brethren of England, intentionally to answer three Questions:

The justness of their Cause.

The lawfulness of their calling thereunto.

And the faithfulness of their carriage therein.

For the first, they appeal to the great Searcher of all hearts who knows, that had not the love of Christ, requiring to bear one anothers burthen, and the Law of Nature, challenging our endeavour to prevent our own Danger, inveloped with our Neighbours, and our Duty and Desire of rescuing the King from his pernicious Council, we could with far more content have enjoyed our dry Morfel, than entered into your Houses full of Sacrifices with strife, &c. And we profess before God and the world, our hearts are clean and free from any other intentions, than those expressed in our Solemn League and Covenant confederate with England, viz. Reformation of Religion, Honour of the King, Peace of the Kingdoms.

Secondly, and because a good necessarily requires a good Calling, &c. Providence hath so provided that the Parliament of England have a particular obligation upon this our Nation for refusing to countenance a VVar against us in 1640. and now desire our assistance to them, and so with the sense of Piety, Religion, Honour, and Duty to their Sovereign, we may not resist our Call to this Expedition.

Thirdly, then for our carriage herein, we shall order our Army from Insolencies, Rapines, Plunderings, and other calamities incident to War. And we do freely give the Publick Faith of the Kingdom of Scotland unto the Kingdom of England, that neither our entrance into, nor continuance in England, shall be made use of to other ends than is expressed in that Covenant, which we shall keep inviolable. And call God to witness, their onely intent of VVar is to confirm all in Peace, and so to return home again.

How they have performed these, let the world judge. I am sure, the

the Sale of their King was never inserted in their *Solemn Covenant*; and for the true effects of their Declaration, let the King give them an Answer; for upon the calling in of them, and their coming, he avers:

That the Scots are a Nation, upon whom I have not onely common Ties of Nature, Sovereignty, and Bounty, with my Father of blessed memory; but also special and late obligations of favours, having gratified the active Spirits among them so far, that I seemed, to many, to prefer the desires of that party, before mine own Interest and Honour. But, I see, Royal bounty emboldens some men to ask and act beyond all bounds of modesty and gratitude.

My charity, and Act of Pacification forbids me to reflect on former passages; wherein I shall ever be far from letting any mans ingratitude or inconstancy make me repent of what I granted them for the publick good: I pray God it may so prove.

The coming again of that Party into England, with an Army, onely to conform this Church to their late New Model, cannot but seem as unreasonable, as they would have thought the same measure offered from hence to themselves.

Other Errand I could never understand they had, (besides those common and vulgar flourishes for Religion and Liberty) save onely to confirm the Presbyterian Copy they had set, by making this Church to write after them, though it were in bloody Characters.

Which design and end, whether it will justify the use of such violent means, before the divine Justice, I leave to their Consciences to judg, who have already felt the misery of the means; but not reaped the benefit of the end, either in this Kingdom, or that.

Such knots and crosness of grain being objected here, as will hardly suffer that Form which they cry up, as the onely just Reformation and setting of Government and Discipline in Churches, to go on so smoothly here, as it might do in Scotland; and, was by them imagined would have done in England, when so many of the English Clergie, through levity, or discontent, if no worse passion, suddenly quitted their former Engagements to Episcopacy, and faced about to their Presbytery.

It cannot but seem either passion, or some self-seeking, more than true Zeal and pious Discretion, for any foreign State or Church to prescribe such Medicines onely for others, which themselves have used, rather succesfully than commendably; not considering that the same Physick on different constitutions will have different operations; That may kill one, which doth but cure another.

Nor do I know any such tough and malignant humours in the constitution of the English Church, which gentler Applications, than those of an Army, might not easily have removed: Nor is it so proper to bew out religious Reformations by the Sword, as to polish them by fair and equal Disputations among those that are most concerned in the Differences;

Eikon Bas.
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Anno
1643.

ferences; whom not Force, but Reason ought to convince.

But their Design now seemed rather to cut off all Disputation here, than to procure a fair and equal one: For it was concluded there, that the English Clergie must conform to the Scot's pattern before ever they could be heard what they could say for themselves, or against the other's way.

I could have wish'd fairer proceedings both for their credits, who urge things with such violence; and for other mens Consciences too; who can receive little satisfaction in these points, which are maintained rather by Souldiers fighting in the Fields, than Scholars disputing in free and learned Synods.

Sure, in matters of Religion those Truths gain most on mens Judgments and Consciences, which are least urged with secular violence, which weakens Truth with prejudices; and is unreasonable to be used, till such means of rational conviction have been applied, as, leaving no excuse for ignorance, condemn mens obstinacy to deserved penalties.

Which no charity will easily suspect of so many learned and pious Church-men in England; who, being always bred up and conformable to the Government of Episcopacy, cannot so soon renounce both their former opinion and practice, onely because that party of the Scots will needs by force assist a like party here, either to drive all Ministers, as Sheep into the common Fold of Presbytery; or destroy them; at least fliee them, by depriving them of the benefit of their Flocks. If the Scotch sole Presbytery were proved to be the onely Institution of Jesus Christ, for all Churches Government; yet I believe it would be hard to prove, that Christ had given those Scots, or any other of my Subjects, Commission by the Sword to set it up in any of my Kingdoms, without my Consent.

What respect and obedience Christ and his Apostles paid to the chief Governours of States, where they lived, is very clear in the Gospel; but, that he, or they ever commanded to set up such a parity of Presbyters, and in such a way as those Scots endeavour, I think is not very disputable.

If Presbytery in such a supremacy be an Institution of Christ, sure it differs from all others; and is the first and onely point of Christianity, that was to be planted and watered with so much Christian blood; whose effusion runs in a stream so contrary to that of the Primitive Planters, both of Christianity and Episcopacy, which was with patient shedding of their own blood, not violent drawing other mens. Sure there is too much of Man in it, to have much of Christ; none of whose Institutions were carried on, or begun with the temptations of Covetousness or Ambition; of both which this is vehemently suspected.

Yet was there never any thing upon the point, which those Scots had by Army or Commissioners to move me with, by their many Solemn Ob-
testations

testations and pious threatnings, but only this; to represent to Me the wonderful necessitie of setting up their Presbytery in England, to avoid the further miseries of a War; which some men chiefly on this design at first had begun, and now further engaged themselves to continue.

What hinders that any Sects, Schisms, or Heresies, if they can get but number, strength and opportunity, may not, according to this opinion and pattern, set up their waies by the like methods of violence? all which Presbytery seek's to suppress and render odious under those names; when wise and learned men think, that nothing hath more marks of Schism and Sectarism, then this Presbyterian way; both as to the Ancient, and still most Universal way of the Church-Government; and especially as to the particular Laws and Constitutions of this English Church; which are not yet repealed; nor are like to be for mee, till I see more Rational and Religious motives then Souldiers use to carry in their Knapacks.

But we must leave the success of all to God, who hath many waies (having first taken us off from the folly of our opinions, and fury of our passion) to teach us those rules of true Reason and peaceable Wisdom, which is from above, tending most to God's glory, and his Churches good; which I think My self so much the more bound in conscience to attend with the most judicious zeal and care: by how much I esteem the Church above the State; the glory of Christ above mine Own; and the salvation of mens souls above the preservation of their bodies and Estates.

Nor may any man, I think, without sin and presumption, forcibly endeavour to cast the Churches, under My care and tuition, into the moulds they have fancied and fashioned to their designs, till they have first gained My consent, and resolved both My own and other mens consciences by the strength of their reasons.

Other violent motions, which are neither Manlie, Christian, nor Loyal, shall never either shake or unsettle My Religion; nor any mans else, who knows what Religion means, and how far it is removed from all Faction; whose proper engine is Force, the arbitrator of beasts, not of reasonable men, much lesse of humble Christians and loyal Subjects, in matters of Religion.

But men are prone to have such high conceits of themselves, that they care not what cost they lay out upon their opinions; especially those that have some temptation of gain to recompense their losses and hazards.

Yet I was not more scandalized at the Scots Armies coming in against My will, and their forfeiture of so many obligations of duty and gratitude to mee, then I wondered, how those here could so much distrust Gods assistance; who so much pretended Gods Cause to the People, as if they had the certainty of some divine Revelation; considering they were more then competently furnished with my Subjects Arms and Ammunition; My Navy by Sea; My Forts, Castles, and Cities by Land.

Anno
1643.

But I finde that men jealous of the Justifiableness of their doings and designs before God, never think they have humane strength enough to carry their work on, seem it never so plausible to the people; what cannot be justified in Law or Religion, had need be fortified with power.

And yet such is the inconstancie that attends all minds engaged in violent motion, that whom some of them one while earnestly invite to come into their assistance, others of them soon after are weary of, and with nauseating cast them out: what one party thought to rivet to a settlednesse by the strength and influence of the Scots, that the other rejects and contemn's; at once, despising the Kirk-Government and Discipline of the Scots, and frustrating the successe of so chargeable more then charitable assistance: For sure the Church of England might have purchased, at a far cheaper rate, the truth and happinesse of Reformed Government and Discipline (if it had been wanting) though it had entertained the best Divines of Christendom for their advice in a full and free Synod; which I was ever willing to, and desirous of, that matters being impartially settled, might be more satisfactory to all, and more durable.

But much of God's justice, and man's folly will at length be discovered, through all the films and pretensions of Religion, in which Politicians wrap up their designs; in vain do men hope to build their pietie on the ruines of Loyalty. Nor can those confederations or designs be durable, when Subjects make bankrupt of their Allegiance, under pretence of setting up a quicker trade for Religion.

But, as My best Subjects of Scotland never deserted Me, so I cannot think that the most are gon so far from Me, in a Prodigality of their love and respects towards Me, as to make Me to despair of their return; when, besides the bonds of nature and Conscience, which they have to Me, all Reason and true Policie will teach them, that their chiefest interest consist's in their fidelitie to the Crown, not in their serviceablenesse to any party of the People, to a neglect and betraying of My safety and Honour for their own advantages: However, the lesse cause I have to trust to men, the more I shall apply My self to God.

But the entrance of the Scots startled the King, of which the gallant Earl of Montrose had heretofore advised, but the Traytor Hamilton hood-winkt the King from the truth, and now discovers it, by pretence of his private letters of intelligence from Scotland, which follow'd the tail of the Army, and not before. To Montrose the King shews Hamilton's treachery, and thus advises. That the King should send some Souldiers out of Ireland which the Earl of Antrim engages to doe. That the Earl of Newcastle, General for the King in the North, to assist Montrose, with a party of Horse to enter Scotland, and to deal with the King of Denmark for some Troops of Germane Horse, and some Arms, and these to meet

in

Montrose his
undertaking
for the King.

in *Argile* by the first of *April* next: but all failing, yet their men shall find *Montrose* at that time, and afterwards doing wonders alone.

There was a Letter, and the *Scots* Declaration sent to Sir *Thomas Glenham* Commander of the Kings Forces in the North from the Marquessle of *Argyle*, and Sir *William Armin* the Parliaments Agent, to hasten the *Scots* Army; whence they labour to excuse the *Scots* for invading *England*, the chief heads of their Letter we may finde by *Glenhams* answer, which is richly worth the reading.

My Lord,

I have this day, February the first 1643. received yours, together with one to the Gentlemen of the Country, and having communicated with them, we return you this Answer.

Sir Thomas
Glenham's
answer to Ar-
giles Letters.

That without the sight of that Letter we could not have been induced by any flying rumours to believe, that the Scottish Nation, or the prevailing party for the present in that Nation, would have attempted an invasion of *England*: so contrary to the Laws of God, of Nations; of both Kingdoms, and especially to the late Act of Pacification: so opposite to their Alleagiance, and gratitude to his Majesty, to that neighbourly love they pretend, to that discreet care which they should have of their own safety.

We could not otherwise have imagined, that they who by his Majesties goodnesse enjoy a settlement of their Church and State, according to their own desires, should needlessly and ingratefully imbroyle themselves in a businesse that concerns them not, forfeit their Rights; disoblige his Majesty, and hazard the losse of their present happinesse.

No Order of any Committee or Committees whatsoever of Men or Angels, can give them power to march into the bowels of another Kingdom, to make offensive War against their natural Sovereign, upon the empty pretence of Evil Councillours, who could never yet be named. And for the English Agents, we cannot believe them to be any Commissioners lawfully authorized, either by the Parliament, or by the two Houses; or yet by the House of Commons, whence so many of the Members are expelled by partial Votes; so many banished by seditious tumults, so many voluntarily absent themselves out of Conscience, where desperation, or want of opportunity to depart, or fear of certain Plunder, are the chiefest Bonds which hold the little remnant together from dissipating, where the venerable name of Parliament is made a stale to Countenance the pernicious Counsels, and Acts of a Close Committee.

For Subjects to make foreign Confederacies without their Soveraignes assent, to invade the Territories of their undoubted King, to go about by force to change the Laws and Religion established, is grosse Treason without all contradiction; And in this case it Argues

Anno

1643.

strongly, who have been the Contrivers and Fomenters of all our Troubles. No Covenant whatsoever, or with whomsoever, can justify such proceedings, or oblige a Subject to run such disloyal courses. If any man out of Ignorance, or Fear, or Credulity, have entred into such a Covenant, it bindes him not, except it be to Repentance. Neither is there any such necessity, as is pretended, of your present posture; your selves cannot allege that you are any way provoked by us, neither are we conscious to our selves of the least intention to molest you.

Those ends which you propose are plausible indeed to them who do not understand them, the blackest Designs did never want the same pretences. If by the Protestant Religion, you intend our Articles, which are the publick Confession of our Church, and our Book of Common Prayer established by Act of Parliament, you need not trouble your selves, we are ready to defend them with our Blood. If it be otherwise, it is plain to all the World, that it is not the Preservation, but the Innovation of Religion which you seek, however by you styled Reformation. And what calling have you to reform us by the Sword? We do not remember that ever the like indignity was offered by one Nation to another, by a lesser to a greater. That those men who have heretofore pleaded so vehemently for Liberty of Conscience, against all Oaths and Subscriptions, should now assume a power to themselves by Arms to impose a Law upon the Consciences of their fellow Subjects. A vanquished Nation would scarce endure such Terms from their Conquerours.

But this we are sure of, that this is the way to make the Protestant Religion odious to all Monarchs, Christian and Pagan.

Your other two ends, that is, the honour and happiness of the King, and the publick Peace and Liberty of his Dominions, are so manifestly contrary to your practice, that we need no other motives to withdraw you from such a course, as tends so directly to make his Majesty contemptible at home and abroad, and to fill all his Dominions with Rapine and Blood.

In an Army all have not the same intentions. We have seen the Articles agreed upon, and those vast Sums and Conditions contained in them, as if our Countreymen thought that England was indeed a Well that could never be drawn dry, and whatsoever the intentions be, we know right well what will be the consequents: if it were otherwise, no intention or consequent whatsoever can justify an unlawfull action. And therefore you do wisely to decline all disputation about it: it is an easie thing to pretend the Cause of God, as the Jews did the Temple of the Lord, but this is far from those evident Demonstrations, which you often mention, never make.

Consider that there must be an account given to God of all the Blood which shall be shed in this Quarrel. The way to prevent it, is not by such insinuations, but to retire before the Sword be unsheathed, or the Breach be made too wide; you cannot think we are grown such tame

Crea-

Creatures, to desert our Religion, our Laws, our Liberties, our Estates, upon command of Foreigners, and to suffer our selves and our Posterity to be made Beggars and Slaves without opposition. If any of ours shall joyn with you in this Action, we cannot look upon them otherwise than as Traitors to their King, Vipers to their native Countrey, and such as have been Plotters or Fomenters of this Design from the beginning. But if mis-information or fear, hath drawn any of yours ignorantly or unwillingly into this Cause, we desire them to withdraw themselves at last, and not to make themselves Accessaries to that Deluge of Mischiefe which this second Voyage is like to bring upon both Kingdoms.

The Scots for a Moneth together have likewise spread abroad this slander, *That divers of the Nobility have lately deserted the King*; which the Lords of the Assembly of Parliament at Oxford took upon them to convince, that in time to come there might not be left one Loop-hole of Excuse for this their Rebellion. Directing their Letters.

To the Lords of the Privy Council and Conservatours of the
Peace of the Kingdom of Scotland.

Our very good Lords,

If for no other reason, yet that Posterity may know, we have done our Duties, and not sate still whilst our Brethren of Scotland were transported with a dangerous and fatal misunderstanding, &c. We have thought it necessary to tell you, that when you are informed, that the Earls of Arundel and Thanet, and the Lords of Stafford, Stanhop, Coventry, Goring, and Craven, are beyond Seas, and the Earls of Chesterfield, Westmerland, and the Lord Montague of Boughton under restraint at London, for their Loyalty and Duty to his Majesty and the Kingdom, your Lordships will easily conclude how very few now make up the Peers at Westminster, there being not above five and twenty Lords present or privy to these Councils.

And so they go on to give their Reasons why this Assembly at Oxford are dissenting and absent from Westminster, being forced away by the Multitude of the meaner sort of the City Rabble of London, and prosecuted by unparliamentary Debates and Votes without freedom or safety to their Lives.

And therefore we do protest against any Invitation made to the Scottish Nation to enter this Kingdom with an Army. And we do conjure your Lordships by our common Allegiance, under one gracious Sovereign, by the amity and affection of both Nations, by the Treaty of Pacification, and by all obligation divine and humane, which can preserve peace upon earth, to prevent the effusion of so much Christian Blood,
and

Anno
1643.

and the confusion and desolation, which must follow this Invasion, &c. And therefore your Lordships may be assured, we shall expose our lives and fortunes in the just and necessary defence of the Kingdom: Engaging our honours to be our selves most religious observers of the Act of Pacification; and we hope to receive such an answer from you, as may preserve the two Nations, &c.

Your Lordships most affectionate humble servants.

And signed by all the Lords and Peers, of the great Assembly at Oxford, about sixty, as before in the Roll afore-
said.

Newark siege
raised by
Prince Rupert.

We will end this year with Prince *Ruperts* reliefe, of that gallant Garison, at Newark, from the three weeks hot siege of Sir *John Meldrum*, for the Parliament; wasting his Army from seven thousand, to five thousand: the manner was thus.

Prince Rupert being at West-Chester, upon Tuesday night, March 12. received his Majesties commands, to march with all speed to the reliefe of Newark, with four thousand foot, under five Regiments and four Colours, and two thousand Horse and Dragoons. Upon these Summons, he made hast to Shrewsbury, speeding away Major Legge (General of the Ordnance) before, to choose out so many commanded Musquetiers of the English (of late come out of Ireland) as might well be spared out of that Garrison. These were a thousand Musquetiers of Colonel Broughtons and Colonel Tilliers Regiments, with a hundred and twenty of Colonel Sir Fulke Huncks. All these sent down by the Severne, met the Prince at Bridgenorth on Friday. Of Horse he took along his own Troope and Regiment, with twenty of Major-General Sir John Hurrey's; with these forces he drew along three field-pieces. At Wolverhamton, next day, was his Army recruited by a hundred Horse and two hundred Foot of Colonel Levelsons. On Munday night he had notice at Ashbye de la Zouch, of two thousand two hundred enemies under Sir Edward Hartop, sent out by Meldrum, to the passe and bridge over the Sore, a mile from Loughborow in Leicestershire. Their purpose was either to intercept General Major George Porter, or to prevent his joyning with my Lord Loughborow: For thither with four Regiments of Horse, and a thousand commanded Musquetiers of my Lord of Newcastles men, was Master Potter now come from about Newark, to hinder the farther inroads into Leicestershire. Dayly slight Skirmishes here passed. For Meldrum not able to force the passage, and hearing of my Lord of Loughborow's drawing out, they stole away. Porter thus disingaged, was the next day, together with my Lord Loughborow's forces, conjoynd to the Prince's. That night they all quartered in a close by Bingham, eight miles short

of

of Newark. About two of the clock, the Moon then well up, the drums beat, and all marched. Hitherto had the marches been so speedy, as fame it self was prevented; for by Meldrum's own Letter sent to the Lord Fairfax which was intercepted the night before; they had no more but an uncredited rumor of Prince Rupert's coming. On this dayes march, Rupert had notice by his espyalls, how the Enemies were busied all that morning, in sending away their Cannons; which proved no other, then their drawing them off their Batteries into their chiefe work at the Spittle, or Excester House, a little more then musket shot from the Town; for into that one Quarter, had they that morning drawn all their Regiments and Amunition. The Prince having intelligence of their amassing themselves into one Body, which he supposed a preparation to march off suddenly; advanc'd his Van of Horse upon the spur to overtake them: the rest of his Horse had order to keep along with the Foot, Cannon and Amunition. Coming near the Beacon-hill, a mile short of Newark, he perceived some Horses of the enemies; who upon his approach drew down the other side to their own Grosse. The Prince thus easily gaining the hill, increased his natural courage: upon his apprehension besides, of having many advantages upon a retreating enemy: Whereupon, Courage, sayes he, let's charge them with the Horse we have, and ingage them till our Reer and Foot be march'd up to us. Trooping thus to the edge of the hill, he perceived the most of the enemy in Battalia (Horse and Foot) near the Spittle: all, except four great Bodies of Horse, who expected him at the very descent of the hill. The Prince thus ordered his own few Forces; first, himself with his own Troop of Life-guards, undertook to attack that Body on the left hand, appointing my Lord Loughborow's Troop to second him, and Colonel Charles Gerard's Troop to be as a Reserve a little on my Lords right hand. The Princes Regiment was cast out into five divisions, two Troops to each division: in the first, and very right hand of all, were Captain Gardiner and Captain Richardson, then Captain Cobb and Captain [Martin; then the Lord Grandison and Sir Thomas Dallison, next them the Troops of Sir Lewis Dives and the Lord Dillon, Major Leggs and Lieutenant-Colonel O-Neales Troops being next unto the Life-guards; this Regiment was seconded by Major General Porters Regiment: the Field-word, was King and Queen; theirs, Religion. The fight began about nine a clock; and after a while grew sturdy, especially on Rupert's right wing, the other doubling their files from three to six deep, and charged two outmost Troops upon the Flanks so hard, that Captain Martin came timely in to help to beat them off; the Prince himself, having pierced deep into the enemies, and being observed for his valour, was dangerously at once assaulted by three sturdy persons, whereof one fell by Rupert's own sword, a second being pistoll'd by Master Mortaigne one of his own Gentlemen, the third now ready to lay

hand

Anno
1643.

hand on the Princes collar, had it almost chopt off by Sir William Neale; He thus dis-engaged with a shot only in his gauntlet, with Sir Richard Crane and his own Troop, charged quite thorow that Body, pursuing them in rout home to their very Works at the Spittle; presently after this his Regiment with their seconds, likewise routed the three other Bodies, four of the Troops charging even into the Work, and bringing away a Captain Prisoner, Loughborow also deported himself honourably, some of his shrunk at the second charge, himself rode back to rally, and bring them up again: Major-general Porter charged with much bravery, though some of his also retired up the hill in disorder; Colonel Charles Gerard did here like himself, but by the fall of his horse, was bruised, shot in the arm, and taken prisoner. After a while both sides began to rallie, and make ready for a second charge; the Prince to make impresson, and they to receive it: and though for a good while they disputed it toughly, yet by fine force were they, and all the rest driven quite out of the Field, beyond their own Work, Foot and Cannon, at the Spittle; divers of them hasting by a bridge of boats over that branch of the Trent into the Island: four other Troops, with as many Foot-companies, hasted up to Muskham bridge upon the other side of the Island, and main stream of the River, about three quarters of a mile, both from Newark and the Spittle: here they stayed till towards evening; when breaking the bridge behinde them, and throwing one piece of Cannon into the Trent, they then hastned to Nottingham. In both these stiffe bouts, the Prince took Five Cornets, and Ninetie Prisoners, whereof three Captaines, some Gentlemen, three Cornets, besides other Officers and two Cannoniers. And now as if an universal truce had been agreed upon, there was some half an hours silence, excepting that the enemies Cannonado's disturbed it: For the Foot had not yet advanced, and their Horse by this time had enough of it. As for the Prince, he now stayed for his Foot and Reer of Horse, both left full two miles behinde, when his Van began to double their march to overtake the enemy; anon came up his Foot, all that day commanded by Colonel Tilliar: these resting themselves a while upon the hill, the first division being part of those that came from Shrewsbury, were led on by the Colonel, these marcht down in the face of the enemy, hooting at their Cannon; these flanked with some Horse were wheeled to the right, by and by into a meadow; at their coming, the enemy drew all their Horse and Foot within their Spittle-work, and coming up against this place, both sides saluted one another at too far a distance with a short volley; but Colonel Tilliar was not to stay here, as being by his Orders to march up to the very Rivers side, to recover the boat-bridg from the enemy; but this being too well guarded, he was glad to go off, making a stand without reach of Cannon. In this time were divers more Bodies of Foot brought down into the Field, who charg'd up to the enemies Works, and killed many: Loughborow's being left upon
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the hill for a reserve. Thus was the valley be spread with the Princes Battaglions: and in this posture stood the Army. Sir Richard Byron Governour of Newark likewise, before this, had sent part of his Garrison (both Horse and Foot) into another ground on the South-East side of the Town. And by this time, had the Prince notice given him by a Prisoner; and by one of theirs that came over to him; how they were so distressed for want of victualls, that they were not able to live there two dayes. Whereupon He began to resolve upon other coun-cells: esteeming it cheaper to block up their trenches, then to storm them. And block't up they were already, in a very narrow room; no more then the backside of the Spittle towards the River. Besides which, they were on all sides surrounded by His forces. On the South side, by the Town; on the East, by the Prince: and on the North, by Colonel Tilliar. Into the Island on the West, had the Prince sent five hundred Horse, besides two hundred of the Newark Troopers. Thus the late blockers found themselves now besieged, yea, without much hope of sudden relief, or safe means to sally: For so well had the Prince ordered them, that had they sallied forwards, He had then fallen upon their first issuing out, both in Front and Flanks with his Army, and the Town had charged them upon their Rear. Had they offered to escape over their Boat-bridg, those in the Isle had disturbed their passing, and others entertained their coming over. By this time had the Prince commanded Sir Richard Byron with his own and Sir Gervase Eyres Horse-Regiments, with eight hundred of Sir John Digbys Foot, to advance so high into the Island, as to put in betwixt the enemies two bridges. By which interposition was all intercourse cut off betwixt them, their greater Body at the Spittle, and those at Muskhamb bridg: upon this, those eight Colours at the bridg retreated, as aforesaid. Under favour of these Town-forces too, was Rupert resolved to cast up a Redoubt that night betwixt the bridges, but going now to view the ground, the enemy sent out a Trumpet to desire a Parley. To make way for this, and the more to sweeten and oblige the Prince, had Sir John Meldrum some hours before, sent home Colonel Gerard, yet upon the parole of a Souldier and a Gentleman, to return himself a Prisoner when ever he should be called. They having sent out to parley, quit their bridg; which his Highness presently possessed by a hundred Musquetiers. For the parley was appointed Sir Richard Crane, Captain of his Life-guards, with Sir William Neale, Scout-master General: the other sending Sir Miles Hobard, and Sir John Palgrave into the Town. Now true though it be that the enemies were distressed, yet very wise Generals have not thought it safe to make such men desperate: Besides which, being now in the midst of their own Garrisons, they might possibly be relieved. And to confesse the truth, the Princes Horse were so over-marcht, and his Foot so beaten off their legs, that He found his men lesse able for the present for them; and the enemy were more then was believed. For these reasons, and for that (as by intercepted Let-

Anno
1643.

ters it appeared) the Lord Fairfax and his Son Sir Thomas, being both commanded by the Council of State to march, other places might ere long have need of his presence; the Prince (at length) condescended to these Articles.

1. That all Match, Bullet, Powder, Cannon, and all other Fire-arms belonging to the Artillery be delivered.
2. That all Souldiers march away with their Swords by their sides, and Colours and Drums.
3. That all Officers march without molestation with Their Arms and Horses for themselves and Servants, and all Bag and Baggage, Money, and whatsoever doth truly belong to Themselves.
4. That all Troopers and Dragoons march with their Swords, Horses, and Colours.
5. That his Highness send a Convoy to protect us from any injury two Miles from the utmost of his Highness Quarters.

March 22. 1643.

Because we may conceive that the 22. Divines appointed to reform, might do something in order to their Pensions, the latter end of this Year produced the effects. A Protestation by them for settling of the Church, and their particular Exceptions against the *Liturgie*; not that the Book of *Common Prayer* of the Church of *England* should be utterly abolished, but purged of Innovations and Absurdities.

And first of the later part, the Innovations and Absurdities they make to be these:

I: *Because there be some things in it of which we know not how to make any reasonable sense, viz.*

1. Whatsoever is manifest, the same is light, *Ephes. 5. 13.* See *Epi. 3. Lent.*
2. In the power of the Divine Majesty to worship the Unity. See *Col. Trin.*
3. Every Parishioner must communicate thrice a year, and also receive the Sacraments and other Rites. See *Rubrick after Communion.*
4. God is said to be Father of all that is called Father in Heaven. *Ephes. 3. 15.* See *Epist. 16. Trinity.*
5. This is the sixth Moneth which was called Barren, *Luke 1. 28.* See *Gosp. Annunc.*
6. Or ever your Pots be made hot with Thorns, so let indignation vex him, as a thing that is raw, *Psalms 58. 8.* See *Gosp. Annunc.*
7. When the company of the Spear-men and multitude of the Mighty are scattered abroad among the beasts of the people (that they humbly bring pieces of Silver) and when he hath scattered

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the people that delight in War, Then shall the Princes, &c. *Psalm*
68.30.

Anno

1643.

II. *Because as far as we are able to discern, there is contradiction in it.*

1. To the Book of Articles, which denieth that Confirmation hath any visible Sign, whereas the last Prayer in Confirmation makes Imposition of Hands a Sign to certifie the Children of God's favour and gracious goodness towards them.

2. To it self, by affirming in the Catechism, that there are but two Sacraments, and yet ascribing to Confirmation, all things that are required to the being of a Sacrament, either in that Book, or in the Book of Articles.

III. *Because, to our best understanding, it seemeth to contain in it some untruths.*

1. Innocents are said to be Gods Witnesses, and to have confessed and shewed forth his praise, not in speaking, but in dying. See *Col. Inno.*

2. It affirmeth that Faith and Repentance are required of Infants that are to be baptized, and that they perform the same by their Sureties. See *Addi. to the Cate.*

3. That Children baptized have all things necessary to Salvation, and that they are undoubtedly saved. See *Rubr. the Cate.*

4. That we have sure and certain hope of every one to be buried, that he shall rise again to everlasting life. See in the *Burial.*

5. That nothing is ordained by it to be read in God's Service, but the very pure Word of God, the holy Scriptures, or that which is undoubtedly grounded upon the same. See *Preface.*

6. That in the course of reading appointed, so much as possibly may be, the reading of holy Scriptures, is so set forth, that all things shall be done in order, without breaking one piece from another. See *Ibidem.*

Some doubtfull matters.

1. It affirmeth that there be Arch-angels, and that *Michael* is a created Angel. See *Col. and Gosp. Micha.*

2. It alloweth Baptism in a house meerly private, and seems thereby to nourish the superstitious opinion of the necessity thereof. See *Private Bapt.*

3. It appointeth the Minister to use conditional Baptism in the publick Congregation, after the Childe hath been privately baptized, in this form, If thou be not baptized already, *N.* I baptize thee in the Name, &c. *In fine.*

4. It saith, that there be two Sacraments onely as generally necessary unto Salvation, wherein it is also dangerously implied, that

Anno

1643.

there are more than two Sacraments. See *Addi.* to the *Case.*

5. It alloweth of a private Communion betwixt the Minister and the sick person onely. See *Visit.* of *Sick.*

6. It affirmeth that our Ceremonies pertain to Edification, and that they are apt to stir up the dull minde of man to the remembrance of his duty to God, by some special and notable signification, whereby he may be edified. See *Pref.* of *Cerem.*

7. It calleth Ministers Priests, a thing avoided by the Holy Ghost in the *New Testament*, as belonging to Sacrificers.

8. It appointeth the Minister to say to the sick person, I (by *Christ's* authority committed unto me) do absolve thee from all thy sins, in the Name of, &c. See *Visit.* of *Sick.*

IV. *Because the holy Scripture is disgraced in it.*

1. The name of holy Scripture is given to the *Apocrypha*, which are made parts of the *Old Testament*. See *Rubr.* of *Lesson.*

2. They are read rather than the holy Scripture, when any Holy-day falls on the *Sunday*.

3. Sundry Chapters of them are appointed by the Kalendar to be read thrice in the Year, and none of the Canonical of the *Old Testament* so often.

4. Certain whole Books of the holy Scriptures are left unread by appointment, *viz.* The Book of *Canticles*, both the Books of *Chronicles*, and the *Apocalypsis*, save c. 1, 2, 22. and one or two pieces for Epistles. Likewise the Genealogy of our Saviour *Christ*, both in *St. Matthew* and *S. Luke* is forbidden to be read in the Congregation.

V. *Because certain Chapters are appointed to be read out of the Apocrypha, containing manifest untruths.*

1. *Tob. 12, 9, 12, 15.* See *Octob. 4. Even.*

2. *Ecclesiasticus 24, 11, 12.* See *Novemb. 7. Morn.*

3. *Judith 9, 4, 10, 13.* See *Octob. 10.*

4. *Tob. 3, 8.* See *Septemb. 30.*

VI. *Because it enjoineth Ceremonies, which as we are perswaded are unlawfull, viz.*

The Surplice, Cross, &c. being humane Inventions, without any warrant from Gods Word, of mystical signification defiled with superstition: scandalous, of no necessary use, which ought to be according to the truth of the Gospel, without carnal Rites.

VII. *Because it containeth some Prayers whereof the later part depends not upon the former, viz.*

The Collects upon *Innocents* day, *Epiphany*, *First Sunday* in *Lent*, *Sunday* before *Easter*, *Third Sunday* after *Easter*, *Trinity Sunday*, *Thirteenth Sunday* after *Trinity*. And

And some Prayers which are not warrantable, viz. The Collect upon Twelfth Sunday after Trinity, and on the first after the offertory.

1. We desire something that our Prayers dare not presume to ask, whereas it is no presumption to ask any lawfull thing in *Christ's* Name.

2. We pray for that which we say, we dare not pray for, which is a contradiction.

VIII. *Because we subscribe to the reading of we know not what, viz.*

All Homilies that hereafter shall be set forth by common Authority.

IX. *Because the Collect, Epistle and Gospel on the first day of Lent, and the Epistle and Gospel on the first Sunday in Lent savour of Superstition, in regard of the time, for which they are appointed.*

So also doth the custome of doing open penance in the beginning of *Lent*, the practice whereof is approved, and the restitution thereof, wished in the Commination.

X. *Because it permits any of the Communicants to make the publick Confession of sins (which also contains a Prayer) in the name of all the rest; which onely belongs to the Minister, as his special Office, he being the mouth of the people, and in that case a publick person.*

XI. *Because it containeth in it divers corrupt Translations of holy Scriptures.*

1. *By leaving out of words.*

1. *Higgaion, Selah, and the Titles of the Psalms.*

2. The conclusion after the 72. Psalm, and these words (*Praise ye the Lord*) at the least seventeen times.

3. The conclusion of the Lords Prayer, and that every where throughout the Service, after the popish manner.

4. In the reading of the Commandments, these words, *Which brought thee out of the Land of Egypt, out of the house of bondage.*

5. In the Epistle on the first Sunday after the Epiphany these words, *Holy and beloved, Col. 3. 12.*

2. *Putting to of words.*

1. Psalm 14. three whole Verses.

2. Psalm 136. a whole Verse in the end.

3. Psalm 24. 6. this word (*O*) added, corrupteth the Text, by ap-

Anno

1643.

applying to *Jacob*, as spoken of him, which belongs to God.

4. *Matth. 9. 25.* And said, *Damofel* arise. See *Gosp. 24. Trin.*

5. *Fer 23. 5.* With wisdom. See *Epist. 25. Trin.*

6. *Luke 16. 21.* No man gave unto him. See *Gosp. Trin.*

7. *Luke 19. 42.* Thou wouldest take heed. *Gosp. 10. Trin.*

8. *Luke 24. 36.* It is I, fear not. See *Epist. St. Luke.*

9. *2 Tim. 4. 5.* Be sober. See *Epist. St. Luke.*

3. *Perverting the meaning of the Holy Ghost.*

1. *Psalms 117. 4.* Because of mens works done against the words of my lips, &c. (for) concerning the works of men, by the words of thy lips, &c.

2. *Psalms 18. 26.* With the froward thou shalt learn frowardness (for) with the froward, thou wilt shew thy self froward, *spoken of God.*

3. *Psalms 68. 6.* He makes men to be of one minde in an house, (for) he maketh the solitary to dwell in families.

4. *Psalms 105. 28.* They were not obedient, (for) they were not disobedient.

5. *Psalms 106. 30.* *Phineas* prayed, (for) executed judgment.

6. *Psalms 107. 40.* Though he suffered them to be evil intreated, (for) he powreth contempt upon Nobles.

7. *Psalms 125. 3.* The rod of the ungodly cometh not unto the lot of the righteous, (for) resteth not upon it.

8. *Psalms 114. 6.* Yea, I will pray yet against their wickedness, (for) within a while I shall even pray in their miseries.

9. *Isai 63. 11.* *Israel* remembered, (for) He (that is, God) remembered. See *Epist. Mund. East.*

10. *Matth. 27. 9.* Whom they bought of the children of *Israel*, (for) whom the children of *Israel* valued. See *Gosp. last Lent.*

11. *Luke 1. 28.* Hail full of grace, (for) freely beloved. See *Annunc.*

12. *Luke 1. 48.* The lowliness of his hand-maid, (for) poor degree. See *Magnificat.*

13. *1 Cor. 9. 27.* Should be a castaway, (for) reprovab. See *Epist. Septuag.*

14. *Gal. 4. 25.* *Agar* in *Arabia* bordereth upon *Jerusalem*, (for) answereth to *Jerusalem* that now is. See *Epist. 4. Lent.*

15. *Phil. 2. 7.* *Christ* was found in his apparel, like a man, (for) in shape as a man. See *Epist. last Sund. in Lent.*

16. *Heb. 9. 25.* The high Priest entred into the holy place, with strange blood, (for) other blood, that is, not his own. See *Wednesd. before Easter.*

17. *1 Peter 3. 20.* When the long-suffering of God was once looked for, (for) The long-suffering of God abode, or waited. See *Easter Eve.*

XII. *Because it mis-applieth some places of the holy Scriptures to the countenancing of erroneous and doubtfull matters.*

1. *Revel. 14. 1.* To those children whom *Herod* caused to be murdered, whom the Collect calls Gods witnesses. See *Innocents*.

2. *1 Peter 3. 17.* To the time that *Christ* abode in the grave. See *Easter Eve*.

3. *Revel. 12. 7.* To *Michael* as a created Angel. See *Michael*.

And then they protest before Almighty God, That we acknowledge the Churches of England, as they be established by publique Authority, to be true visible Churches of Christ, That we desire the continuance of our Ministry in them, above all earthly things, as that, without which our life would be bitter and wearisom unto us. That we dislike not a set Form of Prayer, to be used in the Church, and finally, That whatsoever before written, is not set down of any evil minde, or with a purpose to deprave the Books of Common Prayer, Ordination, or Homilies, but onely to shew some Reasons why we cannot subscribe to all things contained in the same.

What they protest now, was otherwise concluded, to confound it.

A brief Narrative of the Scots affaires from 1639.

We may not conceal the valiant and admired Actions of the Kings affaires in Scotland under conduct of the most Noble *James*, Marquesse of *Montrose*, Earl of *Kinkardin*, &c. General Governour by Commission for his Majesty in that kingdom.

A Narrative wherein we may finde *Montrose* his judgement and ingenuity, gallantry in person, patience in travel, evennesse of spirit in dangers, quick in resolution, his wisdom in counsels, his excellent vertue in all things and to all men, which his very enemies could not but afford him.

For while the Covenanters at the first in 1638. pretended preservation of Religion, the honour and dignity of the King, and good of the people. He sided with them, they all then engaging by solemn Attestation and Oaths, never to move by force, but by petition to their Sovereign.

In 1639. *Montrose* was their Minion to whom they spoke out, that the *Stuarts* had governed too long, and they would now be at liberty, and would strike at the Head, resolving to raise an Army, and at *Dundee* the solemn Convention resolve to invade England, but had it counsel six weeks before, in which time they divulge in all the three Kingdoms their several Pamphlets Apologetical, setting some gloss upon their intended expedition. *Montrose* was absent whilst this was working, and being returned and made acquainted with all, was intrusted to command 2000. Foot and 500. Horse, and

Military affairs under conduct of the Marquesse of *Montrose*.

Anno
1643.

and his meer friends conducted 5000. more of this Army: with intention on their parts to side with the King, and at the River *Tweed* that separates both Nations, *Montrose* was by lot to passe over first, which he did on foot, and his men followed, by which, and other his forwardness, he shadowed his intentions of Loyalty, and service to his Sovereign, when opportunity should minister the occasion: for now a pacification is concluded.

Another *Scotish* Army is raised, and marching over *Tine* near *Newcastle*, the *English* Army come thither to oppose them, retreated to *York*, and gave way willingly for the *Scots* to possess *Newcastle*, and a cessation agreed upon, and the Treaty began at *London*. In this time the King at *York* receives private Letters from *Montrose*, professing his duty and fidelity to the King: nor did they contain any more, but being stolen out of his pocket by the treacherous *Scots* of the Kings Bed-chamber, and copied out, were sent to the *Covenanters*.

The Army disbanded, *Montrose* returned into *Scotland*, joynes in League with some prime of the Nobility to defend the Kings Cause, and so by a division which was his aim, but betrayed to the *Covenanters*: who joyning with the Parliament of *England* by solemn engagements designed *Montrose* his ruine. They corrupt the Courtiers, and understand that the King had writ Letters to *Montrose*, quilted in the Messengers Sadle, one *Stuart* servant to *Traquair*, whom they seise at the borders of *Scotland*, and rip out the Letters, yet nothing therein but what became the best of Kings to write, and the best of Subjects to obey. Neverthelesse the *Covenanters* scattered abroad Tragical Reports of Plots between the King and *Montrose*, for the overthrow of Religion and ruine of the Kingdoms, which their Mercenary Ministers made use of to winde and turn the mindes of the people, the best way to promote their cause and Rebellion. They seise *Montrose* on the suddain (with *Napier* Lord of *Marcheston* and Sir *Sterling Keer*) his kinsmen and friends, into the Castle of *Edenburgh*.

The peace concluded, and the King come into *Scotland*, called a Parliament, gives them their hearts desire, but could not procure *Montrosses* tryal nor release, till after the Kings departure towards the end of the year, and *Montrose* retires to his own house.

The next year 1642. the *Covenanters* unmask on all sides, the *English* raise Armes for a civil war, the *Scots* are carested, who raise forces also to assist the Parliament of *England*, and labour all possible means to win upon *Montrose*, and offer him to be Lord General of their Army. He holds off, and privately with the Lord *Ogleby*, comes with two Troops of Horse to the Queen newly landed out of *Holland* at *Burlington* in *Yorkshire*, and discovering to her all the former passages and the danger of the King, and that there was no other way of remedy, but to resist force with force, and to oppose their entrance

entrance into this evil. But *Hamilton* now returns out of *Scotland*, sent thither by the King to appease the *Scots*, with whom he traiterously combines, and purposely comes to the Queen to destroy *Montrose* his Counsels, as rash and unadvised, offering himself to pacifie the Scots and so returns home, and *Hamilton* seems there active for the King as his chief Commissioner.

The *Scottish* Covenanters of themselves summon a Parliament at *Edenburgh*, but *Montrose* and his friends do not appear. The Covenanters out vote the Royal party by seventy voyces, assuming all Sovereign power with the King, and ordainto Levy a powerful Army against the King in ayd of the *English* Parliament. And now again they deal with *Montrose*, who to work the Kings interests the better he accepts, and is careffed by *Alexander Henderson* the Covenanters Apostle to satisfie his conscience, who to sift the secrets (with *Napier*, *Ogleby*, and *Keer*) meet neer *Sterling*; To those, *Henderson* discovers, that it was resolved to send an Army in ayd of their brethren in *England* against the King, that for his own part he was happy to be a Minister and Mediatour in so blessed a businesse, entreating *Montrose* to speak his minde freely, and to commit the affairs to him effectually to manage it with the Parliament, for profit and honour to them all. To which *Montrose* returns a hopeful answer.

In company of *Henderson* comes one Sir *James Rolloch*, chief of an ancient Family and Kinsman to *Montrose*, who assures him that *Henderson* had instructions from the Parliament to treat.

Montrose acquaints all his friends, who though passionate for the King, yet his loss being without recovery, and themselves unable to act, they would be lookers on.

But he and *Ogleby* post's to *England*, and arrive at *Oxford*, whilst the King was at the siege of *Glocester*, to the Queen they communicate all, but she over-affected to the interest and power of the *Hamiltons* neglects them, who go to the King at *Glocester*, and inform him that of necessity the strength of treasons ought to be broken ere it grew to big. The King in dist'esse what to doe. to struggle with the deep-rooted confidence he had of the *Hamiltons*, the subtil devices of desperate Courtiers who daily buzzed in his ears too *Montrose's* prejudice in ballance with *Hamiltons*, and so returns to his winter quarters at *Oxford*, where the publique reports of *Scotland* fixed *Montrose's* discoveries to be true, the *Scots* Army being raised 18000. foot and 2000. horse, and upon the borders: then *Hamilton* in *Scotland* posts his Letters of discovery to the King with this excuse, that he and his friends had prevailed to prevent an invasion the last Summer, but now winter is come and the Army marching.

The King shews these Letters to *Montrose* and commands his

Anno

1643.

advice and counsel, to recover him from the treachery of such, to whom he had intrusted his greatest concerns. It was with several daies counsel thus concluded.

That the King should send some Souldiers out of *Ireland* into the west of *Scotland* to order the Marquesse of *Newcastle* (the Kings General of his Northern Forces in England) to assist *Montrose* with a party of Horse, to enter the south of *Scotland*, and so into the heart of that kingdom.

That the King of *Denmark* might be dealt with for some Troops of *Germane* Horse.

And *Montrose* to have some Army from beyond seas into *Scotland*.

All these the King would undertake to effect, and gave assured trust in *Montrose* his valour, faith and good fortune.

And instantly sends for the Earl of *Antrim*, of *Scotish* extraction, descended of the Noble and ancient Family of the *Mac-donalds*, and lately matched in marriage to the Duke of *Buckingham*s Widow: and being driven out of *Ireland*, resided at the Court at *England*. *Antrim* confirms this Counsel with assurance to *Montrose* that he would be in *Argyle* (a part of *Scotland*, bordering upon *Ireland*) by the first of *April* 1644. and this was in *December*.

And Sir. *Jo. Cockram* is sent forthwith to the King of *Denmark* for Horse and Arms, and post is sent to the Marquesse of *Newcastle* to prepare for *Montrose*'s coming, who is instantly Commissioned to be Governour of *Scotland*, and General of the Kings Army there. But presently comes *Hamilton* and his Brother, the Earl of *Lanerick* post from *Scotland*, and gives out by the way that they were banished their Countrey for Loyalty to the King, and were forced to fly to him for succour.

With much adoe the King was advised to forbid them the Court. *Lanerick* staves in *Oxford* and suddainly gets to the Parliament at *London*, and afterwards to the *Scotish* Army so soon as they entred *England*, and ever since to do them service. And thereupon *Hamilton* is sent prisoner to *Pendennis* Castle in *Cornwal*.

Montrose having intelligence of several *Scots* Counties suspected of disloyalty, advised the King to invite the *Scots* in Court to a Protestation heartily to detest the courses of the Covenanters, and condemned the coming in of the Army into *England* against the King, and the Laws of the Land as an act of treason: promising and vowing to acquit themselves of that scandal, and to the utmost of their power, and hazard of their lives and fortunes to oppose those that were guilty.

But as the most *Scots* took this Protestation, so the Earl of *Traquair* and Mr. *William Murray* of the Bedchamber a while refusing for fear of the Covenanters, yet afterwards engaged themselves by solemn oath to aid *Montrose* in *Scotland* by a day prefixt, which Oath they basely broke.

Mon-

The Reign of King Charls.

691

Anno

1643.

Montrose hastens to the *Marquess Newcastle*, who discourses of nothing more then the necessity of his Army, the *Scots* having spoiled his Recruits, and were quartered within five miles of him, that he could not spare a Horse: but if hereafter he should winde himself from this present danger, he would not be wanting in the best of his service to *Montrose*: and so in much necessity he affords him 200. Horse with 2. brasse field pieces, with Orders to all the Kings Forces to aid him in his journey to *Scotland*, and was met by the Counties of *Cumberland* and *Westmerland* with 800. Foot and three Troops of Horse, and he had got together some noble friends with 200. Horse more and enters *Scotland* the 13. of *April* 1644. where we leave him to that yeare.

It was this year that the French were famous for the Battle of *Rocroy*, being besieged by *Don Francisco de Melo* with an Army so compleat as nothing additional could be devised. But ere he sets down he creates the Duke of *Alburquerque* General of the Horse, a young *Portuguese*, and, God knowes, a pittiful Souldier, whom the Officers did not obey. But when the *French* fell on, they need not fight, for the enemy began to rout, and then to run, and the other to follow their execution. And this service was done by the fate (without fighting) of the Duke of *Anguien* now Prince of *Conde*. He had the glory, but General *Gassion* did the work, and was the cause of the taking of *Theurville*. But *Melo* was therefore turned out of command, though of himself a gallant person, but ill successe must be punished to please the Fates; for the King of *Spain* was constrained thereby to call him home, and to give the Government to *Castel-rodrigo* till the Arch Duke *Leopold* came himself thither. But as the *French* won the day here, so oftentimes they lose others: these Two Monarches shuffling for the Goal, had their several successes and losses on each other, recovered from suddain ruine by the assistance of either Allies, their Colleagues, for the *French*, *Swede*, and all the Protestant Princes against the Emperour and House of *Austria*, who had the help of *Spain* with the most of *Catholiques*.

The *Weymarians* were well reinforced by the conduct of four Marshals of *France* with their *French* Troops, and undertook to quarter in *Bavaria*, and were thwarted by the Duke of *Lorraine*, whose sufferings from the French forced him to accept the Spanish Command: he was accompanied with *John de Werde* and the Baron of *Mercy* directors of the Cavalrie to spie out the enemy, and in the end met with the Messieurs, routed each quarter after other, took the Marshals prisoners with four hundred Officers, and one thousand common Souldiers without counting the pillage. This defeat was as famous for the *Spaniard*, and saved *Bavaria* from that storm intended, and put the *French* to raise another Army under the same

Battel of *Rocroy* for the *French*.

Battel of *Bur-ling* for the Emperour.

Duke of *Lorraine* for the *Spaniard*.

Anno
1643.

name *Weymarian*, but with a new General, for *Guebriana* was killed the day before the fight: And this glorious battel takes name of *Durling*; where it was disputed: we shall not read of any such battels so memorable in this last age: the first was in May and began the happy reign of *Lewis 14th*. The other in the end of *November*, and these may stand parallel with those of *Leipsick* and *Northingen* the last year.

This Victory set up *Lorain* who was carested into a treaty by the *French* without any fruit, having been once at *Paris* to that purpose and abused back again, to take revenge, and marches away to the Low-countries, takes *Falconstia*, and leaves the Army to the brave Baron of *Mercy* who takes *Rotweil* and *Urburling*, comes to *Fiburgh* and *Brisquer*, where he meets with his match, the Prince of *Conde*.

The Parliament having sent their Emissaries to the neighbour Princes and States to carest them for their friendships, the King was careful likewise to satisfy them of the true cause of these differences. And as they had sent to the King of *Denmark*, so does he also by an expresse one Colonel *Cockram* with these instructions.

Cockram's Instructions to the King of Denmark.

You are to inform the King of *Denmark*, that by his Majesties command, as to the nearest ally of his Crown, his Uncle, and who he believes will not be unconcerned in his affairs, as well in interests as affections, you are sent to give a particular account of the state of his Majesties affairs, to renew the antient League and Amity between the two Kingdoms and Families Royal; and to reduce it to more exact particulars, such as might be useful to the present affairs of England, and all occurrence of those of Denmark.

That the present affair of your negotiation, is to demand an assistance from his Majesty, such as the present state of the affairs of England requires; against a dangerous combination of his Majesties Subjects, who have not only invaded his Majesty in his particular rights, but have laid a design to dissolve the Monarchy and frame of Government, under pretence of Liberty and Religion, becoming a dangerous precedent to all the Monarches of Christendom to be looked upon with successe to their design.

That the nature of their proceedings hath been such, as hath not admitted any foreign treaty to be interested in suppressing their design, without giving them advantage of Scandalizing his Majesties intentions, and drawing away universally the hearts of his people, whom they had insinuated under pretence of Reformation of particular abuses of Government, and Ministers of Estate, to concur generally with approbation of their proceedings, and in which (though the dangerous consequence and design were visible to his Majesty) a present compliance was necessary, lest any publick opposition on his Majesties

part

part, that might seem to defeat the great expectations which they had raised in the Commons in those plausible particulars, might have occasioned a general revolt, throughout the Kingdoms great jealousies being dispersed and fomented amongst them of his Majesties Foreign Treaties and Force; to be used to oppose and suppress those their desires and the movers therein.

Upon the credit they had herewith on the peoples opinions, they proceeded under pretence of Reformation of Religion, to dissolve the Government of the Church, according to its constitution in England, a chief column and support to that Monarchy and Crown.

They lastly invaded his Majesty in all the prerogatives of his Crown, and under pretence of ill Ministers and Councillours of Estate, whom they pretended to remove, endeavoured to invest in themselves in all times for the future the nomination of all Ministers of Estate, and of his Majesties Family; withdrew all his Revenue into their own hands, and to confirm themselves in an absolute power of disposing His estate, entred upon possessing themselves of the Militia of the Kingdom, His Navy and Magazines, in which his Majesty being forced to appear in opposition, dangerous Tumults were raised against Him, so that He was forced to forsake London, for preservation of His Person, His Queen and Children.

That since, for the safety of the Queen He hath been forced to send her into Holland, to retire Himself to the best affected party of His Subjects, from whence by Declarations setting forth the sinister proceedings of that Faction, discovering their designs of innovating the Government, and falsifying the scandals they had imputed to Him, He hath had the advantage generally to undeceive His people to draw to Him universally the Nobility and Gentry of the Kingdom. But the other Faction still keeping up some interest and credit with the Commons, in the desperate estate they finde themselves, begin to make head against Him, have appointed a General, and are levying Forces to maintain their party, committing divers acts of hostility, violence and Rebellion.

That his Majesty having great encouragements given Him by the exceeding numbers of Gentry and Noblemen that resort to Him, is already advanced near them with six thousand Horse, and ten thousand Foot.

That the States of Holland have condescended to give Her Majesty the Queen a convoy of the greatest part of their Fleet now at Sea for her return into England.

That divers Forts and Counties, upon his Majesties personal appearance, have declared for Him, so that His affairs at home grow daily into a better estate, as he likewise expects and hopes, that all His Neighbour Princes and Allies, will not look upon so dangerous a president to their own Crowns and Monarchies, without contributing to suppress this so pernicious a design, begun within His Kingdom.

That

Anno
1644.

That to give His Majesty the juster ground to reflect upon the dangerous consequences, in relation to His own interest, of their successe, it hath been by them publickly moved in the Commons House long since, to interpose in the accommodation of the Dutch, and to set out a Fleet, to take away His Customs of the Sound.

That they have since imputed to his Majesty as a ground to scandal Him with His people, that he did negotiate, the introducing by His Uncle the King of Denmark, a foreign power, to settle His affairs; and under that pretext have given large Commission, and particular instructions to the Fleet, to visit, search and intercept all such Danish ships as they should meet, and to fight with, sink or destroy, all such as should resist them, not permitting the same, or to take and detain them, having any arms or ammunition on board; according to which they have searched, visited and detained divers, to the great prejudice and interruption of the Norway trade driven commonly in this Kingdom, in their own Bottoms: And that they did prepare force against others, whom they permitted not to water, nor any other accommodation, being bound for the West-Indies, and put in by streffe of weather in the West of England.

That in pursuance of their great design of extirpating the Royal blood, and Monarchy of England, they have endeavoured likewise to lay a great blemish upon His Royal Family, endeavouring to illegitimate all derived from His Sister, at once to cut off the interests and pretensions of the whole Race, which their most detestable and scandalous design they have pursued, examining witnesses, and conferring circumstances and times, to colour their pretensions in so great a fault: and which as his sacred Majesty of England in the true sense of honour of his Mother, doth abhor, and will punish, so he expects his concurrence, in vindicating a Sister of so happy memory, and by whom so near an union, and continued League of amity hath been produced between the Families and Kingdoms.

That the particulars in which His Majesty doth desire his assistance, are, in the loan and raising of Men, Money, Arms and Ships, all or such of them as may consist best with the conveniences of his own affairs: and of such in the first place as may be most requisite and are wanting to his Majesty.

That to set His levies on foot, and to put him in a posture to protect his Subjects in all places that adhere to him, and receive their contribution, a hundred thousand pounds will be necessary for him, which his Majesty desires by way of loan. And for the restitution of it, besides his Kingly word, and solemn engagement, upon this treaty, he is contented of such his Crown Jewels as are in his disposure to leave His Royal pledge, if it shall be desired.

The particulars of arms that he desires, are six thousand Musquets, fifteen hundred Horse-arms, and twenty pieces of Artillery mounted.

Assistance

Assistance of men, he desires only in Horſemen, and to know in what time they may be ready, and how many.

That the Holy Island or Newcastle are designed for the landing of the ſaid Horſe, and Magazin of the ſaid proviſions, for reception likewise, and protection of ſuch his ſhips as he ſhall think fit to imploy for the countenance and ſecurity of thoſe his Subjects that ſhall trade upon theſe Coſts, and for aſcertaining the correſpondency and intelligence between the two Kingdoms; which the number is left to be proportioned as may beſt ſort and agree with his own affairs. And for which the Holy Island is conceived one of the apteſt Harbours in all his Majesties Dominions, being capable of any ſhips whatſoever, in a very great proportion, an excellent rode at the entrance, a ready out-let, and a ſtrong Fort under his Majesties command.

That in lieu of this aſſiſtance contributed by the King of Denmark, his Majesty will oblige himſelf, and ratifie in expreſſe Articles to reſtore into the Magazins of Denmark, a like proportion of Arms and ammunition; to repay and defray the charges of the money lent, and levies of Horſe, and as ſoon as his affairs ſhall be ſettled, and himſelf in a condition to do it, upon all occasions to contribute the aſſiſtance of his Fleet, in maintaining his Right and title to the Customs of the Sound, againſt all perſons whatſoever; and to ratifie the Treaty that was laſt made by Sir Thomas Roe, to enter into a League offenſive and deſenſive, againſt inteſtine Rebellions. In purſuance of which Treaty, while the Negotiations and Articles may be ſeverally perfected, his Majesty doth expect this firſt Supply of Moneys, and Arms, preſent affairs not admitting a Delay in the ſame.

That in caſe the King of Denmark will lend Money upon Jewels, there is in Holland a great Collar of Rubies, and another of Rubies and Pearl, that may be ſent to him, or delivered to his Agent here; who may have order to pay the Money here; or any other Jewels.

That there have been in Diſcourſes, ſeveral Propoſitions of Accommodation made by them to the King, to which the King hath at all times made more Advances on his part, than in reaſon could have been expected from him, and the Difficulties have ſtill riſen on theirs.

And that whereas his Majesty doth underſtand, that a perſon is addreſſed to the King of Denmark from his Parliament, to inſinuate miſunderſtandings abroad with his Maſteſtie's Allies, as they have done at home among his People, his Majesty expects that he be neither received, nor permitted to remain within his Dominions, to become an Intelligencer and Spy upon the Treaty and Negotiations between their Maſteſties, but that he be diſmiſt and ſent away ſo ſoon as ever he ſhall arrive.

Theſe Inſtructions intend to ſtate the affairs between the King and his Parliament, which how truly rendered the Hiſtory before doth expreſs in particular. The Parliament obſerve from hence, that
the

Anno
1644.

the King solicites *Denmark*, making not onely *Papists* the Parliaments Enemies for Religions sake, but all Princes though *Protestants* for Monarchies sake, rather than fail of aid from thence. And concerning the Rumour of his Mothers, Queen *Ann's* chastity, it is most true, they did therein examine Witnesses upon Interrogatories most abusive, base, even to an Impossibility, which yet was rumoured, whispering to the great dishonour, if possible, of the memory of that virtuous noble Lady, whom all Historians crown with glory and honourable Fame; and which scandal I have not hitherto touched in this History, nor would, till now I finde his Majesty so sensible thereof, that he signifies so much in private to the King of *Denmark*, her Brother. But the Parliament publish it in print to the World, with their Paraphrase, not to palliate the Injury, but to increase the Scandal.

Sir *W. Waller's*
Commission.

Sir *William Waller* had lain long at *London* for compleating his new Levies into a pretty Army, and now he marches Commander in chief; and as it was gotten without the Gen. *Essex* his good will, so is he left at liberty without dependence on his direction. And when he set forth from *London*, his Expedition was accompanied with Fasting and Prayers, and five severall Sermons in one Church one day, evermore recommending him *The Servant of the State*, now going out to fight the Lords Battels against the Enemies of God. And lest he should want Pay, the Citizens will pinch their Bellies, for the Parliament had put them by Ordinance to afford him one Meal a VWeek, which was assessed in Money, proportionable to the condition of the Family.

The Scots are
caressed.

The Scots are come, and great care taken at *Westminster* for pay of that Army, the twentieth part over all the North they have power to assess for themselves, and all Malignants Estates that they can seize within their reach. Nay, severall Counties and Associations are assessed for them. Against whom the Marquess of *Newcastle* marched Northwards, and to attack him in *Yorkshire* follows Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, who was guided by his Father, as the Father is by the grand Committee at *Westminster*, as the Committee is by the Scots. This dependency being very necessary to assure them good Welcome, for so says their Letter to the Lord *Fairfax*.

My Lord,

We have taken into consideration the opportunity offered, for reducing of *Yorkshire*, whilst the Marquess of *Newcastle* hath drawn his Forces towards the North to oppose the Scots, and how necessary it is to hinder his further Levies, that Sir *Thomas* your Son march into the *VWest Riding* with all his Horse, with two Regiments of Foot out of Lan-

Lancashire, and that your self take the Field with what Forces you can, and joyn with your Son; for effecting these ends, to hold a continual Intelligence with the Scots Army, by drawing near Tees.

March 2.

Northumberland.

Jo. Maitland.

Anno

1644.

And here we see the great Earl of *Northumberland* invites the ancient Enemies of *England* into his own County, and the Lord *Fairfax* into *Yorkshire*.

Cambridg University lay under the ordering of the Earl of *Manchester*, Serjeant Major General of the Association, where these Heads of Houses were turned out, Dr. *Beal*, Dr. *Martin*, Dr. *Stern*; in whose places were put in Masters of the Colleges, Mr. *Palmer*, Mr. *Arrowsmith*, Mr. *Vines*, as men more fit; indeed, such others as these were changed into the like, I know not how more fit; I am sure, some of them are famous for false *Latine*.

Sir *William Waller* forward on his way to finde out the Lord *Hopton*, who was drawn out of *Winchester*, with sufficient Horse to oppose Sir *William Balfore*, whom *Waller* had sent before, to possess *Alresford*, but came last, for his Lordship was there first, and forced *Waller* into small Villages; in the morning *Hopton* drew down to *Bramdean Heath*, and found *Waller* on a fair Hill, and would not be forced thence, till a long Dispute; the Hill thus gained, Colonel *Lisle* with his commanded Men kept it all night: in this time of darkness *Waller* had mastered another Hill of greater advantage by the covert of Trees and Hedges, which Colonel *Appleford* was to repossess, and found it a hard Task to mount up against the pourcing shot of such as lined the Hedges, not seen from whence it came, Volleys well performed, which yet were fain to give way to force, which cost them dear enough, for they paid a good price for it. Here was a pretty breathing; if *Waller* went off, *Hopton* would follow to his undoing, if they came on they would undo themselves; but the Alarm was given by a mistaking Corporal of *Hopton's*, who took his Enemies for Friends, and so were engaged too far, to seek throughout within their Ambuscadoes, who now play their parts by this Advantage, and put *Hopton* to a Retreat, and neither parts had cause to cry *Victoria*, for both sides were soundly beaten.

Fight at
Bramdean
Heath;

I intitle the Fight to the Lord *Hopton*, but General *Forth* was there, upon the other score he came in, with the Lord *John Stuart* sore wounded, but I know not how concluded for dead; yet Sir *Arthur Haslerig* called it *A safe Deliverance*, though at *London* it was cried up for a Victory on this side. Sir *William Balfore* in his Letter to his General *Essex* numbers then to be eight Command-

Anno
1644.

ers killed by him, the Lord *Stuart* indeed and Sir *John Smith* died afterwards of their wounds, two gallant Gentlemen; so did Colonel *Sandys*, and Colonel *Manning*, and Colonel *Scot*; Colonel *Appleyard*, and Captain *Pierson*, Sir *Edward Stowel*, and Sir *Henry Bard*, these were hurt, and deserve honourable mention.

But at *London* they mention three Lords killed; *Stuart* is confessed, but not the General, who they make a double one for his two Titles *Forth* and *Rathen*.

And so they are described to be *Gebal*, *Moab*, and *Ammon*, and to be utterly vanquished by the Servant of God Sir *VVilliam VValler*.

And the Parliament had some of theirs slain; *Dalbier* wounded, and Colonel *Thomson* had his Leg shot off by a Cannon Bullet. And this happened upon a *Friday, March 29*.

The Cavaliers in disorder drew their Cannon off towards *VVinchester*, but wheeled off unseen to *Basing House*. *VValler* marches to *VVinchester*, which was rendered to him upon Summons, and *Hopton* is now at *Oxford*.

But a solemn Thanksgiving was ordered in *London* for this Victory, and some Members sent to the City to encourage them for Supplies. The Earl of *Pembroke* and *Montgomery* told them, *That the City Auxiliaries had done their part, and if they went but once more they would rid the Kingdoms of these Rogues, the occasion of all our miseries.*

And upon these preparations and success of the Parliament, the King draws all his Forces to a Rendezvouz, to oppose his Adversaries.

And as *VValler* had done, such Encouragements, heightened others to undertake Mountains. Colonel *Griffith* (commonly called Prince *Griffith*) had the confidence to propose to the House of Commons, *That if he might have a Commission to command in chief of all North Wales next under General Essex, and to have Delinquents Estates there, by him to be discovered, and the Income of such as he should conquer in North Wales, not exceeding the Sum of fifteen thousand pounds, he would engage his Life and Estate to raise such Forces as should reduce Wales to obedience.*

Which was referred to the Committee of both Kingdoms. And he set out in all magnificence with his Silver Trumpets and guarded Coats. But at his first Encounter with some of Prince *Rupert's* Forces, whom he sought out for a single Duel, Prince *Griffith* was totally routed, which occasioned a merry Lady to tell him, *He looked sadly ever since he lost his Silver Trumpets.* And so cashiered, he became debauched and abused the Lady *Herbert*, for which he was imprisoned; but her honour much concerned, he was released; and so having spent a reasonable Fortune, he was

necessitated to travel beyond Seas, where at *Paris* he was killed in a Tavern, the end of his impudency.

Ann
1644

Essex's Army
recruited.

We may enter this Spring with the setting out of General *Essex* and his Army to be recruited to seven complete Regiments of Foot, and six Regiments of Horse, and a constant Pay of thirty thousand five hundred and four pounds a Moneth for four Moneths. And the Parliaments Navy to be complete for this Summer, with addition of twelve Merchants Ships in the places of nine others unserviceable, and fifteen small Catches to be added to the Fleet.

Tax of weekly
Meals.

And a new way of Contribution was devised for getting Moneys towards the charge of arming the Auxiliary Forces now raising within the City of *London*, That all Inhabitants in *London* and *Westminster*, and Lines of Communication shall pay upon each Tuesday the value of one ordinary Meal for himself and Family, according to his quality and condition, to be assessed by fitting persons in each Ward, and to continue for six Moneths, from 2. of April next.

The forwardness of the Citizens heretofore for *Waller* onely now draws it into an Ordinance which continued for many years.

Colonel *Oliver Cromwell* was by Ordinance of Parliament appointed Governour of the Garison and Isle of *Ely* in *Cambridgeshire*, of seven hundred Foot and three Troops of Horse, with power to put in execution the severall Ordinances of raising Moneys within the Isle of *Ely* also, for support of that Garison. I mention him not till now, his great actions come together.

The Earl of *Holland* made his humble Request to the House of Commons, That he might have leave to wait upon the General *Essex* in this his Expedition, which both Houses assented unto; but admitting afterwards some debate by the Commons, the Negative was voted, not a Member contradicting, and sent word to the General of the whole sense of the House therein, and so he did not go.

Bewdley taken.

It was a handsome Exploit of Colonel *Fox* for the Parliament, who with a single Troop of seventy Horse marched the third of May from *Tamworth* to *Bewdley*, a strong Garison of the Cavaliers, and coming late at night, bold and confident, demanded entrance at the first Guard under pretence of one of Prince *Rupert's* Troops, the Chain was presently drawn up, and they were welcome in; this Guard he forthwith secures, and passes to the next, and so to the third, with like success; and with little noise went up to the Main Guard in the middle of the Town upon the Bridg over *Severn*, killed the Centinels and seized the Guard, without loss of a Man; and so passed on and mastered the whole Town, took Sir

Anno
1644.

Thomas Littleton Prisoner, with divers other Gentlemen, about fifty Horse, and carried all away with him, returning home by day-break.

Fairfax in the
North.

The Lord *Fairfax* and his Son Sir *Thomas* joyning Forces, had many several Successes in *Yorkshire*, and the tenth of *April* drew near to the Kings Garison of *Selby*. *Fairfax's* Forlorn of Horse beat in the other, and the next morning beset the Town in three Divisions, and after a very hot Encounter entered the Town, slew many, and took the rest, few escaping, a thousand Prisoners, sundry Commanders and other Officers, and much Amunition.

Another like Success at *Hemtough* near *Selby*, so that *Fairfax* was fain to desire the Parliaments Order how to dispose of the Prisoners; by his own Letters, he hoped very shortly utterly to rout the *Earl of Newcastle*, for now he was Master of the Field.

And upon all such like Successes, so monstrously set forth in Pamphlets, a Thanksgiving and a Play-day published, with which the people were well pleased.

Parliaments
Army hasten-
ed.

But the main business, General *Essex* was not so well recruited as that he would march; and therefore all possible means were made to raise Money. A great Debate there was to borrow a hundred thousand pounds of the *States Netherlands*, and a Committee came to the City to send their Agent thither, to procure it, and to offer their Security. But it ended in this way, That the City must do it themselves upon Publick Faith. That is, so much Money for levying of a Guard for the City. Another Sum, for Men for the Lord General, and a Brigade in readiness as a Reserve, and to pay them six Monerhs, provided, some Taxes might be spared, and no more laid upon them.

And evermore the necessity was urged upon some excellent Design, which would give end to the *VVar*, and settle Peace for evermore.

And this in private was onely whispered, To catch the King from his Cavaliers.

And because he had made proclamation for the assistance of all the neighbour Counties to come in with Provisions to *Oxford*, the Parliament thereupon set out their Declaration, observing therein, That the same Councils now predominate in *Oxford*, which have contrived and effected the destruction of *Ireland*, by force and Sword, do further labour to bring the same desolation in *England*; therefore the Parliament declare, that they will use their hearty endeavours, with the hazzard of their Lives and Fortunes, to prevent these Miseries; and have ordered, that considerable Forces shall speedily advance for defence and protection of the poor harressed people of *England*.

April 22.

The

The Reign of King Charls.

701

The Parliament Members assembled at *Oxford* had sate since the twelfth of *January* last, and with little business, and to less purpose, themselves were willing to recede, which caused the King to come to them on *Tuesday* 16. *April*, and tells them.

Anno
1644.

The Parliament assembled at *Oxford* prorogued.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I am brought to you by your selves, you desiring I should part with you: the same zeal and affection which brought you hither and staid you here, seeks this Recess; so by distributing your selves into several Countreys, we all may reap the fruit of our Consultations. I heartily thank you for what you have done, and fully approve of what you desire. To you that have charge in my Armies, I recommend your Example and Discipline against License and Disorders. To these engaged in civil affairs, to expedite the Supplies of Money being the Nerves of War. And be sure to inform all my Subjects of the odiousness of this Rebellion, how solicitous I have been for Peace, how insolently rejected; that my Armies are raised and kept for defence of Religion, Laws and Liberties; and God who hath blessed this Meeting with unanimity bring us safe together again the eighth of October next.

But by Proclamation bearing date at *Exeter*, *Septemb.* 21. prorogued the Assembly till *Novemb.* 9.

The Parliament at *Westminster* having news of the intended Assembly of the Parliament in *Scotland*, resolved to be timely fitted with Letters congratulatory to their Meeting.

Parliament at
Westminster
write to the
Parliament in
Scotland.

Expressing therein, *the great obligation they have to that Kingdom, for their effectual engaging in this common cause, and their brotherly assistance in their greatest straits, which hath mightily abated the violence of the Enemy already, and are confident, will be a powerfull means for settling of his Majesties Dominions; for effecting thereof, it is desired, that they be as well joyned in their Councils as Armies, and that there be a just correspondency between the two Kingdoms, which as it hath been already the care of the Convention of Estates there, and the general Assembly of Scotland; to which end the Parliament of England hath appointed a Committee to reside with their Army, and have settled a Committee of both Kingdoms at Westminster; with return of thanks to the Kingdom of Scotland for their care and charge of their Armie in Ireland.*

That therefore the Parliament of *England* hath thirty thousand pounds to be sent with speed to that Army, and have already sent twenty thousand pounds to the *Scottish* Army in *England*, and desire the Kingdom of *Scotland* to take in good part their Endeavours, though not answerable to their deserts and Merits.

The

Anno
1643.

The Queen
journeys to
the West, and
so to France.

The Queen began her Journey this day from *Oxford* towards the West of *England*, those parts the most free from the power of her Enemies, and more peaceable for her quiet, rather than *Oxford*, where though she were safe, yet not secure from noise and busyness; not much though regarding their Forces, nor much troubled at the falsities for which the Parliament at *Westminster* had voted her a Traitor, besides the vain Libells that were let loose from Prefs and Pulpit, in much plenty against the honour and dignity of Majesty: and so she was conducted by the King, Prince, and Duke of *York*, waited on with the chief Nobility and Gentry the first days Journey.

The King in presence of his Peers, before they parted from *Oxford*, received the holy Eucharist at *Christ's Church*, from the hands of the Arch-bishop of *Armagh*, used these publick Expressions immediately before his receiving the blessed Elements, he rose up from his knees, and beckning to the Arch-bishop for a short forbearance made this Protestation.

My Lord,

I espie here many resolved Protestants, who may declare to the world the Resolution I do now make, I have to the utmost of my power prepared my Soul to become a worthy Receiver; and may I so receive comfort by the blessed Sacrament, as I do intend the Establishment of the true Reformed Protestant Religion, as it stood in its beauty in the happy daies of *Queen Elizabeth*, without any connivence at Popery: I bless God that in the midst of these publick Distractions I have still liberty to communicate; and may this Sacrament be my Damnation, if my heart do not joyn with my lips in this Protestation.

The Kings
Protestation
at the Sacra-
ment of the
Eucharist.

Swansey sum-
moned.

The King had caused a Garison in *South Wales* at *Swansey*, a Town of good note in the County of *Glamorgan*, under command of the high Sheriff residing there in person, and were summoned from a Ship-board by Captain *Molton*.

To the Mayor and Gentlemen of *Swansey*,

Gentlemen, these are to will and require you, in the Name of the right honourable Robert Earl of *Warwick*, Lord high Admiral of *England*, *Wales*, and *Ireland*, and his Majesties Navy Royal at Sea; that you forthwith yield the Town and Garison to the King and Parliament, &c. And this is the advice of your Friend, who endeavours to preserve you; if not, I shall keep you without Trade till your forced obedience bring you to the mercie of him that tendereth to you grace and favour.

Milford-haven, from the Ship
called the *Lion*.

Ro. Molton.

This

This *Lion-like* sawcy Paper the high Sheriff received, and lud-
denly sends Answer.

To Robert Molton *Subscriber unto the Paper directed to the Mayor
and Gentlemen of Swansey.*

*We cannot understand how we may with any justice or loyaltye return
you the name of a Gentleman in answer to your rude and rebellious
Paper; in the front whereof you have the boldness and presumption in
the Name of the right honourable (as you term him, whom we account
otherwise) Robert Earl of Warwick by you styled high Admiral of
England and his Majesties Navie Royal, (which he hath illegally pos-
sessed) to will and require us forthwith to yield the Town and Garison of
Swansey into the obedience of the King and Parliament, &c. In de-
fiance of which your traiterous Summons under a spurious shew of
your loyalty and subjection to his Majestie, We will not yield Town
nor Garison, nor any the least interest we hold of Life or Fortune under
protection of his sacred Majestie, but will defend the same against your
proud and insolent Menacings (wherein your proper Trade is exhibited)
and in the account of a Rebell and Traitor we leave you to your
self.*

May 14.

*Subscribed by the high Sheriff and
Gentlemen of Glamorganshire.*

Certainly this Frolick for a Ship Captain to attach a Land Gari-
son was not with any assurance to master it by his great Guns, or
that he could imagine so great fear in Master Sheriff to quit his
trust upon a weak Summons, rather it was with an intent to answer
that Knack of a Troop of Horse in the North who finding some
Sailers drinking in an Ale-house seized their Ship and Goods hard
by in a blinde Creek. If Captain *Molton* could have done so by
Swansey, he needed the less to give warning by Summons; but he
left it as he found it, in the Sheriffs command.

Latham house was fore beset with a Siege, against that noble
Countess of *Derby*, for above three Moneths by these Command-
ers *Ashton*, *Moor*, and *Rigby*, nay, by the power of Sir *Thomas Mid-
dleton*, and Sir *William Fairfax* addition, upon whom the besieged
have sallied out, and killed many at several times. Colonel *Moor's*
men erected a Breast of Mutton on a Pikes point, held it up to the
hunger-starved Rascals within, daring them to come out and dine;
and the Countess was called to by name; a young Gentleman
Captain *Chisnall* desired my Lady, that he might sally out ere
the Table should be taken away, which he did ere they had dined,
forced into their Trenches, took divers Prisoners, and some Co-
lours, which instantly they carried to the back Gates of the House,
opened.

Siege at *La-
tham House*
from April 17
raised May 27.

Anno

1644.

opened them, and shewing these Colours, cried out, *A Latham, a Latham, the House is taken*; hereupon the Enemy being ignorant of this Deceit, concluded it to be taken, and advancing in a Body came in speed to the Gate, where they were welcomed with three Pieces of Cannon, and much execution: and thus this Lady held out *Latham* till Prince *Rupert* came to her Relief.

For on *Tuesday, May 21.* he marched on his way towards *Lancashire*, and the five and twentieth towards *Stopwash*, a border Town of *Cheshire*, seated on the Banck of the River *Mersey*, dividing these two Counties; here the Parliament had a strong Garison, who drew out with three thousand Horse and Foot, and faced *Rupert's* Horse, but at the coming up of his Foot in the Evening about six a clock the other side withdrew to the Hedges, and lining them shot through, which he must pass; and therefore he commands Colonel *Washington* with some Dragoons to scowre the Hedges, and forced them to the Town, whom the Prince followed so close that he entered with them, and took the Town, Cannon, Army, and Amunition, and many Prisoners.

Then being so near, he sends Relief to the Countess of *Derby*, who had now opposed a strong Siege of eighteen Weeks: but her Adversaries were rising, and going, in fear to stay for Prince *Rupert*, yet not without some Farewell, therefore the Garison sallied out, fell upon the Enemies Rear, killed some, and took Prisoners; and so way was given for the Earl of *Derby* to return home to his own house.

The King having drawn out all his Forces from several Garisons to meet at *Goring Heath* in *Oxfordshire*, the Parliament at *Westminster* was much troubled, ordering, that their General *Essex*, the Earl of *Manchester*, and Lord *Grey*, with what Forces could be raised at *London*, with the Garisons of *Windsor* and *Alisbury*, and all to meet at the general Rendezvouz *Alisbury*, in the County of *Bucks*; and evermore Messages are sent to the Lord Mayor of *London* of all their Victories, and now and then a Thanksgiving, for the late Successes of Sir *William Waller's* Victories, which evermore had a long tail after; that is, to encourage the City to advance some speedy Payments. And also vote, that no Members of the *Commons House* that adhere to the King shall ever be received again: and if a Member of the *Lords* depart to the King, it shall be Treason, and never to be received again.

Colonel *Purifoy* with his Regiment of Horse is commanded to *Glocestershire*, either to remove, or take in the *Cavalier* Garisons, assisted with four hundred foot, with two great Guns drawn out of *Glocester*, marched after Colonel *Myn* who was lodged at *Rosse*, fortifying the Church with his own and Sir *John Winters* Regiments, but

but left them and marched to *Ledbury* in *Herefordshire* and there kept quarter, drawing out 150. Musquetiers with all the Horse marched towards *Hereford*. In whose absence Prince *Rupert* comes to *Evesham* with a Brigade of Horse and Dragoons intending to fall upon *Upton-bridge*, and to get in between *Glocester* and Colonel *Myn* and Sir *John Winter*, who held *Massey* play the whiles in *Wales*, where he fired Sir *John Winters* Iron Mills and so returned, where he found a prisoner Captain *Oglethrop* Governour of *Beverston* Castle, by whom he understood the weaknesse thereof, which stoppt the passages of the County. Thither he comes and demands the Castle for the King and Parliament, and was rendred after some dispute, and not tenable aginst such a force.

Some Forces in the absence of Sir *John Winter* were sent to summon his Lady that kept Garison at home, ingaging (by the honour of Governour *Massey*) that her Ladyship should receive protection for her and hers with good usage. If she refuse this offer of mercy, fire and sword must follow.

The Lady
Winter summoned to
yield.

The Lady with great courage and more Loyalty, sends him word.

Her Answer.

Sir,

Mr. *Winters* unalterable Allegeance to his King and Sovereign, and his particular interest to this place, hath by his Majesties Commission put it into this condition, which cannot be pernicious to any, but to such as oppose the one, and invade the other, wherefore rest assured, that in these relations, we are by Gods assistance resolved to maintain it, all extremities notwithstanding. Thus much in Mr. *Winters* absence, you shall receive from

Mary Winter.

Massey marches to *Malmsbury* commanded by Colonel *Henry Howard*, and being denied upon summons, some Foot and Artillery were sent for from *Tedbury*, drawn into the Suburbs, causing a Blinde crosse the street, to bring up his Ordinance neerer the Town within Carbine shot, but in a panick fear that a Sally was coming out upon them, they all fled and left their Ordinance behind. Yet recovering and Rallying, they gave the charge all together, with a great shout came up to the Turn-pike and routed Colonel *Howard*, and 100. men taken, and so returned.

Malmsbury
taken.

Then with fresh Forces he marches to *Temxbury*, which he took by surprise in the dead and dark night with the Governour Colonel *Myn*, but were again beaten out by the Garrison Rallying; then comes up the whole Body of *Masseyes* Foot and took the Town, with much losse though, the price of his Prisoners.

General *Essex* and Sir *William Waller* being joyned Forces, they hovered about *Oxfordshire*: to divert them the King had a design,

The Kings
design to
march from
Oxford.

X x x x

And

Anno

1644.

And so the first of *June* went to *Woodstock* to his Horse Quarters, where he supped, and returned to his Foot Forces quartered at and about *Wolvercot*; Amongst whom he was Billeted no better then in his Coach all that night, and the next morning gave command for his Forces on the *Charmel* to come to his Army, and altogether to march close to the walls of *Oxford*, and about six a clock the same morning himself came back into *Oxford*.

The passages on the *Charmel* were no sooner cleared, but the Parliament Forces began to account upon the effects, as if the Kings Army were forced from thence with losse, which was true in the main, for the King lost some men. But the King having settled his Orders at *Oxford*, resolved to depart, for he knew his Person was his Adversaries aime. Then he commands a great Body of Foot to march towards *Abington*, the better to amaze his Adversaries to hunt after the wrong sent. And the same night the King with divers Lords and Gentlemen, his own Troop and Menial servants went out of *Oxford*, and came the next morning to *Northlye* where he drew up his Army of 3000. Foot, and 4000. Horse, 12. Drakes, and 60. Carriages, and left a Tertia of his Foot, and a new raised Regiment of Horse under command of the Earl of *Peterborough*, and all his great Ordinance at *Oxford* (besides these of the Garrison and Ordnances of the place) for defence thereof, leaving behind also the Duke of *York*, and the most of his Privy Council, and gave Order for all Duties and Ceremonies of Court, as if himself were still there present.

But *June 4.* news was carried to General *Essex* that the King was gone beyond them, after whom all his Forces followed presently to *Woodstock*, but such as scattered back again towards *London*, no small numbers. And in their march they faced *Oxford* again but far enough off, and so drew up into Battalia upon *Campfield* neer *Woodstock*, where there fell such a prodigious storm, that frightened their present enterprize of hunting the Lords Annointed like a Partridge; For Captain *Willoughby* writes to his Couzin of *Parham*, that his Lordship may do well to make good use of it, for they suffered the anger of heaven for two houres space, the Hailstones fell as big as Nutmegs, thus he saies that felt them there, yet no such storm was seen at *Oxford*.

The King refreshed at Mr. *Parrets* house in *Northlye*; went forwards to *Bourton on the water*, a Village between *Burford* and *Stow on the Wold*, and there lodged at Doctor *Temples* the Parson there.

In this while *Essex* and *Waller* divided their Forces. *Essex* attempts the River *Charmwell* at *Pitsworth* Bridge but repulsed, and *Waller* to passe *Isis*, but was obstructed: and the second time *Essex* is beaten back at the same Bridge, but the King being gone, *Essex* got over and Marched after him to *Chipping-Norton*, but returned to *Burford*, and therè deputes *Waller* to follow the chace. For the King

with a

Essex and
Waller divide
Forces.

Waller to
catch the
King.

a Party of Horse was gone towards *Worcester*, leaving his maine Body to march softly after, who were the fifth of *June* to quarter at *Winchcombe* a large Town in the *Colswold* Hills neer to *Smidley* Castle; *Essex* was at a stand, full well observing that he prosecuted an hard taske, for fighting would not so much waste his men, as tedious and hungry marches after the Kings light Army, when his own was loaden with heavy Ordnance, and therefore resolved to give over this uncomely pursuit after his flying Sovereign. And so thought it the wiser way to put this service upon his Rival General *Waller*, and to stay for him at *Burford*, where they both met, what their Councils were, we may imagine by the sequel.

In the mean time, it was confidently affirmed that divers of *Essex* his Souldiers were weary of their marching and left him. But here at *Burford* it was concluded, that General *Essex* with his heavy Guns should march fair and softly to these Counties of the West Countries to reduce them to the Parliament: and that Sir *W. Waller* with the lighter Field Pieces should joyn with *Massey's* Forces, and pursue the King; to which *Waller* seems unwilling, for he was the rather for the West, to recover his late misfortunes there, until his friends advised him to his own game, *better to act at a distance from Essex, that two Suns cannot shine in one Sphere.* So that *Essex* marches to *Farindon*, and Sir *William* towards *Glocester*, which design gave jealousy to the Members at *Westminster*, who voted ten thousand pound a moneth from their General to Sir *William*, of which the Earl complains to the Parliament in a Letter, and subscribes, *Your innocent, though suspected servant, ESSEX.*

The King marches from *Bourton* on the water with his Army to *Pershore*, and on Tuesday to *Worcester*, joyfully received by that Loyal City. He sent out relief to *Dudly* Castle, and afterwards hearing that *Waller* came nearer by tedious and hungry marches, the King intended to tire him out, and to that end advanced towards *Bewdly*, *June 12.* where he stayed four dayes. But then considering how maliciously he was traced by a contemptible Adversary, the King turns back vvith resolution to be furnished vvith Amunition from *Oxford*, and to give him Battel. Some Troops of Horse vvere therefore ordered to shevv themselves along the Shore of *Severn* tovwards *Bridgenorth*, as if he meant to march to *Shrewsbury*. *Waller* at *Brovesgrove* hears of this, and had quartered some of his Horse at *Kidderminster* vvithin tvvo miles of his Majesty, and presently dislodged them, and made vvhat haste he could to get before the King. Knovving that having a full proportion of Pikes and Ordnance (of which the King had none) he might fight at great advantage. But the King amazed him, and with his Foot came before night to *Worcester*, his Horse soon following, leaving *Waller* to encounter with his shadow two daies march behind. And the next day *June 16.* the King marches through *Eversham* to *Brad-*

Anno
1644.

way, and the next day to *Burford*, and there he was provided from *Oxford* to meet the expected *Waller* coming, and meant to fight him. At *Whitney* 7. miles from *Oxford* the King staies, where some Forces came and imbodyed with his Army, during those marches the Parliament heard thereof, and of the Kings absence from *Oxford*, they vote therefore that all the Horses about *London* should be taken up to scour the County of *Oxford* from victualling that City, least they should (they said) be troubled with a winters siege, and crosse the Proverb, *after the stable door is shut, to steale the Horses.*

But the King being at *Buckingham*, and having intelligence that *Waller* was at *Chipping-norton*, and the next day to *Pillerton* in *Warwickshire*. His Majesty marches to *Brackley* 26. of *June*, and *Waller* to his Rendezvouse in *Keinton* Fields, where his friends came to him from *Coventry*, *Warwick*, and *Kenelmworth* Castle, with these he ascends *Edge-hill*, and so to *Harley*; The King marches to *Culworth* and lay that night at *Sir Samuel Danvers*. On Friday *Waller* gets to *Hanwel*, and so to *Croch-hill* near *Banbury*: hither was the King come into *Grymsbury* Fields facing his Enemies all that day: and stayed all that night, having sent 1000. well commanded men under Conduct of Colonel *Thelwall* to defend that side of *Burley* towards his Enemy, and also *Nethorp* a Village adjoyning, which was disputed with losse on both sides till night. But so soon as the Sun, *Waller* drew off and advanced to *Burton* Hill somewhat neerer *Banbury*, and stood in Batalia upon advantage of ground, nor could be drawn down: so that he marches to *Daintry*, leaving a Guard of Dragoons at *Copredy* Bridge, being the passe over *Charwel* betwixt the two Armies. The Kings Van and main Body gon, and the Reare only passing by, and the Musquetiers at the Bridge gon off: then *Waller* makes down to the Bridge vvith 2000. Horse, and 9000. Foot, 14. Pieces already gon over, the rest of his Army coming after: sufficient he thought to distresse the Kings Rear, consisting of the Earl of *Northampton* and the Earl of *Clevelands* Brigades of Horse, and *Sir Bernards* Tertia of Foot. These faced about twice charging through and through, and were so vvell seconded, that they routed *Sir Williams* Horse and Foot, killed 150. took his Ordnance, viz. five Sakers, one twelve pound Piece, one Demiculverin, two Minions, and two three pound Pieces, vvith other Leather Guns made by *VVeems* a Scot the Kings svorm Servant, and Master Gunner of *England*, for vvich Gun he had received of the King 2000. l. and by his place had 300. l. per. an. for all vvich he vvas novv become General of *Waller*s Artillery, and novv God put him a Prisoner to the Kings mercy vvith the vvork of his hands, and being brought before the King, he said, *good faith his heart was alwayes with his Majesty.*

There vvere these Prisoners, Lieutenant Col. *Baker*, Lieutenant Col.

Waller defeated at *Copredy* Bridge.

Col. Baines, three Captains, *Ramsay*, *VVart*, and *Hill*, two Lieutenants, *Perry* and *Goodwin*, four Coronets, *Camfield*, *Nichols*, *Linde*, and *Blades*, vvith other Ensignes and Officers, 188. Common Souldiers, and five Gunners. The King lost two Noble *Kentish* Knights, Sir *VVilliam Boteleer*, and Sir *VVilliam Clark*, divers hurt, the Lord *VVilmot* Lieutenant General of the Horse, he vv as twice prisoner, but rescued by Sir *Frederick Cornwallis*, and Mr. *Robert Haward* Knighted for that Action, Colonel *Nevil* hurt, and so vv as Capt. *Hatcher*, Capt. *Boswel*, twelve Coroners vv ere taken, four of Foot, and eight of Horse, Coronet *Bruke* sore hurt, vvith many Common Souldiers, and 20. slain, and this Defeat vv as performed the 29. of *June*, and the King marched to *Eversham*, and so to the Bath: from vvence vve hear no more of Sir *VVilliam VValler*, but at *London* vv hither he travelled for Recruits, and met his Dear Lady at *VVestminster*, vvho saluted him aloud, *thou man of God come kisse me.*

And in earnest, Sir *VVilliam* did not much more in this Journey, in reference to his Errand, vv hich vv as to catch the King from his evil Councillours; Indeed he faced *VVorcester* (but at the like distance as an other Army did at *Oxford*) vvheeled off and vv ent to *Glocester* in hope of some Recruit to joyn vvith his Forces, vv herein he failed, for I finde from the very beginning of his Successes, he was cried up for the *London* Conquerour, and so stole the glory from their General, who was used but courly in their Discourses, somewhat more dishonourably than he deserved; and so increased enmity and neglect between these two great Commanders and their confidents, *Massey* being one devoted to *Essex*.

The King marches to *Bath* 15. *July*, and so towards the West into *Cornwal* in pursuit of General *Essex* who (vv hilst *Waller* hunted the King) was gotten Westward, and to please the Lo. *Roberts* with advice of his *Functo* Counsel (a Committee of Members) is persuaded into *Cornwal* to credit *Roberts* for getting his Rents, (his main end) hitherto obstructed by the power of the Cavaliers in that County.

The King comes to *Kingsmore* in *Somersetshire* *July* 23. and passed *Tamer* at *Palton-bridge* in *Cornwal*, *Aug.* 1. and so to *Liskard* 8. miles distant from *Essex* who was at *Lestithyel* in *Cornwal* 5. *Aug.* there he is encompassed, his Majesty and Prince *Maurice* at *Bonneck* on one side, and Sir *Richard Greenville* in *Bodmin*, and Sir *Jacob Ashley* at *Haul* which commands *Foy* Haven.

General *Essex*
defeated in
Cornwal.

But so soon as his Majesties Army drew from *Liskard*, he faced the enemy in their Quarters at *Listithiel*, vvho had strongly fastned their Foot Quarter on one side of the Town, and placed most of their Horse and some Foot on the hills beyond. The Town is situate in a vv alley, and *Tyde* flows up from *Foy* to the Bridg, so as it is not Fordeable but at

Anno

1643.

one passe between that and the Sea. Upon sight of the enemy his Majesties Army was full of courage, and desired to be engaged, but that was not thought fit to be done, and the way of distressing the enemy for want of Provisions was resolved on as the most secure, and so drew into Quarters; the King to Boconnocke (the Lord Mohuns House) his Army between him and a Heath that parted his Quarters and the enemy at Listithiel, the distance between both being not above a mile. Assoon as his Majesty had fastned his (which was quickly done, every enclosure here being Cannon-prooffe) most of the chief Officers of both Armies subscribed a Letter to Essex by his Majesties consent, notwithstanding his Majesties Gracious Letter to him immediately before, was not vouchsafed an answer.

To the Letter sent by the Commanders he returned a Negative, yet his denial wrought no great effects on his Majesties Army, for in this posture between the expectation of Sir Richard Greneville's assistance, who was coming on from the West; the starving of the enemy, and many debates, but no positive results. His Majesty spent above eight dayes putting little in execution, but drew out often on the Heath, had some light skirmishes with the Horse Guards, and so drew into Quarters again: at last Sir Richard Greneville came with his Force, then the Army began more seriously in the prosecution of the design, Greneville fastning his Quarter at Lanhetherocke (the Lord Robert's house) beyond the River, three miles West of his Majesty, and possessed Leprin Bridg on the same River a mile above Listithiel, and his Majesty on the other side placed Guards on all the passes on the River leading from his Quarters and Listithiel to Foy, and possessing a house of the Lord Mohun's over against the Town, and a Fort that commandes the very mouth of that Haven (being there but half Musket-shot over) this was the first work which conduced to his Majesties advantage (which proved fatal to their Army) they being thereby deprived of an Harbor to bring them in provisions or supplies, which they had plentifully before; and now they had only a small Creek at Mimibilley and Saint Blases Bay, but neither of those safe for Ships, yet they still possessed a large space of ground West-ward, which made his Majesty after few dayes expectation conclude, that he could not starve them in so short a time as was imagined, and therefore drew nearto their Quarters, and fastned his Army within Enclosures on the Wings of theirs within Musket-shot each of the other, between which lyes part of the Heath there not half a mile over: At the farthest extent of the Kings Quarters on that Heath he built a Fort, that by Cannon very much anoyed theirs (though they returned daily twenty great shot for one of his) the same day Greneville on the other side of the River drew near to Listithiel, took Lesterman Castle, a strong Fort, and a Passe underneath it little more then half a mile from the Town, and hereby his Majesty bettered the communication of his Forces: when he had secured these, and his Quarters, he lay still again expecting the

Anno
1644.

the event; but the ill weather coming on, he resolved on a new design, which was to attempt on some of their Quarters by surprise, and thereupon Prince Maurice's Army was ordered to have fallen on two dayes successively on the next Quarter to them: but the first day it was thought neither easie to get, nor advantageous being got, and the next by delay and the enemies discovery of the design nothing was effected, to the trouble and dislike of many who thought the same more easie then perchance it was: yet that failing, necessity forbade any longer idlenesse, and so again his Majesty resumed the former design of starving them, to which purpose General Goring with most of the Horse, and Sir Thomas Ballet with fifteen hundred Foot of Prince Maurice his Army were sent West, to stop all provisions coming in at Saint Blase, and to reduce them to straits by keeping their Horse and Foot close together: This wrought the expected effect, for on Friday night came intelligence that they were drawing their Cannon and Baggage towards Foy, whereupon his Majesty made ready, not knowing what they had done with their Horse, who the next morning before day in great fear marched between his Majesties two Quarters, being about two thousand five hundred commanded by Balfour, but his Majesties Horse followed them, though they made so great hast as that they were timely at Saltash, near which Sir Edward Waldgraves brigade lay, and was almost surpris'd, but the gallant old man got his men together, Flanked them, slew a hundred, took Major Abercromy, and many prisoners. Being well bruised here, they laboured to transport themselves over the River for Plymouth, their Horse being very weak and tired; but in the afternoon that day, General Goring and most of the Horse had order to pursue them, and timely notice was given to all Forces in the Southern parts to meet them in the Front, but failed. Their Foot Army drew out likewise on Saturday, and by eight in the morning marched away towards Foy; his Majesty presently followed, and having got the Bridg and Town of Listithiel, advanced the Hill, where he found two rare pieces of Cannon, and about a mile farther three or four more, with powder and Amunition, which in their hast they left behind them: Thus marching after them, his Majesty fell in their Rear two miles from Listithiel, and from hedg to hedg enforced them to an hasty retreat; at length (having got some advantage of an inclosure) they made a stand, and with their remaining Horse regained some fields whence they were forced before, whereupon the King sent presently Captain Brett, with the Queens Troop, who in the Kings view forced them to retire, regained the ground lost, got more, and returned gallantly and in good order, with the losse only of four men, and himsefe shot in the arm; for this good service his Majesty presently Knighted him, and he well deserved it: His Majesty wanted only Horse to have utterly destroyed them, (for they were now unable to help themselves.) In this condition his Majesty pursued them all day, getting still ground; in the evening one whole Regiment

of

Anno
1644.

of their Foot (being Colonel Weyres) staggered, ran from field to field with their Cannon and Colours, only at the appearance of but eight of his Majesties Horse, and had not night come on, all their Army had undoubtedly been destroyed. The Gentlemen of his Majesties own Troop did most gallantly in that service, being twice bravely led on by the noble and valiant Lord Bernard Stuart, to the great terror of the Rebels. This no question caused their General Essex early the nex day to quit his glorious Command, and in a small Boat to shift away by water (some say) for Plymouth, as yet there is no certainty where he is, nor of Roberts, Meirick, and others who are gone: Thereupon yesterday his own Lieutenant Colonel Butler (who was formerly taken Prisoner at the Lord Mohun's House, and now exchanged for Sir John Digby) came to desire a Parley, which was accepted, and Hostages interchangeably delivered; the Treaty followed in the evening in the Kings Quarter, the Treators for his Majesty, Prince Maurice, the Lord General, and the Lord Digby; Theirs, Colonel Barkeley (an insolent Scot) Colonel Whichcott, (a zealous City Colonel) and Colonel Butler; after high demands the conclusion brought forth these Articles.

1. It is agreed, That all the Officers and Souldiers, as well of Horse and Foot under the command of the Earle of Essex, being at the tune of the Conclusion of this Treaty on the West side of the River of Foy, shall to morrow, being the Second of September by eleven of the clock in the morning, deliver up near the old Castle in their own Quarters, All their Cannon and Train of Artillery, with All Carriages, Necessaries and Materials thereunto belonging; and likewise All the Arms, offensive and defensive both of Horse and Foot; and all Powder, Bullet, Match and Amunition whatsoever, unto such Officers as the General of His Majesties Artillery shall appoint to receive the same, except only the Swords and Pistols of all Officers above the degree of a Corporal, who are by this Agreement to wear and carry the same away.

2. Secondly, It is agreed, That immediately after the delivery up of the said Artillery, Arms and Amunition, &c. that all Officers and Souldiers both of Horse and Foot of the said Army, shall march out of their Quarters to *Listihiel*, with their Colours both of Horse and Foot, Trumpets and Drummes; And that all Officers of Foot above the degree of Serjeants shall take with them such Horses and Servants, as properly belong unto themselves, as also all reformed Officers, their Horses and Arms not exceeding the number of fifty; and likewise to take with them all their Bagge and Biggage, and Wagons with their Teemes of Horses properly belonging to the said Officers.

3. Thirdly, It is agreed, That they shall have a safe Convoy

of a hundred Horse from their Quarters to *Lestithiel*, and thence in their March, the nearest convenient way to *Poole* and *Warham*, provided that they secure the said Convoys return to *Bridgewater*, or His Majesties Army, and that in their march they touch not at any Garrison.

4. Fourthly, It is agreed, That in case they shall march from *Poole* to any other place by land, that neither they nor any of them shall bear Arms, more then is allowed in this agreement, nor do any Hostile act untill they come to *Southampton* or *Portsmouth*.

5. Fifthly, It is agreed, That all the Sick and wounded Officers and Souldiers of that Army, who are not able to march, shall be left at *Foy*, and there secured from any violence to their persons or goods, and care taken of them, untill such time as they can be transported to *Plymouth*.

6. Sixthly, It is agreed, That all Officers and Souldiers of that Army, for the better conveniency of their march, shall be permitted to receive all such Monies, Provisions of Victuals, and other accommodations, as they shall be able to procure from *Plymouth*: To which end they shall have a Passe granted for any Persons, not exceeding the number of twelve, whom they shall send for the same.

7. Seventhly, It is agreed, That there be no inviting of Souldiers, but that such as will voluntarily come to his Majesties Service shall not be hindred.

MAURICE.

BRAIN FORD.

Phil. Skippon.

Christ. Whitccott.

According to these Articles his Majesty possessed himself of all the enemies train of Artillery, viz. 49. Pieces of fair Brass Ordnance (taken then and the day before) among which was the great Basilisco of Dover, 200. and odd Barrells of Gunpowder, Match, Ball, &c. proportionable; above 700. Carriages, and bewixt 8. and 9. thousand Arms, Horse and Foot; Amongst the Baggage were found a world of empty Bottles, belonging to his Excellencies own Quarter. As for their persons, his Majesty out of his wonted Clemency was unwilling to shed blood, (they were his own Subjects) which caused so many thousands of them instantly to desire employment in his Majesties Cause, to fight especially against them who had led them into all this, and at last run away from them. To speak truth, this is the most high inexpressible piece of cowardize that ever was committed by one who took on him the name of a General, to lead an Army of above ten Thousand men into such miserable necessity (all which they endured through his Lordships conduct) and then to steal away in a poor little boat by night, leaving all

Anno

1644

his flock to starve, or submit to the mercy of another Army. But the Earl (to excuse himself) accuseth the Lord Roberts for betraying him into this County of Cornwall, where he promised the people would rise upon his coming (which they did to some purpose.) The Lord Roberts saies, 'twas the Earls own headinesse to advance Westward expressly contrary to the Ordinance of both houses; adding, that the Earl might have preserved all, if he would have but entertained a Treaty with his Majesty, by which pretence he might have gained time till relief had come; The inferiour Officers accuse them both, and both Officers and Souldiers say, 'twas long of Sir William Waller for not advancing, who twenty to one will fault them at Westminster for not recruiting him; and the Members must needs lay it upon the Citizens, who would not by any means come forth with Waller. And yet Sir William would never have run away by Sea, nor his Excellency at Roundway-down; (you see now what hath been the old difference betwixt the Earl and the other, the one for a Race-horse, the other for a Cock-boat.) Though truly 'tis a wonder, that the Earl would take water when he should take possession of Ten thousand pound per annum, which the Members voted him out of the Lord Capel's Lands.

The King returns to Oxford.

And in his way 'as the King returns, sundry Pieces of strength were delivered up to his Mercy, as Ilfercombe September 12. Barstable six daies after, Saltash storm'd and taken, and returns homewards to Banbury and raises that siege, and in November his Army Rendezvouse on Burlington Green, raiseth Dennington siege, and advanceth to Hungerford, where the Parliaments Forces leaves the field and rise from Basing siege, the King regains Monmouth, and returns to Oxford 23. of November.

And notwithstanding these Martial exploits to them, that he was therein defensive, and a sufferer also, in his good successe he woos his Adversaries for peace all the way he marches out, and returning home, for after the defeat of Waller at Copredy Bridge, he writes himself from Evesham 4. July, to the Lords and Commons of Parliament assembled at Westminster.

C. R.

We being deeply sensible of the Miseries and Calamities of this our Kingdom, and of the grievous sufferings of our poor Subjects, doe most earnestly desire that some expedient way be found out, which by the blessing of God may prevent the further effusion of blood, and restore the Nation to peace, from the earnest and constant endeavouring of which, as no discouragement given us on the contrary part shall make us cease, so no success on ours shall ever divert us. For the effecting thereof, we are most ready and willing to condescend to all that shall be for the good of us and our people, whether by the way of conformity which we have already granted,

ed, or such further concessives as shall be requisite to the giving of a full assurance of all the performance of all our most real professions, concerning the maintenance of the true reformed Protestant Religion established in this Kingdom, with due regard to the ease of tender consciences, the just priviledges of Parliament, and the liberty and property of the people, according to the Laws of the Land. As also by granting a general pardon without, or with exceptions as shall be thought fit. In order to which blessed peace, we doe desire and propound to the Lords and Commons of Parliament assembled at Westminster, That they appoint such and so many persons as they shall think fit, sufficiently authorized by them to attend us at our Army upon safe conduct to come and return, (which we do hereby grant) and conclude with us how the premisses and all other things in question betwixt us and them, may be fully settled, whereby all unhappy mistaking between us and our people being removed, there may be a present cessation of Arms, and as soon as may be a total disbanding of all Armies, the Subject have his due, and we be restored to our rights. Wherein if this our offer shall be accepted, there shall be nothing wanting on our part which may make our people secure and happy. Given at our Court at Evesham 4. of July 1644.

And to shew his gracious inclination to Peace, and that he seeks all fair ways and means thereto, see how he descends to seek it from a Subject, and his deepest Enemy, the Earl of Essex, at Lestithiel, and the King at Liskard.

Essex, I have been very willing to believe that when ever there should be such a Coniuncture, as to put it in your power, to effect that happy Settlement of this miserable Kingdom, (which all good men desire) you would lay hold of it: that season is now before you, you having it at this time in your power to redeem your Countrey and the Crown, and to oblige your King in the highest degree, (an action certainly of the greatest piety, prudence, and honour) such an opportunity as perhaps no Subject before you hath ever had, or after you shall ever have, to which there is no more required, but that you join with me heartily and really in the settling of those things which we have both professed constantly to be our onely aims. Let us do this, and if any shall be so foolishly unnatural, as to oppose their Kings, their Countries, and their own good, we will make them happy (by Gods blessing) even against their wills: the onely Impediment can be want of mutual confidence; I promise it you on my part, as I have endeavoured to prepare it on yours, by my Letter to Hertford from Evesham. I hope this will perfect it, when (as I here do) I shall have engaged to you the word of a King, that you joining with me in that blessed work, I shall give both to you and your Armie such eminent marks of my confidence and value as

The Kings
Letter to the
Earl of Essex.

Anno
1644.

shall not leave a room for the least Distrust amongst you, either in relation to the publick, or your self, unto whom I shall then be

Liskard, Aug. 6.

Your faithfull Friend,

1644.

C. R.

If you like of this, hearken to this Bearer, whom I have fully intrusted in particulars; but this will admit of no delay.

The Lords
Letters to
Essex.

To confirm the Kings Intentions, and to assure the Armies Engagement also, the great Officers and Commanders subscribe to another Letter to the Earl of Essex.

My Lord,

*W*Ve having obtained his Majesties leave to send this to your Lordship, shall not repeal the many gracious Messages, Endeavours, and Declarations, which his Majestic hath made, and have been so solemnly protested in the presence of God and Man, that we wonder how the most scrupulous can make any doubt of the real and royal performance of them. But we must before this approaching occasion, tell your Lordship, that we bear Arms for this end onely, to defend his Majesties known Rights, the Laws of the Kingdom, the Libertie of the Subject, the Privilege of the Parliament, and the true Protestant Religion against Poperie and popish Innovations: and this being the professed cause of your Lordships taking Arms, we are confident that concurring in the same opinions and pretences, we shall not by an unnaturall War weaken the main strength of this Kingdom, and advance the Design of our common Enemies, who long since have devoured us in their hopes. My Lord, the exigent of the time will not suffer us to make any labour'd Declarations of our Intentions, but onely this, That on the Faith of Subjects, the Honour and Reputation of Gentlemen and Souldiers, we will with our Lives maintain that which his Majestic shall publickly promise in order to a bloodless Peace; nor shall it be in the power of any private persons to divert this Resolution of ours, and the same we expect from you. And now we must take leave to protest, that if this our Proffer be neglected, (which we make neither in fear of your power, nor distrust of our own) but onely touched with the approaching miseries of our Nation) that what calamities shall oppress posteritie, will lie heavie upon the souls and consciences of those that shall decline this Overture, which we can not hope so seasonably to make again, if this Coniuncture be let go: and therefore it is desired, that your Lordship and six other persons may meet our General to morrow (at such an indifferent place as you shall think fit) attended with as many; or if you shall finde that any way inconvenient to come in person, that then your Lordship will appoint such or so many to meet with the like number from hence, that may consider of all means possible to reconcile these unhappie Differences and mis-understandings that have
so

So long afflicted this Kingdom. And for the securitie of your Lordship, and those that shall come with, and be imployed by your Lordship; we do engage our Faith and Honour, and do expect the same from your Lordship, desiring withall your speedie Answer, which must be a Guide to our Proceedings: concluding, that if this shall be refused, we shall hold our selves justified before God and Men, whatsoever shall be the Success; so we rest,

From the Armie,
Aug. 8. 1644.

Your Lordships humble Servants

Maurice, Thomas Wentworth, Lindsey, Lord Hopton, Nothampton, Cleveland, Thomas Blagge, Joseph Bamfield, Anthony Thelwel, John Owen, Thomas Stradling, Robert Howard, John Stocker, Edward Potter, Gilbert Armstrong, Richard Nevil, Thomas Pigot, John Brown, Ad. Scroop. Amy Polard, James Hamilton, Richard Thorahill, John Topping, James Dundasse, Giles Strangways, R. Smith, Ja. Cary, Brainford, Piercy, Jacob Ashley, Richard Cave, Bernard Stuart, Bernard Astley, Theophilus Gilby, William Leighton, William Murrey, Thomas Blackwell, Thomas Bellingham, Richard Page, Bar. Jenkins, Henry Miller, Richard Fielding, Thomas Weston, Paul Smith, G. Mouldsworth, Phil. Honeywood, Thomas Culpeper, William Leak, Jo. Lunter, Jo. Monk, Cha. Fawlk, Richard Samuel, Arthur Slingsby, George Goring, Joseph Wagstaff, Thomas Basset, Charls Lloyd, George Lisley, William St. Leager, Henry Lundsford, Barth. Pell, Henry Shelley, Thomas Paulet, Thomas Kirton, Anthony Brocher, Devery Leigh, David Stringer, Ja. Mowbray, Charls Compton, Edward Nor, Alexander Standish, Jo. Rideck, Jo. Stuart, Jo. Gambling, Jo. Greenville, Arthur Henningham, Ja. Hafwith, W. Maxwel.

And after his defeating Essex in Cornwall, he writes from Tavestock.

Another from
Tavestock.

To the Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament.

C. R.

It having pleased God in so eminent a manner lately to bless our Armies in these parts with success: we do not so much joy in that blessing for any other consideration, as for the hopes we have it may be a means to make others lay to heart as we do, the miseries brought and continued upon our Kingdoms by this unnatural VVar, and that it may open your ears and dispose your minde to imbrace those Offers of Peace and Reconciliation which have been so often and earnestly made unto you by us, and from the constant and firm endeavours of which we are resolved never to desist: in pursuance whereof, we do upon this occasion conjure you to take into consideration our (too long neglected) Message of the fourth

Anno

1644.

fourth of July from Evesham, which we again renew unto you; and that you will speedily send such an Answer thereunto as may shew unto our poor Subjects some light of Deliverance from their present calamities by a happie Accommodation, toward which we do here engage the word of a King to make good all these things which we have therein promised, and really to endeavour a happie conclusion of this Treatie. And so God direct you in the waies of Peace.

Given at our Court at Tavestock, Sept. 8. 1644.

These Messages were in his Marches, the like he continues at his Return, and settling at Oxford, often times ere he could procure a Treaty, as in due place here after in *Januarie*.

But as yet no endeavours of his could prevail; and it hath been urged, the jealousy of mutual confidence in eithers performance: certainly, the mystery was, whether the King should trust to *Essex* and his Army, or *Essex* to his; and the difficulty might be how to advise in either. It was said, that *Essex* made some Overtures fair enough, but how secure I shall not conclude.

Essex had it expresse in his Commission, *To take the King from his evil Counsel*; he urged therefore to be voluntarily trusted with the Kings person, and the Kings Army to disband upon this assurance, that then his Army being on foot, he would not disband untill all things were performed to the general content and peace of the Kingdom. So then the difficulty how to do what each party desired to be done, kept on the War to the destruction of all. Besides there was a providence or fate (as we say) therein, which the Lord Digbie in a Letter calls *His superstitious Observation concerning the hand of God in the cause of the Earl of Strafford's death*. And the King from thence inferres in a Letter to the Queen, *That nothing can be more evident than that Strafford's innocent blood hath been one of the greatest causes of Gods just Judgments upon this Nation by a furious Civil War*. Both sides hitherto being almost equally punished, as being in a manner equally guilty: but now this last crying blood being totally theirs, I believe it is no presumption, hereafter to hope, that his hand of Justice must be heavier upon them, and lighter upon us, looking now upon our Cause, having passed by our Fault.

Holland Ambassadors have audience for Peace.

The Estates of the *Netherlands* had sent their Ambassadors to the Parliament, but not well instructed how to make their Address, it took up some time for them to have new Instructions, both for the Title of their Letters, and Commissions from their Masters: And so after these circumstances were settled, they had Audience, and being the first Address of note, the Parliament referred it to a Committees direction, which was upon the twelfth of *Julie*: the Master of the Ceremonies conducted them to both Houses apart, and

and Chairs of State were set up for their repose, one in the *withdrawing Room* by the *House of Lords*, the other in the *inner Chamber* of the *Court of Wards* by the *Commons*; where reposing a while they were brought to each *House*, delivering their *Embassie* first in *French*, and after in *English*, in effect,

That the high and mightie States of the United Provinces had sent them to declare their earnest desire they had to interpose and mediate a Reconciliation of the Difference between the King and Parliament of England, for which purpose they had already addressed themselves to his Majestie, and were now come to declare it to the Parliament. They further insisting upon the great effusion of Protestant blood both in England and Ireland, as a presaging inducement of their Desires to have a Peace accorded between the King and Parliament, that so they might concur together for the Extirpation of Poperie, and setting of the Protestant Religion, in all the three Kingdoms, and with the assistance of the States to defend it against all foreign powers.

The Ambassadors had received Letters from the Kings Court at *Oxford*, intimating the Kings Successes in the North, which the Parliament desired to correct, and to evidence their Victories, eight and fourty Colours of Horse and Foot were received from their Northern Commanders, the *Scots General*, the Lord *Fairfax* and his Son *Sir Thomas*, and lay in their view in the *House of Commons*, which was no otherwise resented, than that they might as well have made the number ten times over.

Here they remained, pretending a Peace, but in earnest to settle Trade, and to see which way the Game went; and having leave to go to the King, they caress him with their Masters, the *States* great inclination to cement these Differences; but the King knew their mindes not to engage for him; and so they returned in the end of this year.

The Marquess of *Newcastle* had been besieged above nine Weeks by the Parliaments Forces in the North, for the raising of which Prince *Rupert* advances out of *Shropshire*, marching with his Army through *Lancashire*, raises the Siege of *Latham House*, takes three Garisons, *Stopford*, *Bolton*, and *Leverpool*, he came forward towards *York*, and on Sunday last of *June* enquartered at *Knaresburch* fourteen Miles off, the next morning over *Burrough-bridg*, and that night (along the River) to *York*, upon whose approach the Besiegers quit their Quarters, and those in *York* pursue the Rear, and seize some Provisions, the next morning *Julie 2.* the Prince advances after them, resolving to give them Battel by noon, yet was it almost seven a clock ere they began, and upon disadvantage enough, for the Parliaments Forces had choice of the Ground, and stood

*York relieved
by P. Rupert*

Anno
1644.

stood it on a Corn Hill on the South side of *Marston Moor*, four Miles from *York*, and so the Prince taking their leavings fell on upon their Horse, who began to shrink, and their right Wing of Horse and Foot wererouted by the Princes left Wing commanded by General *Goring*, Sir *Charls Lucas*, and Major General *Porter*. And thus confessed by themselves, *Our right VVing of Foot* (say they) *had several mis-fortunes, for our right VVing of Horse consisting of Sir Thomas Fairfax's Horse in the Van (and the Scots Horse in the Rear) wheeled about, and being hotly pursued by the Enemies left VVing came disorderly upon the Lord Fairfax his Foot and the Reserve of Scottish Foot, broke them wholly, and trod the most of them under foot.* The Fight was sharp for three hours, till night put a period. Some of the Prince's Horse followed execution too far, and none advancing to supply their absence, the Enemy rallied, and did the work, and many slain on both sides, and Prisoners also taken; three Prisoners of quality on the Cavaliers party, *Lucas*, *Porter*, and Colonel *Tilliard*. The *Scots* were the Reserve in all their three Armies, but smarted at last, because their Van both of Horse and Foot not standing brought execution upon them.

The Parliament printed two Relations; the one, a *Scottish* Captain, says, *That Prince Rupert had got the Ground, with VVinde and Sun of the Scots, when it is certain it was late in the Evening, that the loss of men of qualitie upon their parts was but one Lieutenant Colonel, and some few Captains.* And yet he says, *that the Earl of Eglinton's Regiment lost four Lieutenants, the Major, the Lieutenant Colonel, and the Earls Son mortally wounded; that the number of their slain, about three hundred, and that of the Cavaliers almost three thousand; that Prince Rupert took all the Ordnance out of York, and lost them in this Fight, which Sir William VValler says, were eight and twentie Pieces.* Another Relation, *five and twentie.* And another says, *twentie.* *That in this Fight were taken ten thousand Arms.* Sir *VVilliam Waller* says, *six thousand.* Another *Scots* Captain says, *three thousand.* For Colours, they shew a Scene of 47. Colours.

The truth is, that the Horse of both Armies were sufficiently scattered by night, next morning the Prince marched towards *Thursk*, and can onely say, *That he relieved York with some Cattel, raised the Siege, and was soundly beaten.* Yet from thence he marched with six thousand Horse, and three thousand Dragoons into *Lancashire*.

But from the last Fight divers of the Kings party took leave to depart the Kingdom, and landed at *Hamburgh*; the Letters from thence names them, the Earl of *Newcastle* lately made Marquess, with his two Sons, and his Brother Sir *Charls Cavendish*, General *King*, the Lord *Falconbridg*, the Lord *VViddrington*, the Earl of *Cranworth*, the Bishop of *London Derrie*, Sir *Edward VViddrington*, Colonel *Carnabie*, Colonel *Basset*, Colonel *Mozon*, Sir *VVilliam Vavasor*, Sir *Francis Mackworth*, with about eighty other persons.

Sir

Sir *Thomas Glenham* was Governour of *York*, a gallant Gentleman, maintaining it against the Siege of all the main Northern Forces of the Parliament, the Earl of *Manchester*, the Lord *Fairfax* and his Son. And although Prince *Rupert* had so far relieved the City as to send them in some Cattel, but neither Men nor Amunition, so that after his fatal Blow at *Marston Moor*, and now marched away, the City left utterly from further expectation of assistance, and the Parliaments Forces now resolving to fall upon the storming, which the Governour opposed with as much gallantry as his necessitous condition could afford; but being over-powered, and his wants increasng, he was inforced to surrender the City upon honourable terms on the sixteenth of *Julie*.

Anno

1644.

York surrendered to the Parliament.

1. That all Officers and Souldiers shall march out on Horse back with their Arms, flying Colours, Drums beating, Matches lighted, Bullets in Mouth, with Bag and Baggage.
2. With a Convoy to *Skipton*.
3. The Sick to depart at pleasure.
4. That no Souldier be plundered, or enticed away.
5. The Citie to enjoy their Trade.
6. The Garison to be two parts of three *Yorkshire* men.
7. The Citie to bear Charges with the Countie, as usual.
8. To dispose and enjoy their Estates according to the Laws of the Land, without molestation.
9. The Gentlemen there to dispose and carrie away their Goods at pleasure.
10. That the Churches be not defaced, no man plundered, justice to be administred by the Magistrate, as before.
11. That all persons whose Habitations are within the Citie, though now absent, shall enjoy the benefit of these Articles.

The Parliament ordain new Levies to be raised, ten thousand Foot, and fifteen hundred Horse, and one thousand three hundred Dragoons out of nineteen Counties, South Counties, *Suffolk*, *Norfolk*, *Huntington*, *Oxford*, *Berks*, &c. Not only to raise these thousands, but must advance as much money as will pay them during their employment: so as it was said that the two Houses at *Westminster* would devour all the Houses in *London*. It was murmured that as these two had ruined all the rest, so ere long they would pull down one the other: for the Lords were daily baited by the Commons, as Peers which yet doe, but should not sit above them, so as Mr. *Blaiston* lately told the Lower Members, That the Lords had been allowed too long to domineer, and we see (said he) how often they have been defective: the Lower stickling to heave out the Higher, by the strength of whose Votes and Number, the Committee of State is

Anno

1644.

Dennington
Castle assault-
ed by the Par-
liaments
Forces.

newly reared up, which at long running will be too hard for them both: and then that very Committee will perchance split into two Factions, when our *Northern* Brethren may prove the better Gamesters, because the Elder, at this kinde of Contract: untill at the last the whole Cause will appear in its likeness: and both Root and Branch feel the effects. This difference of intentions among themselves, begets fears and jealousies of their dearest servants, Sir *Philip Stapleton*, and Sir *John Merick* and others, whose former merits cannot easily be satisfied, and yet are rendred so suspected, that lately the Parliament had commanded them up to *London*, and would lop them off from their General *Essex*; but they did not come, and so Impeachments were talked of to frighten them to obedience.

Middleton a *Scotish* man, Lieutenant General to Sir *William Waller*, came before *Dennington Castle* near *Newburie* in *Barkshire*, August 1. with three thousand Horse and Foot; the Forlorn Horse he sends before, who took some Stragglers; next day their Horse surrounded the Castle, and the next day after gained a Barn from the Garison, and instantly summons the Castle, and sends to Sir *John Bloys* thus,

For the Governour of Dennington Castle.

Sir, I demand you to render to me Dennington Castle, for the use of the King and Parliament. If you please to entertain a present Treatie. you shall have very honourable conditions. My desire to spare blood makes me propose this. I desire your Answer.

Jo. Middleton.

Which was.

For Lieutenant General Middleton.

Sir, I am intrusted by his Majesties expresse command, and have not as yet learned to obey any other than my Sovereign. To spare blood, do as you please; but my self, and those that are with me, are fully resolved freely to venture ours, in maintaining what we are here intrusted with; which is the Answer of

Aug. 1.

Jo. Bloys.

The Assailants advanced with their Foot and Scaling-Ladders into three Divisions, and fell on in three places with much resolution and gallantry, and so were received, the Fight lasting six hours, but having no hopes now to do their work, they make a Retreat to their Body of Horse on the top of a Hill, himself seeing his men bleeding on the ground. One Colonel, eight Captains, one Serjeant Major, Ensigns and others, fourscore and seven com-

common Souldiers, and many wounded. And it is confidently printed, and as seriously attested, That in all this hot and lasting Storm the Garison lost not more than six men.

The Governour Blois sent this Message,

For Lieutenant General Middleton.

Sir, Christian charitie requires me to give you notice, that I have here many Bodies of yours, which I cannot accommodate with Christian Burial, and many wounded whom I know not how to dispose; you may; and therefore I desire your Answer.

Your Servant Jo. Bloys.

Who answers.

Sir, I conceive no inherent holiness to be in any place or Burial, for all Earth is fit for that use; for our wounded men your Prisoners, if you please to exchange them for their qualities, it shall be taken for a courtesie so done to

Sir, Your Servant Jo. Middleton.

And so Middleton marches Westward after the General Essex, and at Bridgwater encounters Sir Francis Dorington and Sir William Courtney, these men knew of Middleton's coming, and lined certain Hedges, and afterwards sent some Carriages towards the King in Cornwall, slenderly guarded as a Bait, which were soon seized, and with them hastning through a long narrow Lane five Miles from Bridgwater, where receiving the Shot from the Hedges, he faced about in some disorder, and fell into the hands of the two Knights, who broke his party, killed many, and divers Prisoners. Middleton retreats to Sherburn in Dorsetshire, whereabouts he fell upon a Troop of the Kings Horse, and beat them all, which makes the News at London so cross and contrary, Middleton was beaten, Middleton won the Victory, and both true in several places.

Then comes Colonel Horton Septemb. 29. (who writes himself Adjutant General to Serjeant Major General Brown) who sent this Summons.

A second Attempt upon the Castle.

To the Governour of Dennington Castle.

Sir, I demand the Castle now in your possession, for the use of King and Parliament, which if you denie, at your peril. Sept. 29. 1644.

Jer. Horton.

The Governour Lieutenant Colonel Blois answers.

Sir, I have received your Summons, I shall keep this place wherein I am intrusted by his Majestie in despite of all your Forces, condemning

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Anno
1644.

The peril you mentioned, and should be ashamed, were I in extremitie, to render this Castle to so inconsiderable a partie.

Septemb. 29. 1644.

Jo. Bloys.

Upon which *Horton* makes his Approach on that side next *Newburie*, making his Battery from the foot of the Hill, with store of Shot for twelve days and nights almost without ceasing, with their great Shot, above fourscore Shot a day, and beat down three Towres, with a part of the Wall: and withall having received two Regiments of Foot and one Regiment of Horse from the Earl of *Manchester*, he sends his second Summons, to which by the Answer you may suppose what he said.

Sir, neither your new addition of Forces, nor your high threatening shall deter me, nor the rest of those honest men with me, from our Loyaltie to our Sovereign, but do resolve to maintain this place to the uttermost of our powers; and for the matter of our Quarters, yours may expect the like.

Octob. 7.

Jo. Bloys.

Then comes the Earl to *Newburie*, in whose Army was the Governour's Brother, who writes to the Governour, and hath this Answer,

That neither the Earl of Manchester, nor all his Forces should ever deter him from his fidelitie to his Sovereign, nor would he entertain any Parley with his Brother, nor any other.

This not prevailing, the Besiegers plyed their Artillery, and afterwards removed their Battery on the other side, making their Approaches by way of *Saps*. Against whom the Garison sally out, and removed them from their Trenches, killed a Lieutenant Colonel, and some others, with their Cannonier, and returned with Booty: and yet they continued battering for two days after; and so nineteen days being spent with loss of some hundreds, and then took leave, the Earl to *Reading*; *Windsor* Forces to *Newburie*, and *Horton* back to *Abington*.

Church Re-
formation.

The Church Reformation at *London* was commended to the diligent care of that zealous Member *Sir Robert Harloe*, who had finished all abroad, but did not meddle with the Kings Houses till now; he enters *White-hall*, and by the help of a Ladder, he ends his Reformation, (of the Chapell, Figures, Pictures, Carvings, I mean) and paid the Windows, for being painted, breaks in pieces the Communion Table, because it was called an Altar, and the Rails went to rack, against which for haste he broke his Shins.

Then

The Reign of King Charls.

725

Ann.
1644.

Then he proceeds to the visitation of the Kings Galleries and Rooms, removing away the most rare and excellent pieces, pictures, paintings of the most famous Artizans. But of such what ere was vendible (though in his sence abominably superstitious) the Parliamēt was pleased to preserve, until a good customer would purchase them for any use he pleased.

The King had for security of the Queens person removed her Majesty April 17. from Oxford towards the West, guarding her Progresse with sufficient Forces to Excester, where she was brought to Bed of a fair Princeesse the 16. of June: from thence she was conveyed to Cornwall to Pendennis Castle where she imbarqued, and landed at Conquest in France in base Britain, July 15. Nobly received and with a Princely Train attending, she was waited on to the Court at Paris where she remains to this day.

Princess Henrietta Maria
born at Excester, June 16.

Ambassadours were come and gon from France, and the Neitheland States, to compose and mediate a Peace, but to no purpose they returned. Nay the King had ingeniously solicited his Parliamēt for a Peace, but therein nothing prospered. Whereupon we may see what was said from beyond the sea, in answer to a Letter sent thither from a Member at Westminster, (for now having two Parliaments we must so distinguish them) and thus it is.

Ambassadours
mediatours
for Peace.

Sir, To answer you concerning his Majesties message of Peace, and the refusal of it, upon the grounds you mention, give me leave to tell you (in the way of friendship and confidence) that whilst I reflect upon his Majesties pious Propositions, and the aversness of the other party, to imbrace the several overtures which he hath made (by scandalizing his goodness in the eares of the people, with interpretations of insincerity, designs opposite to his professions) me thinketh I see the true and the false mother, disputing for the living child before Salomon, and you know whose bowels yearned, when it was to be divided with the sword: I need not apply, but you never yet read in any History that the true Patres Patriæ refused to sacrifice their private animosity and interests, to the tranquillity and happiness of their Country; and it is an ill argument of their integrity who will be satisfied with nothing but its division and ruine. If any man will have me believe that his Majesty doth not seriously labour to make up the breach, he must first bespeak me to part with my understanding, for I cannot but know, that the common interest is only his, and that he is impoverished in each Subjects losse; and as for the substance of his Message which you say is absolutely destructive to your priviledges, and which draweth into consequence a nullitie of your Parliamēt, and a subversion of all your Acts, I cannot gather any such thing out of it, nor do

A Letter from
beyond Seas
to a member
at Westminster.

Anne

1644

And I conceive it a disparagement to you, that his Majesty should stile you fellow members (which excludeth your conceit of two Parliaments.)

Put the case there were no King at Oxford, nor Lord, nor Commander, only a Rebellious Army raised against King and State, yet if it were so considerable as are his Majesties Forces, I should esteeme it a want of ordinary policy in you to refuse a Treaty with them, and therefore I may not qualifie this rejection otherwise (betwixt you and me) then an act of the highest irreverence and disloyaltie, that Subjects can commit against their Sovereign, and a wilful betraying the trust reposed in them by the Kingdom for its security: and doubtlesse they who acknowledg God to be a God of order, can expect no blessing upon such an affected confusion. It is no wonder all this while that the interpositions of the French and Holland Ambassadors prove ineffectual, since his Majesties own messages (which in civility ought first to proceed from you) are thus vilified.

Had the Scots really taken New-Castle (as you advertised me three weeks ago,) you might have had more plausible ground to stand upon, but (since they are beaten from their Siege with such a considerable losse, and his Majesty hath chosen such a time for his Propositions as will convince those of malice and falshood who seek to stain his good motions under the title of ill Council) it is most apparent that there are foul consciencies amongst the leaders, who fear to come to peaceable trials, and therefore they seek to drown the cry of their sins under the noice of the Drumme, otherwise no wise man can expect that there shall ever be an accommodation unlesse both sides passe by more real inconveniencies, then any you mention.

I direct not this discourse against your self, for I gather out of your general wishes that you are a friend to peace: But thus much by way of reply, and so I rest.

Yours, &c.

And so far the Parliament was from peace, that they the twenty fourth of June, voted twelve thousand Scots more should be brought into England, the rather, to spread abroad their power, that if those in Yorkshire chance to miscarry, they have a Magazine of more such for supportation of the Cause.

You have lately heard how earnest the King hath been with the Parliament for a Peace, and from Evesham in July he invited them there by Letters, even then when he had an Army to command his desires. And it was thus.

Charles R.

We being sensible of the miseries and calamities of this our Kingdom, and of the grievous sufferings of our poor Subjects, do most earnestly desire that some expedient way may be found out, which by the blessing

blessing of God may prevent the further effusion of blood and restore the Nation to Peace, from the earnest and constant endeavouring of which, as no discouragement given Us on the contrary part shall make Us cease, so no success on Ours shall ever divert Us: for the effecting whereof We are most ready and willing to condescend to all that shall be for the good of Us and Our People, whether by way of confirmation of what we have already granted, or of such further concession as shall be requisite to the giving a full assurance of the performance of all Our most real professions, concerning the maintenance of the true Reformed Protestant Religion established in this Kingdom, with due regard to the ease of tender consciences, the just priviledges of Parliament, and the Libertie and Propertie of the Subject, according to the Laws of the Land; As also by granting a general Pardon without or with exceptions, as shall be thought fit. In order to which blessed Peace, We do desire and propound to the Lords and Commons of Parliament assembled at Westminster, That they appoint such, and so many Persons as they shall think fit, sufficiently Authorized by them to attend Us at Our Army, upon safe conduct to come and return (which we do hereby grant) and conclude with us, how the premises and all other things in question betwixt us and them, may be fully settled; whereby all unhappy mistakings betwixt us and our people being removed, there may be a present Cessation of Arms, and as soon as may be, a total disbanding of all Armies, the Subject have his due, and we be restored to our Right: Wherein if this our offer shall be accepted, there shall be nothing wanting on our part, which may make our people secure and happy.

They not hearkning to this, His Majesty sent again from Tavestocke in Devonshire, (having sealed His Gracious Messlage with a most glorious Victory the week before) but what answer it deserved, let the Reader judg when he hath read this copy of the Messlage it self.

CHARLES R.

It having pleased God in so eminent a manner, lately to blesse our Armies in these parts with successe, we do not so much joy in that blessing for any other consideration, as for the hopes we have that it may be a means to make others lay to heart, as we do, the miseries brought and continued upon our Kingdom by this unnatural War, and that it may open your ears, and dispose your mindes, to imbrace those offers of Peace and Reconciliation, which have been so often, and so earnestly made unto you by us, from the constant and fervent endeavours of which we are resolved never to desist. In pursuance whereof, we do upon this occasion conjure you to take into consideration our (too long neglected) message of the fourth of July from Evelham, which we again renew unto you. And that you will speedily send us such an

Upon the
Victory a-
gainst Essex's
Army in
Cornwal.

Answer

Anno
1644.

Answer thereunto, as may shew unto our poor Subjects some light of a deliverance from their present calamities by a happy Accommodation, toward which we do here engage the word of a King, to make good all those things which we have therein promised, and really to endeavour a happy conclusion of this Treaty. And so God direct you in the wayes of Peace.

What welcome this gracious Message wrought with the Parliament is monstrous to imagine, for no sooner received it but instantly there followed a Fast at St. Laurence Church, for the happy proceedings of the Council of War, the Lecturer Obadia Sedgwick telling the people that God was angry with them for not cutting off Delinquents: Fifteen several times men have been raised in London, by telling them that this would finish the work, still exhorting them to pursue the War to put an end to these troubles.

Notwithstanding the Scots Army send to the Parliament, to send to the King some reasonable Propositions; that the Church of England may be Uniform to the Kirk of Scotland: That for their service in England and Ireland there is due to them upon account eight hundred thousand pounds, whereof they must have one hundred thousand pounds presently: which put the Parliament to consider who (as one said) at the beginning of their Assemblie, did they knew not what, and now they know not what to do.

And the County of Somerset presented the King with their Petition with what comfort they apprehend his Majesties pious inclination to, and endeavours for settling peace, and hoped that your Majesties gracious Message to that purpose to the Parliament, would have produced the desired effect, &c. And desire leave to wait in person upon the King to the Parliament. And in case they may not obtain so just a request, they shall hold their lives best spent in assisting your Majesty to compass that by the Sword which can not otherwise be effected.

The King signifies his Gracious acceptance of their Loyal affections in what they desire, and withall for them to Petition the Parliament Assembled at Westminster for composing the way of peace. Assuring them that he will insist only upon such things as are justifiable with the Laws of the Kingdom.

Upon which they write at Wells, and publish this Declaration to the world.

VWhereas we lately conceived very great hopes that those many gracious Overtures from his Majesty to those at London, especially that from Evelham, and that from Tavestock, might have given a rise to a happy Treaty, and consequently put an end to those bleeding differences,

rences, but have been fruitless and ineffectual, &c. Therefore they resolve to wait upon the King as one man towards London to propose or receive Propositions to restore the Kingdom to peace. And call the Kingdom to witness whether this Petition which they now are going to deliver to the Parliament assembled at Westminster, doe not become Loyal Subjects and Lovers of the Country. Wherein they desire the two Houses to joyn hands with him and them in a happy Treaty, that as they have all within the same Profession; so they may meet in the real performance, the maintenance of the Protestant Religion, the safety of the Kings person and rights, the liberty and property of the Subjects, and just priviledges of Parliament.

The County of Wilts also taking notice of those in Somersetshire, certifie, that the Sherif of Wiltshire, and the principal Lords and Gentlemen of that County, declaring their approbation of the declaration and Petition to the Parliament assembled at Westminster, and that they will joyn in the same course presently. You see what means are made for a Treaty of Peace.

The Parliament Forces from Northampton bringing with them many Colliers and Miners from Bedworth, who after sundry dayes exercise under ground to mine the Castle, found such continual Springs of water that they could work no more.

This siege hath now continued eleven weeks from the 19. of July, when their Horse came to Broughton, Warkmoth and other places to straighten the Castle, and lay there till Aug. 27. On which day Mr. John Fines came with Foot and Canon into Banbury, and from that time both with Batterings, Mines, and storming attempted upon the Castle, commanded by Sir William Compton brother to the Earl of Northampton, to whom he sends Summons, and had this Answer, *That they kept the Castle for his Majesty, and as long as one man was left alive in it, willed him not to expect to have it delivered.* Whereupon Fines made several batteries on three sides of the Castle but to little purpose. Then they began to mine but found much water, then to drain the outmost Mote which in part they effect but with great losse. Then September 16. Fines sends another Summons: but Compton told the Trumpeter that he formerly Answered them, and wondered they would send again. Upon this the Assaylants goe on fiercely with Batteries and Stormes for a week together. But were answered by often sallies and losse on both sides. Then two dayes together the Besiegers shot and plyed their Granadoes abundantly, and made a breach upon the West wall of the out Ward of the Castle, the upper part neer thirty yards in length, but the inside well lined with earth. This gave them encouragement to Storm it, and about nine a clock that morning 23. September they began to fall on, their Foot not so hardy, they invited their Troopers to lead them on, twelve out of each Company

Banbury
stormed by the
Parliament
and repulsed.

Anno

1644

Earl of Northampton
defeats the Be-
sieggers.

with their best Officers. The number of the Assaylants, about six hundred, came on with burthens on their backs, which they cast into the Mote the better to passe the Mud, and so fell on in five several places at once: the greatest number where the breach was, and on all the other parts they brought Scaling-ladders, but could not reare one, but were cut off with great and small shot, those at the breach were so served also, but at last all the Assaylants gave off. Towards evening they send a Trumpet to desire burial of their dead, conditional that those which vvere fallen vvithⁿ Pistol shot of the Castle, should be stript by the Garrison, vvich vvvas done, much losse they had, many slain and vvounded, many Arms and Ladders. Hovvever they doe their best vvith Granadoes and great Shot, 154. of the first, and of Canon above 800. Wherefore Lieutenant Colonel *Green* sallied out, slew and vvounded more, and no doubt the Castle lost many.

But the Earl of *Northampton* for the King, vvith good strength of Horse came from the Rendezvouz near *Newbury*, quartering at *Farnborough*, and then to *Beechen-tree* to meet Colonel *Gage* from *Oxford*, vvwhose Horse vvvere commanded by Colonel *Webb*, the Foot by Lieutenant Colonel *Gerard* and Major *Kirke*, and all joyning they march to *Aderbury*, and came to *Banbury* October 25. finding Colonel *Fines* his Horse in several bodies dravvn up on the South side of the Tovvn. Here they stand a vvwhile and face the Earl, but soon retreated to the West side tovwards *Hanwel*: their Foot novv come out of the Tovvn in some disorder follovved their Horse, having sent their Baggage and Artillery that vvay the night before. The Earl pursued them vvith three Regiments of Horse (the Earl of *Brainfords*, the Lord *Wilmots* and his ovvn) and some Dragoons: Colonel *VWebb* being sent on the left hand round about *Crowth-hill* with the most part of *Oxford* Horse to face or charge them in the Flank. In the mean time Colonel *Gage* vvith the Foot enters *Banbury* Tovvn and relieves the Castle. *Northampton* overtakes his Enemies neer *Hanwel*, a Forlorn-hope being dravvn out by Captain *Brown*, and joyning vvith *Gages Oxford* Horse, but vvvere valiantly opposed, so that they vvithdrevv to the Earl their main Body vvith him, and after a long and round dispute to eithers loss, the enemy retreated somevvhat hastily, and neer *Hanwel* they dispersed, some to *Copredy*, *Hanwel* Tovvn, *Broughton*, and *Compton*, leaving their Carriages, one Field piece and three Wagons of Arms and Amunition, vvwhich vvvere sent to *Banbury* Castle, and thus much it cost them, for these vvvere slain, Captain *Brown*, Captain *Tylly*, the Earl of *Brainford* shot in the mouth, and Colonel *Webb* vvvas hurt in the hand, so was Lieutenant Colonel *Smith*, and one *Boteler* commended for his gallantry was slain, nine Troopers and many Common Souldiers killed and hurt. But they that fled must needs be more, the high waies could testifie, many prisoners, Cap.

Vint,

Vint, and Lieutenant *Vernon*, four Cornets of Horſe, many Horſes, and fix Barrels of Powder, Match and Shot, &c.

Gloceſter being recruited by Colonel *Stephens* with three Troops of Horſe, and two Troops of Colonel *Harlyes* Regiment, they drew out againſt Colonel *Myn* an active Cavalier, and perpetual vexation to *Maſſie*, who had diſcovered that ſome Forces out of *Wales* were to paſſe at *Aſt* and advanced thither, and miſſed narrowly of the Lord *Herbert*, theſe being abroad, Colonel *Myns* deſign was, that their Forces in both Counties of *Hereford* and *Worceſterſhire* ſhould joyn at *Caſſelane*, and ſo march to the Gates of *Gloceſter*. *Maſſie* therefore returns homewards, from whence he ſends for 220 Muſquetiers and 100. more from *Tewxbury* to meet him on the march to cope with *Myn*. But being arrived, and all things prepared to ſet out, a diſpute increaſed between two of their own Majors, *Grey* and *Hamond*, and after a box on the ear they drew, and for the blow, *Hamond* kills him, whoſe Souldiers now in Arms ready to advance, turned back to the revenge, which the Governour had much adoe to pacifie, which gave the Enemy time to come on within three miles of the Town, and to prevent their further advance, *Maſſies* men at *Higgleaden* paſſed the Brook, and finde the Cavaliers quartered in *Hartpurſy* Fields quiet and ſtill, but was upon them by dark night, took ten priſoners and ſome Forragers, their main Body being gon that night to *Redmarly*, and were followed to *Eldersfield* two miles from them.

At break of day *Maſſie* marches, and by fix a clock advanced to their Rendezvouz, being 160. Horſe, and 850. Foot drawn up into Batalia, and the Hedges lined with Muſquetiers. The other divided his Foot into two Bodies, and drew out his Horſe into ſingle Troops, the Incloſures not giving room for a larger form, and having diſpoſed one Troop with the *Tewxbury* ſhot, he drew out the remain to another place of advantage, *Maſſie* leads the Van of three Troops, being ſeconded by three other Troops commanded by *Backhouſe*, and thus drawn out they march to their Adverſaries, charging ſuddainly, put them from their Ambuſcado's, beat their Horſe to a flight, and ſo got into the Van of their Foot, and worſted them, broke their whole Body, many wounded and ſlain, and ſome priſoners. *Myn* ſlain in the place, and 170. Major *Buller*, ſeven Captains, four Lieutenants, five Enſignes, twelve Serjeants, and near 250. common Souldiers taken Priſoners.

But in this encounter *Myn* was alone, for the *Hereford* and *Worceſter* Forces were not joyned, which was hourly expected, and had done the deed as they deſigned it, and ſo *Myn* was loſt and thoſe with him, for Lieutenant Colonel *Paſſy* who commanded a freſh party of 150. Horſe, and 500. Foot juſt at the cloſe of the fight was coming poſt to *Myns* Brigade to bring news of the others arrival, but he was met by the Scouts and wounded and taken, ſo

Anno

1644.

Maſſie meets
Myns deſign.

Grey and
Hamond fall
out.

Myn defeated
and ſlain.

Anno
1644.

neither of their parties had knowledge to prevent this mischief. But up they did come, being first discovered by Colonel *Broughton*, met with some straglers in the pursuit; such they cut off, but the Body got home with all their prisoners: *Mjns* body was carried to *Glocester*, and for his worth and honour they vouchsafed him burial, his death much lamented, with the losse of the *English* Regiment from *Ireland*, *Englishmen* not *Irish*, as many would now make the world believe them to be of the *Irish Rebels*, but most untrue: this defeat ruined the Kings power in *South Wales*.

Prince *Rupert's* Forces lay stragling between *Shrewsbury* and *Worcester* a while after the great Northern defeat at *Marston Moor*, which were now rallied into an Army for the close of this Summers action.

To make a diversion from the West part and so to befriend *Essex*, all the *Glocester* Forces that could be spared were drawn out towards *Bathe* with a thousand Horse and Foot. (*Waller* having returned to him the former Forces which he borrowed) on purpose to disturb the Kings Quarters, and so to enforce him to withdraw a part of his main Body to enable *Bristol* and *Bathe*, and hoped likewise to encounter Prince *Rupert* from *Bristol* who was there in person: but in few dayes upon knowledge of the utter losse of *Essex* his Army in the *West*, all these designes flatted.

But indeed it was time for *Massie* to return and look to himself, for Prince *Rupert* had commanded Colonel *Charles Gerrard* out of *Wales* with other Forces to break their way through *Glocestershire* into the Western parts, these were supposed to lye neer *Worcester*, and to march to *Cotswold Hills*, or by the borders of *Herefordshire*, to make into *Dean Forrest*, and thence over at *Ast* passage; and to hinder these designes, *Massie* retreats, and in his return falls down before *Berkley*, lodged in the Town two dayes, and then summons the Castle, commanded by Colonel *Vele*, made some assault, but was worsted with losse. Yet somewhat he did by the way, he burnt the Boats at *Ast Ferry*, and intending to passe over *Severn* to meet Prince *Rupert*, who was nearer hand by an Allarm already in *Cassellane*, and by other Scouts it was assured, that many Troops under command of Sir *Marmaduke Langdale* were come into *Herefordshire*, and a party of them joyned with Colonel *Lingens* Horse had advanced within six miles of *Hereford*, spoyling and plundering those Parishes that were in Association and defence with *Glocester*.

Prince *Rupert* being stopt at *Cassellane*, took his course towards *Worcester* joyning with Colonel *Sandis* Horse, and Sir *William Russels* Horse and Foot, and such other Foot as *Dudly Castle* could afford him, and now abled in power with advantage of the march, having left *Massie* in the Rear beyond *Severn* as was supposed; He resolved to break through and to relieve *Banbury* in his way. *Massie* hath

Prince Rupert
near Bristol.

hath intelligence, and therefore forthwith conveyes his men over *Severn* at *Temxbury*, and was got as far as *Stanway*, and gave notice to a Major of Horse neer about that brought 200. Horse, and sent away his Foot, already tyred, and with his Horse resolved to joyn with Colonel *Fines* at *Banbury*: but on the suddain he heard that 500. Horse were got over the River on this side *Evesham* approaching to his Quarters, and that a Party of Foot were set at the Bridge to make good their repasse: one half of their Forces being at *Per-shore*, the other at *Evesham* but four miles asunder, but *Massey* got clear of them.

Prince *Rupert* keeps Rendezvouz neer *Hereford* with fourty two Troops of Horse, resolving to passe at *Ast Ferry*, and to guard it sends five hundred Horse and Foot, fortifying *Beachly* for a standing Guard, a place of strength, a gut of Land tending between *Severn* and *Wye*, the only commodious passage from *Wales* to *Bristol*, and to the West of *England* the main entercourse of the Kings Army.

Massey hears of this, and four dayes after the Cavaliers first fortifying ere the Line was half intrenched from one River to the other, and the other part well guarded with a high Quickset Hedge lined with Musquetiers, and Ditched within, with a fair Medow re-intrenched, and here they had 600. Horse and Foot in all. But being faced by an Enemy in the Evening within Musket shot, they knew no more hurt could be done till the next morning, for at high water it was inaccessible being guarded by some Ships with Ordnance level with the banks, and clearing the face of the approach from *Wye* to *Severn*. *Massey* draws up for the onset neer the place of entrance (where the other party had intended a Draw-bridge) and there to storm. Out of the Forlorn hope he selects ten Musquetiers to creep along the Hedges, and thence to fall upon the very breach, these gave the first Allarm to the intrenched, who spent their first shot in vain, and ere they recharge, on went *Massey's* Forlorne hope, the reserve follow, ran up the Works, rushed in among them, they within did their parts gallant and well resolved, but were surprised and overpowred with losse and some prisoners, but many recovered their Boats and were saved, nor could the Assailants boast much more for the bravery then success, being in view of a multitude on *Chepstow* side that saw all: their great Guns doing no Execution from each River, casting beneath the Bank at low Ebb.

Kirle was Lieutenant Colonel to Col. *Haltby* Governour for the King of *Monmouth*, intending treachery of long time, but his cowardize durst not indanger his own person in the design, but now he takes occasion of *Massey's* quartering neer *Monmouth*, and thus it was effected. *Massey* feigns a Post from *Glocester* side, requiring his suddain

Ast Ferry
Fight.

Lieutenant
Col. *Kirle* be-
trays *Mon-*
mouth to *Mas-*
sey.

Anno

1644.

suddain return with his Forces thitherward, to secure that part of the Countrey from the Enemy, who was now in plunder out of *Bristol* and *Berkley*: this Message was come to his hands at Master *Hollis* house of *High-meadow* (a true Cavalier) on purpose that he might post the news to the Governour of *Monmouth* which he did, which gave reason for Lieutenant Colonel *Kirle* to be commanded out with his Troop to follow the Rear of *Masseys* retreat, which he suddainly feigned towards *Glocester*, and three miles on his way lodges his Forces in a Thicket of the Forrest, sending his Scouts abroad, prevented the discovery of any, if in case *Kirle* should be honest. The intelligence reaches *Monmouth* of *Masseys* marching away; *Kirle* accordingly is sent out with his Troops to follow his Rear, whom *Masseys* surpriseth at midnight in *High-meadow* House with all his Horse, with whom in all possible silence he advances to *Monmouth*, where the Alarm was given by a Cornet of *Kirles* who escaped the surprisal: and which *Masseys* now knowing was in some doubt of honesty in *Kirle* to betray them all, and therefore though denied with infinite Oaths, he was mistrusted, and an eye upon him, whom yet *Masseys* intrusts with a hundred Horse to march to *Monmouth*, now in Alarm, and upon Guard expecting an Enemy, but *Kirle* comes up to the Draw Bridge, pretends a return with many Prisoners, perswaded the Guards, and so prevailed by Oaths to the Officers of the Guards, that the Governour commanded to let down the Draw-bridge with a little jealousy and a weak Guard, and the Bridge drawn up again. But *Kirle* with his Company now declares themselves, overpower the Guard, and made good the Bridge, for a Body of Horse and Foot at hand, and had a large Entrance, subdued the Town in a moment, the Governour and greater part of the Garrison escaping by the dark rainy night over the dry graft, the rest put to the Sword, divers Prisoners, a Major three Captains and other Officers, sixty Common Souldiers, five Barrels of Powder and some Armes; but the Town the best prize, being the Key of South *Wales*, and the only safe intercourse for the Kings Army between the *West* and *Wales* and the Northern parts: *Kirle's* name hateful to the Countrey for this base treacherie; but *Monmouth* was regained in the week following.

Military affairs in *Monmouthshire*.

This losse gave Alarm to the Earl of *Worcester* at *Ragland* Castle, and to the whole Countrey who called in Prince *Ruperts* Horse to assistance and appear in Arms.

Masseys sends out a small party of Musquetiers commanded by Captain *Rochford* who finde out the Countreymans Rendezvous, defended by Captain *Gainsford*, and with him joyns Sir *William Blaxton* with a Brigade of Horse, fall upon *Masseys* Horse Quarters, two Troops and a hundred Musquetiers commanded by Captain *Baily*, and Lieutenant *Page* beat them and put them to rout, when their

their Major drew up the rest of their Troops, and *Massej* came out also from *Monmouth*, rescued their distressed Forces, and overpowering the Cavaliers, slew some, and took others prisoners.

Colonel *Gerard* for the King draws up his Forces to *Ragland*, Sir *John Winter* with four hundred from *Bristol* to fortifie *Beachly*, which *Massej* must hinder ere they adjoyn, and therefore at midnight with eight Troops and a hundred Musquetiers drew up to *Clinewall* to meet the *Newnham* Foot appointed for this design. And in the close of the next Evening they came near the Cavaliers, and that night forced their Ambuscado into their Works: and the next morning make the onset, and here *Massej* made one Principal, being so put to it, his Head piece knocked off with the Butt end of a Musquet, but rescued, and so the full Body coming up they had the better, and so prevented the joyning of the Parties for that time.

During this time, Colonel *Broughton* out of *Glocester* undertakes to Garrison *Godridge* Castle, where he roused with great undertakings, Skirmishes and surprisals, as all the other Garrisons usually did, one from the other successfully. Some *Hereford* Forces hearing of it, drew out a small Party, Summoned him, Stormed and took him and his prisoners, and carried them all above one hundred to *Hereford*, nimble done without any noise.

The King in his march out of the *West* sent part of his Army upon several Services, yet still his Adversaries marched before him towards *London* as far as *Basing*, near which place their strength were gathered into one Body; the General *Essex*, the Earl of *Manchester*, and Sir *William Wallers* marching to a general Rendezvouz, Wednesday *October 23*. but did not hazard their Forces against *Basing* House, but left it after their Outguards were rowsed by Captain *Markham* with a Party of Horse. The Kings Forces then at *Kingscleer*, and the Enemy in *Aldermarston* Park, and on Thursday night came privately over the Water at a Ford near *Padworth*, and the next morning drew to *Bucklebury* five miles from *Newbury*, where the King then was.

On *Bucklebury* Heath the Enemy made their Rendezvouz (having refreshed their Army from *Reading*) from hence they sent out several Parties to have fallen upon the Kings Horse Quarters, but were repulsed by Lieutenant Colonel *Bovel*. About twelve a clock on Friday they drew down their whole Army between *Thatcham* and *Shaw*, where by strong Parties they attempted to force the Horse Quarters at *Shaw*, but were Skirmished with a Part of Prince *Maurice* Horse, some killed between them, and then drew back to a Field before *Shaw*, leaving some Foot and Dragoons to dispute the Hill vvvhich vvvas done till Midnight. On Saturday morning *Essex* dravvs his Canon vvwith four great Bodies of Foot and some Horse to that Hill, there they stand in Batalia, and shot vvwith

Anno

1644.

with their Ordnance all that after-noon to loss; in which time they drew the rest of his Army through *Winterburn* towards *Boxford* to have girt in the King, which was all they did that night.

Early on *Sunday* morning *October 27.* about a thousand (of the Earl of *Manchester's* Forces, and *London* Trained Bands) came down the Hill to pass over that part of the River *Kenet*, which runs betwixt the Hill and *Newburie*, these passed the River Eastward; and therefore undiscerned of some of the Kings Foot, who kept a Pass at a Mill Westward of the place, where the Enemy passed over, (it being then not fully break of day) and advanced upon those few Foot at the Pass, over-pressing them with numbers had much the better, untill Sir *Bernard Astley* (Son to the Lord *Astley*) came up with four hundred Musquetiers, and fell on them to a Rout; the while two other Bodies hastened over the River to second the first, but the other rout their Seconds, and both run through the River, and some drowned.

The rest of *Essex's* Army consisting of his own Regiment, and *VValler's* whole Forces, with part of the E. of *Manchester's* Horse, pursue their Design in surrounding the King towards *Spine*: and about three a clock after-noon four thousand of their Horse and Dragoons with five hundred Pikes and some Cannon appeared on the West side of *Newburie*, where the *Cornish* Foot and the Duke of *York's* Regiment (commanded by Sir *VVilliam St. Leagner*) were settled with five Field Pieces, and a Brigade of Prince *Maurice's*, *Cornish* Horse, charged home, and got ground at first, till they were beaten back, which some affirm to be the reason why the Foot retreated to the East side of *Spine*, which place they made good till their Enemy left the Field; but those Guards were spread so thin there, and so many thousands of their Adversaries pressing on the Advantage, that they there gained the Kings five small Pieces, which they hastily drew off. *Essex's* Horse having forced back the King's, advanced with a Body of five hundred Horse, (part being *Essex's* Life-guard) and a sufficient Strength of Musquetiers betwixt *Newburie* and *Spine*, where the King's Life-guards and Sir *Humphrey Bennet's* Brigade were drawn up; Major *Leg* was sent with a party of Horse towards those of the Enemy, who finding himself over-powred made a Retreat, whereupon the other advanced with Musquetiers on their right hand towards the River, there being three small Inclosures betwixt Colonel *Bennet* and them which made him wheel off, which his Enemy calls a Routing: but indeed though his Enemy came on upon him, yet when his Regiment came up (not ready before) he faced, and charged handlomly, as the other confesses; and was seconded by the Lord *Bernard Stuart* (Brother to the Duke of *Richmond* and *Lenox*) fell upon their Flanks and routed them, and execution fol-

lowed,

lowed, among whom was the Commander of the Earl of *Essex* his Life-guard, whom *Bennet* shot dead, and others slain.

The King lost Captain *Catlin* of Sir *Edward VValgrave's* Regiment, and some Troopers; Captain *VValgrave* (Sir *Edward's* Son) was dangerously hurt; and their Adversaries advanced to that ground again; and thus it happened with *Essex's* Forces on the West side of *Spine*.

But those on the East side were more confident of Success, having settled three Bodies of Foot in certain Inclosures, advanced over a Ditch with a great Body of Horse, hoping to break in through the Kings Guards, but were prevented by General *Goring*, who instantly drew up the Earl of *Cleveland's* Brigade, put himself in the Head of it, together with the old valiant Earl and his other Colonels of his Brigade, Colonel *Thornhill*, Colonel *Hamilton*, Colonel *Culpeper*, and Colonel *Stuart*; the General told them they must now charge home, and suddenly advanced up to the Gap, where about fourscore of the Enemy were come over, these he fell upon, and forced them back, and followed them over the Ditch, but hastily, and not in order, the Enemy killed many, untill a new Body came to second them, and both together joyned and ordered, forced their Enemy to scatter, and there they had the better, and killed Major *Urrie*, (Colonel *Urrie's* Kinsman.) In this Charge it was that the good Earl of *Cleveland*, he deserves a better Title, for in earnest he was always valiant, and faithfull to his Principals; and now engaged and over-powered he was forced their Prisoner. These Particulars are confessed in the most Pamphlets: but it were not much amiss if either side would forbear over-triumphing, when no cause is given; for this I must say (not partially) No English Noble-man or Gentleman of worth ever deserted the King that had before fought for him. Of Scots there were a couple whom I except.

In this time the Earl of *Manchester's* Army plyed their work upon the North East of *Newburie*, near *Shaw*, about four a clock they came down the Hill before *Shaw*, advancing towards those Guards which the Lord *Astley* disposed under command of Colonel *George Lisle*; the Colonel appointed Lieutenant Col. *Richard Page* to keep Mr. *Dolman's* House and Garden, and Sir *Thomas Hooper* with his Dragoons and other Foot to keep the Hedges and Lane, Col. *Thelwel* with his own Regiment and others of the *Reading* Brigade, being for a Reserve. The Earl of *Manchester's* Horse and Foot with the Trained Bands of *London* came down the Hill, advancing hastily upon Colonel *Lisle's* Guards, and worsted them; but then Sir *Fo. Brown* advanced with Prince *Charls's* Regiment of Horse, charged the Foot, and after received a Charge of a thousand Horse, and then retreated to the Foot in the Garden. At the same time when Sir *Fo. Brown* charged with Horse the Reserve of Foot

Fight on the East side of *Spine*.

Earl of *Cleveland* commended.

Fight near *Shaw*.

Anno

1644.

came on, (which were three hundred of *Lesley's Tertia* commanded by Colonel *Thelwel*) whereto were joined those Musquetiers in the Lane, and those other forty that were driven from the Hedge, and this Body of Foot came up, and gave fire upon the new gotte n Hedge, and both sides fought well, falling on with their But-ends of their Musquets, till the Hedge-men retired out of the Field, leaving their Colours and two Pieces of Cannon behinde, which were taken and drawn off, which the first Owners endeavoured with a Body of Horse half an hour after to recover, but were forced to return to their other Cannon upon the Hill, for those were past recovery. In this last Charge Lieutenant Colonel *Page* was shot through both his Thighs, and through his Arm.

The Kings side had plenty of Pillage, and killed many, the number uncertain; of his party there fell Sir *Anthony St. Leaguer*, Lieutenant Colonel *Leak*, and Lieutenant Colonel *Topping*, not more of note, and many common Souldiers. Some eminent persons wounded, Sir *Jo. Greenville*, (Sir *Bevil's* Son) and Sir *Richard Campsfield*, Major *Alford* shot in the Thigh, and the General the Earl of *Brainford* in the Head. This Fight lasted four hours, from four a clock after-noon till eight at night.

The King marched to *Wallingford* without any Allarm to his Rear, which staid upon the place till mid-night.

General *Essex* marched into *Newburie*, and then summoned *Dennington* Castle three several days, three several times, and three several Assaults, but were beaten off.

Monmouth
surprized and
how.

The Kings Army in *Oxfordshire* increased, expecting the joyn- ing of the *Welch* under conduct of Colonel *Gerard*, and *Mafsie* was sent unto with all speed to hinder their conjunction, or to joyn with the Parliaments Army, and so calls off his own Regiment of Horse from about *Monmouth*, and with them marches towards *Evesham*, where the Cavalier was before, eight for one, leaving *Monmouth* under command of *Throgmorton*, who was Serjeant Major to Colonel *Harley*, designed Governour by the Parliament, and being forward in his fresh Authority, to merit, draws out three hundred Horse and Foot to take in *Chepstow* Castle; the Cavaliers from *Ragland* and *Godridg* about break of day *Novemb. 19.* lodg themselves undiscovered behinde a rising ground near *Monmouth*, and viewing all Advantages, forty of them came up to the higher side of the Town towards *Hereford*, having a sloping Bank cast up of good height with a Ditch, over which they pass, mount the Bank, and climbed over, and so got to the next part, fell upon the Guard, some killed, others fled, and with an Iron Bar break the Port Chain, forces the Gate, and opens it to the Horse, who rid up with full career to the Main Guard, seized them, and took the rest in their Beds, with Colonel *Broughton*, four Captains, as many

Lieut.

Anno
1644.

Lieutenants and Ensigns, the Committee, all the common Souldiers, two hundred Prisoners, two Sakers, a Drake, nine Hammer Guns, Amunition and Provision, and five hundred Musquers.

This News comes to *Throgmorton*, who had no heart to follow his *Chepstow* Design, but marches away to meet *Masse* at *Buxford*, onwards upon the Parliaments Order, and now meant to way-lay the Lord *Grandeson* with the *Worcester* Forces going to *Oxford*; but turned on the other side, in hope to come to the Relief of *Pembroke* Castle, being an Out-guard to the Garison of *Monmouth*; but the Bridg was broken down, and the Castle forced to surrender upon Quarter, but all the Souldiers turned to the King.

Monmouth now becomes a famous Garison, and strong Association with all the Countrey and Neighbours, to oppose them sundry Garisons are erected in the *Forest*, the Garison of *Hichmeden* to affront *Monmouth*, *Ruredam* was a stop to the Cavaliers from *Hereford*, and those at *Lidney* are kept in by another party at *Nast*.

This dead of Winter the Kings Forces were disperfed, *Cirencester* and the Hill-countrey of *Glocestershire* was assigned to Sir *Jacob Astley*, having three Brigades of Foot, and assisted with four Regiments of Horse, the Queens, Prince *Maurice*'s, Prince *Rupert*'s, and the Lord *Wilmot*'s, and others; whose Incursions on that side, and the *Bristol* Forces about *Berckley*, with the Forces of *Worcester*, *Hereford*, and *Monmouth*, on the other side, acted daily to the destruction of a miserable Countrey crouching under the burden of two parties evenly resolved to destroy all. Such hereabout, and so in all other Counties remote from *London*, but for the most part the Seat of War was here more certain.

Masse Commander of *Glocester* Association, places a Guard at *Lipiat*, commands a party of Horse and Dragoons to *Strond*, and other Guards of Horse and Foot at places of Advantage; Sir *Jacob Astley* his Antagonist for the King draws out of *Cirencester* four Regiments of Horse to *Hampton Road*, divides his men three several ways, where each party ransacks, surprizes, and return with Prisoners and Spoil. And himself assaults the Guard at *Lipiat*, where he found slender Resistance, the Lieutenant slain and fifty common Souldiers, besides Prisoners and Spoil; and becomes so formidable, that he commands Contribution to the very Gates of *Glocester*.

Sir Jac. Astley
at Cirencester.

The Earl of *Worcester*, the Lord *Herbert*, and Sir *John Winter* procure from Prince *Maurice* at *Worcester* a Regiment of Horse and Dragoons for the service and use of *Lidney* Garison in the *Forest* of *Dean*, which hotly disputed with *Masse* ere they could get in; and so *Masse* draws off, when they of *Lidney* sally out upon *Sully* House a Mile distant; *Masse* comes to the Rescue, where both parties dispute to the close of neithers advantage, and so part.

Anno
1644

And now the Ordinance being passed for continuance of the Martial Law for four Moneths longer; Sir John Hotham and his Son came to their Trials.

The Earl of Manchester and others assigned to be their Judges sate in the Hustings Court at Guild-hall, London; the first of December, where the Father came first, and his Charge in effect:

That he had traiterously betrayed the trust reposed in him by the Parliament, and adhered to the Enemy, so be proved by his words, by his Letters, and by his actions: and,

1. *His compliance with the Enemy, the Lord Digby and the Marquess Newcastle.*
2. *His Refusal to supplie the Lord Fairfax with Amunition to the great Disservice of the Parliament, and prejudice of the Affairs in the North.*
3. *His uttering divers scandalous words against the Parliament and Close Committee.*
4. *His endeavouring to betray the Town of Hull to the Enemy.*
5. *His holding correspondencie with the Queen by severall Messengers.*
6. *His causing a Demi-culvering to be planted on the top of the Castle against the Town, and two Pieces in the Block-house to give fire on the Parliaments Ships.*
7. *His sending away Mayor Captain of the Ship Hercules.*
8. *His quitting of the Garison at Beverley, which strengthened the Town of Hull.*
9. *His endeavouring to escape, so soon as his Designs were discovered.*

All which were proved upon him by several Witnesses, above thirty persons, and that was the business of this day.

On Munday after he comes to his Defence, beginning with a tedious Narrative of his faithfulness in maintaining the Town of Hull against his Majestie at the beginning of the War, when he might have expected great preferment and advantage.

To the first Article he saith, *That Captain Mayor sailing forth to meet the Providence, the first Ship that brought the King Amunition, took a Catch in the River Humber, wherein was the Lord Digby in disguise of a French man, Col. Ashburnham, and Sir Edw. Stradling, whom he brought Prisoners to Hull, where the Lord Digby told him, that he was a Souldier of Fortune, and for his Libertie would adventure to the Enemy, and give Sir J. Hotham Intelligence, which accordingly he did, and returned several times, but at last gave the slip, and then sent a Letter of Inticement that he was the Lord Digby, and wished him to return to his Allegiance to his Sovereign; after which he had no further*

ther Treatie with him. That he treated with the Marquesse Newcastle was to no other end, but to keep the Riding of Yorkshire free from plunder for the maintenance of Hull, which was then destitute of money.

That for the Letters which he should send to the Marquess, He alledged he knew not but that they might be counterfeit, being only like his hand.

Then he proceeded by way of defence, producing Witnesses on his own part, which were Commissarie Coply, and other Knights and Gentlemen, on purpose only to take off the testimonie of Examinants against him, but they proved to little effect. And so after some daies spent in examining Witnesses pro and con, he was sentenced 7. December, to be carried back, and from thence to the place of Execution to suffer death, by having his head cut off.

Sentenced to death.

Two daies after comes his Son Captain Hotham to his Trial. His Charge against him was in effect, That he being a Commander in the Parliament Service, had Traiterously betrayed the Trust reposed in him, perfidiously adhering to the Enemy, all which would be proved; And was by the Advocate of the Court, the chief matters were these.

Captain Hotham arraigned.

That he had been disobedient to the Commands of the Lord Fairfax Commander in chief of the Northern Counties, and that he had refused to account for the Parliaments moneys raised in Yorkshire, and converted to his own use.

And for his adhering to the Enemy. It was instanced by his going into the Enemies Quarters, and returning without any ingagement.

His several private Treaties with the Enemy, under pretence of Exchanging Prisoners, and private discourse with the Marquesse Newcastle, twice by his own confession: and that the Marquesse offered him to be made a Lord, and to have General Gorings Command, or any other Honours if he would turn to the King. His omitting several opportunities to fight with the Enemy, and permitting a Convoy from the Queen with Arms upon her first landing at Burlington, and to passe to York without fighting.

That Lord General Cromwel being in Lincolnshire with him upon a Design against the Enemy, Hotham was to Charge the Right Wing, and Cromwel the Left, whom he Routed and Chased them above two miles, who returning, found the Enemies Right Wing unmoved and so Hotham had not charged at all.

That after the discovery of some of his Treachery and whilst committed prisoner to Nottingham Castle, he sent his Servant John Keyes (swearing him to secrecy) with a Message to the Queen then at Newark, how he was imprisoned, and to be speedily sent up to the Parliament or to the General, and prayes her Majesty to send a Party of Horse to rescue him:

and

Anno
1644.

and that he had a Regiment of Horse under his Command, and should be ready for the Service she expected in Lincolnshire. That his Company of Foot at Lincoln, the Town of Hull, Beverly, and the Ship called the Hercules were all at her Majesties Service.

That after his being released from Nottingham Castle he went to Lincoln, and gave out many scandalous Speeches inpective against the Parliament, with inticements to Colonel Rositer to betray his trust, who detesting such perfidie: Hotham went to Hull to his Father, and forthwith both of them received Letters from the Marquesse Newcastle about the betraying of Hull, and other matters. And that the day before they both were apprehended at Hull (18. June 1643.) Hotham writ to the Marquesse an Answer to his Letters (which were found in his Chamber sealed, not having time to send them away) wherein much of his treacherie was therein laid open.

On Thursday 12. Decemb. Hotham makes his defence large and verie formal from four afternoon till eight at night.

That he treated with the Enemy for the Parliaments advantage, in setting a course for exchange of Prisoners and the like, which he conceived he might doe without acquainting his Superiour, and to that purpose pleaded the priviledge of all Commanders, instancing divers, and that he knew no Law against it, nor was it prohibited by the Ordinance of War. That before he adventured upon Treaties, he still had advice of his Commander in Chief Sir John Hotham, and some of his own Captains.

That for his not fighting the Queens Convoy, they were far stronger, yet he attacked the Rear as far as he might with safety. And had learned this Maxim of War, that a Commander in Chief is not to adventure upon an Enemy, but upon advantage, or compelled by necessity.

That for the businesse betwixt him and Lord General Cromwel, He offered to prove that he charged the Enemies Right Wing to the utmost, though it proved not so effectual as the others Actions upon the Left Wing.

That when he was committed to Nottingham, not knowing his crimes, or by whose Order committed, He sent to his Father to Hull to enquire the cause, but denyed he sent his servant to the Queen, and made many Objections against his man Keyes testimonie therein.

The words which he spoke to Rositer he confessed, but were in passion, and he recalled them upon better thoughts, and very sorrowful, desiring that his Errors in Passion might not be drawn into Crimes.

And that had he intended to desert the Parliament, he should have advised with some of his Officers, and allured them with him, which he was confident could never be proved against him.

He confessed, that after he came to Hull, and before his last apprehending he and his Father received two Letters from the Marquess Newcastle, and that by his Fathers direction he writ a plausible Letter in Answer,

The Reign of King Charls.

743

Answer, the better to hold him in hand to enlarge their own Quarters about Hull, otherwise much straitned, and the like.

Anno

1644.

The Letter was thus.

To the Right Honourable William Earl of Newcastle.

My Noble Lord.

I confesse it is a great comfort to me in my distracted condition, that I am blest with a Friend of so much Truth and Nobleness. It is true, the fickleness of those men reduced me into that uncertainty, I never knew in what Condition I stood, and so I could not give satisfaction then according as you expected. Yet you will not finde that ever I shewed, or communicated your Letters to any, but those who were privy to it, and can add to the advancement of the Business in hand, and not any way to abuse you, as some would make you believe. The malice of my Enemies hath been violent against me, but God hath delivered me out of their hands. I never expected better from the Popularity, for none of those ever rewarded their best Citizens with any thing, but with Death or Banishment. As I resolved never to forsake the Party I had undertaken, untill they had without any cause, so disabled me, that no man can think that my Honour or Honesty is further engaged to serve them. I confess I now think my self a Freeman from them, and resolve by the grace of God never to serve them more. I cannot yet attend your Lordship, but I shall mightily deserve you, untill business be well framed here, which I hope will be shortly, if I could but obtain so much favour from you, that Sir Hugh Chomley might be commanded to forbear the East Riding one fortnight, else we shall be necessitated to be at blows with him continually, not that he can do any harm here, but he will mightily trouble us, whilst greater business should go forward. I desire to know whether were executed after his pardon. My Lord, if I be taken the second time, it shall be much against my will, especially by those that were themselves my friends. As soon as I have dispatched here, I shall attend you to know your commands to

Hothams Letter to the Earl of Newcastle.

Your most humble and affectionate
servant John Hotham.

Hull, June 28. 1643.

If you please to exchange Captain Wray for Major Sanderfon, I shall send to you.

And so on Tuesday 23. Decemb. had Sentence also to have his Head cut off.

The Execution of the Father Sir John Hotham was Ordered to be the 31. of Decemb. upon Tower Hill, and a multitude of people assembled, where the Scaffold, his Coffin, the Executioner, and all things in readinesse: but about eleven a clock in his way from the Tower, a Messenger came galloping with his Reprieve from the House of Lords till Saturday Janu. 4.

The

Anno
1644.

The Commons House conceived their Priviledge hereby thwarterd, and forthwith Ordered, *That no Officer or Minister of Justice established by both Houses of Parliament, shall hereafter staie Execution of Justice upon any particular Order, or Reprieve from either House, without the concurrence of both Houses.*

And sent to the Lieutenant of the Tower to Execute Sir *John* on Thursday next the second of *Januarie*.

His Son Captain *Hotham* suffered the first of *Janu*, although he Petitioned both Houses for mercy, Fine, or Banishment, there acknowledging his Guilt with great Reluctancy. Yet at the Scaffold speaking of his great Services to the Parliament, concluded, *That he knew no matter of Treason by himself, or his distressed Father, against the Parliamet*: and in many particulars arraigned the Proceedings of Parliament in a high measure. *And so had his head chopt off at a blow.*

But the next day, lest Sir *John* should talk so too, Mr. *Peters* the Preacher told the People that Sir *John* had in his Chamber fully discovered his mind to him, and so had the lesse to speak to them, which was, *that he was ungrateful, but he hoped that God had forgiven him.* But Mr. *Peters* went on, and told the people, that at Sir *John*'s first going out to be a Souldier at the Battle of *Prague*, his Father should say to him, *Son, when the Crown of England lies at stake, you will have fighting enough.* The people muttered, *had he taken his Fathers meaning, and fought for the Crown he had not been here to dye this day.*

But Mr. *Peters* would needs have him sing the Psalm usually offered at *Tyburn*, which poor Man he did, but to a heavy Tune: and so had his Head cut off also at a blow.

A couple of unfortunate creatures, subject to the censure of each adverse party, as having offended both. Yet much pittied by the One, against whom their Crimes were (in comparison) unpardonable, and had their Punishment by Sentence of the Other, to whose Service they might justly challenge a merit. Apostates they were to the King and Parliament both, and yet suffered for the lesse Offence: which the King thus observes upon his repulse at *Hull*, and their Fate that followed.

My repulse at Hull (sayes the King) seemed at the first view an act of so rude disloyaltie, that my greatest enemies had scarce confidence enough to abett, or own it: It was the first overt Essaie to be made, how patiently I could bear the losse of my Kingdoms.

God knows, it affected me more with shame and sorrow for others then with anger for my self: nor did the affront done to me trouble me so much as their sin, which admitted no colour or excuse.

I was resolved how to bear this, and much more with patience: but I fore-saw they could hardly contain themselves within the com-

passer

pass of this one unworthy act, who had effronterie enough to commit, or countenance it. This was but the hand of that cloud, which was soon after to overspread the whole Kingdom, and cast all into disorder and darknes.

For 'tis among the wicked Maxims of bold and disloyal undertakers, That bad actions must alwayes be seconded with worse; and rather not be begun, then not carried on; for they think the retreat more dangerous then the assault, and hate repentance more then perseverance in a fault.

This gave me to see clearly through all the pious disguises, and soft palliations of some men; whose words were sometime smother then oil, but now I saw they would prove very swords.

Against which, I having (as yet) no defence, but that of a good Conscience, thought it my best policie (with patience) to bear what I could not remedie: And in this (I thank God) I had the better of Hotham, that no disdain, or emotion of passion transported me by the indignitie of his carriage, to do or say any thing unbecoming my self, or unsutable to that temper, which, in greatest injuries, I think best becom's a Christian, as coming nearest to the great example of Christ.

And, indeed, I desire alwaies more to remember I am a Christian, then a King; for what the Majestie of one may justly abhor, the charitie of the other is willing to bear; what the height of a King tempteth to revenge, the humility of a Christian teacheth to forgive. Keeping in compasse all those impotent passions, whose excess injure's a man, more then his greatest enemies can; for these give their malice a full impression on our soules, which otherwaies cannot reach very far, nor do us much hurt.

I cannot but observe how God not long after so pleaded and avenged my cause, in the eye of the world, that the most wilfully blinde cannot avoid the displeasure to see it, and with some remorse and fear to own it as a notable stroak and prediction of Divine vengeance.

First, Sir John Hotham, unreproached, unthreatned, uncursed by any language or secret imprecation of mine, only blasted with the conscience of his own wickedness, and falling from one inconstancie to another, not long after paie's his own and his eldest Son's heads, as forfeitures of their disloyaltie, to those men, from whom surely he might have expected an other reward then thus, to divide their heads from their bodie's, whose hearts with them were divided from their King.

Nor is it strange that they, who imploied them at first in so high a service, and so successful to them, should not finde mercie enough to forgive him, who had so much permerited of them: For Apostacie unto Loialtie some men account the most unpardonable sin.

Anno
1644.

Nor did a solitarie vengeance serve the turn; the cutting off one head in a Family is not enough to expiate the affront don to the Head of the Common-weal. The eldest Son must be involved in the punishment, as he was infected with the sin of the Father, against the Father of his Countrey: Root and Branch God cut's off in one day.

These observations are obvious to every fancie: God knows I was so far from rejoicing in Hotham's ruin, though it were such as was able to give the greatest thirst for revenge a full draught, (being executed by them who first imploied him against me) that I so far pitied him as I thought he at first acted more against the light of his Conscience, then I hope other men do in the same cause.

For he was never thought to be of that superstitious sowerness, which some men pretend to, in matters of Religion; which so darkens their judgment that they cannot see any thing of Sin and Rebellion in those means they use with intents to reform to their Models what they call Religion, who think all is gold of pietie, which doth but glister with a shew of zeal and fervency.

Sir John Hotham was (I think) a man of another temp. crand so most liable to those down-right temptations of ambition, which have no cloak or cheat of Religion to impose upon themselves or others.

That which makes me more pittie him, is, that after he began to have some inclinations towards a repentance for his sin, and reparation of his duty to me, he should be so unhappie as to fall into the hands of their Justice, and not my mercy, who could as willingly have forgiven him, as he could have asked that favour of me.

For I think Clemency a debt, which we ought to pay to those that crave it, when we have cause to believe they would not after abuse it; since God himself suffers us not to pay any thing for his mercy but only prayers and praises.

Poor Gentleman, he is now becom a notable monument of unprosperous Disloyalty; teaching the world by so sad and unfortunate a spectacle, that the rude carriage of a Subject towards his Sovereign carries alwaies its own vengeance, as an unseparable shadow with it; and those oft prove the most fatal and implacable Executioners of it, who were the first Employers in the service.

After-times will dispute it, whether Hotham were more infamous at Hull, or at Tower-Hill, though 'tis certain that no punishment so stains a mans Honour, as wilful perpetrations of unworthy actions; which, besides the conscience of the sin, brands, with most indelible characters of infamy, the name and memory to posterity; who, not engaged in the Factions of the times, have the most impartial reflections on the actions.

The squeamish stomachs of the Scottish Army, could not brook the

Anno
1644.

A new Government of the Church voted.

the Orders and ceremonies of the Church of *England* in and about their Quarters at *Newcastle*, and therefore they write to the Committee of both Kingdoms at *Westminster*, of the disorders of the Church in several parts of this Kingdom, and desire a settlement of Religion in the Worship of God, and government of the Church. Which no sooner conceived, but instantly the Parliament confer and concur; that the Assembly of Divines should speedily bring in such particulars as they had digested for finishing a government of the Church, to be approved by the Houses. *November 4.* the *Scots* Letters was seconded the same day with a Petition subscribed by thousands of hands, (the easy and old way of signing *John a Nokes* and *John a Stiles* to make up a confused number) confirming the *Scots* desires, and that such as do refuse the Covenant might be punished. If a due and orderly course had been herein, they might have punished many Members that made this Law who never took that Covenant.

The Assembly were ready, and by the 12. day resolved upon the Presbyterial way, but being now in hot sent, divers Divines dissented, and spent much time in the debate of the House. And by the 22. of *November* they had finished so far as concerning Prayer, reading of Chapters, Preaching and Baptisme, but as to the Sacrament of the Lords Supper it was committed: and soon resolved all may receive but the prophane and ignorant. How rightly to discern, such is that which puzzled the chair-Man. Then the Parliament vote the Abolishing of the Book of Common Prayers; and as earnest the same day for passing an Ordinance against the Arch Bishop of *Canterbury*; so that he and the Book were Martyred together. Hereupon the King concludeth.

It is no news (sayes He) to have all Innovations ushered in with the name of Reformation in Church and State, by those, who, seeking to gain reputation with the Vulgar for their extraordinary parts and piety, must needs undo what ever was formerly settled never so well and wisely.

Eikon. Bas.
Cap. 16.

So hardly can the Pride of those that studie Noveltyes allow former times any share or degree of wisdom or godlinesse.

And because matter of Praier and Devotion to God justly bears a great part in Religion, (being the Souls more immediate converse with the Divine Majestie) nothing could be more plausible to the People then to tell them, They served God amiss in that point.

Hence our publick Liturgie, or Forms of constant Praiers must be not amended (in what upon free and publick advice might seem to sober men inconvenient for matter or manner, to which I should easily consent) but wholly cashiered and abolished; and, after many popular

Anno

1644.

contempts offered to the Book, and those that used it according to their Consciences and the Laws in force, it must be crucified by an Ordinance, the better to please either those men, who gloried in their extemporarie vein and fluency, or others, who conscious to their own formalitie in the use of it, thought they fully expiated their sin of not using it aright, by laying all the blame upon it, and a total rejection of it as a dead letter, thereby to excuse the deadnes of their hearts.

As for the matter contained in the Book, sober and learned men have sufficiently vindicated it against the cavils and exceptions of those, who thought it a part of piety to make what prophane objections they could against it, especially for Poperie and Superstition; whereas no doubt the Liturgie was exactly conformed to the doctrine of the Church of England; and this by all Reformed Churches is confessed to be most sound and Orthodox.

For the manner of using Set and Prescribed Forms, there is no doubt but that wholsome words, being known and fitted to mens understandings, are soonest received into their hearts, and aptest to excite and carrie along with them Judicious and Feruent Affections.

Nor do I see any reason why Christians should be weary of a well-composed Liturgie (as I hold this to be) more then of all other things, wherein the Constancie abates nothing of the excellencie and usefulness.

I could never see any Reason, why any Christian should abhor, or be forbidden to use the same Forms of Praier, since he praies to the same God, believes in the same Saviour, professeth the same truths, reads the same Scriptures, hath the same duties upon him, and feels the same daily wants for the most part, both inward and outward, which are common to the whole Church.

Sure, we may as well before-hand know what we pray, as to whom we pray, and in what words, as to what sence; when we desire the same things, what hinders we may not use the same words? our appetite and digestion too, may be good when we use, as we pray for, Our daily bread.

Some men, I hear, are so impatient not to use in all their devotions their own invention and gifts, that they not only dis-use (as too many) but wholly cast away and contemn the Lord's Prayer; whose great guilt is, that it is the warrant and original pattern of all set Liturgies in the Christian Church.

I ever thought that the proud ostentation of mens abilities for invention, and the vain affectations of variety for expressions, in Publick Praier, or any Sacred Administrations, merits a greater brand of sin, then that which they call Coldness and Barrenness: Nor are men in those Novelties lesse subject to formal and superficial tempers (as to their hearts) then in the use of constant Forms, where not the words, but mens hearts are to blame.

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I make no doubt but a man may be very formal in the most extemporary variety; and very fervently devout in the most wonted expressions: Nor is God more a God of variety, then of constancy: Nor are constant Forms of Praiers more likely to flat, and hinder the Spirit of Praier and Devotion, then un-premeditated and confused variety to distract and lose it.

Though I am not against a grave, modest, discreet and humble use of Ministers gifts, even in Publick, the better to fit and excite their own, and the peoples affections to the present occasions; yet I know no necessity why private and single abilities should quite jumble out, and deprive the Church of the joynt abilities and concurrent gifts of many learned and godly men; such as the Composers of the Service-Book were; who may in all reason be thought to have more of gifts and graces enabling them to compose with serious deliberation and concurrent advise, such Forms of Praiers, as may best fit the Churches common wants, inform the Hearers understanding, and stir up that fiduciarie and fervent application of their Spirits (wherein consists the very life and soul of Praier, and that so much pretended Spirit of Praier) then any private man by his solitary abilities can be presumed to have; which, what they are many times (even there, where they made a great noise and shew) the affectations, emptiness, impertinencie, rudeness, confusions, flatness, levity, obscurity, vain and ridiculous repetitions; the senselesse, and oft-times blasphemous expressions; all these burthened with a most tedious and intolerable length, do sufficiently convince all men, but those who glory in that Pharisaick way. Wherein men must be strangely impudent, and flatterers of themselves, not to have an infinite shame of what they so do and say, in things of so sacred a nature, before God and the Church, after so ridiculous, and, indeed, profane a manner.

Nor can it be expected, but that, in duties of frequent performance, as Sacramental administrations, and the like, which are still the same, Ministers must either come to use their own Forms constantly, which are not like to be so sound, or comprehensive of the nature of the duty, as Forms of Publick composure; or else they must every time affect new expressions when the subject is the same; which can hardly be presumed in any mans greatest sufficiencies not to want (many times) much of that compleatness, order, and gravity, becoming those duties; which by this means are exposed at every celebration to every Ministers private infirmities, indispositions, errors, disorders, and defects, both for judgement, and expression.

A serious sense of which inconvenience, in the Church, unavoidably following every mans several manner of officiating, no doubt, first occasioned the wisdom and piety of the Antient Churches, to remedy those mischiefs, by the use of constant Liturgies of Publick composure.

The want of which I believe this Church will sufficiently feel, when the

Anno

1644.

the unhappie fruits of many mens ungovern'd Ignorance, and confident Defects, shall be discovered in more Errours, Schisms, Disorders, and uncharitable Distractiōns in Religion, which are alreadie but too many, the more pitie.

However, if violence must needs bring in and abet those Innovations, (that men may not seem to have nothing to do) which Law, Reason, and Religion forbid, at least to be so obruded, as wholly to juttle out the publick Liturgie: Yet nothing can excuse that most unjust and partial severitie of those men, who either lately had subscribed to, used, and maintained the Service Book; or, refusing to use it, cried out of the Rigour of Laws and Bishops, which suffered them not to use the Libertie of their Consciences, in not using it.

That these men (I say) should so suddenly change the Liturgy into a Directorie, as if the Spirit needed help for Invention, though not for expressions; or as if matter prescribed did not as much stint and obstruct the Spirit, as if it were clothed in, and confined to fit words: (So slight and easie is that Legerdemain which will serve to delude the Vulgar) That further, they should use such severitie as not to suffer, without penaltie, any to use the Common Prayer Book publickly, (although their Consciences binde them to it, as a Dutie of Pietie to God, and Obedience to the Laws.) —

Thus I see, no men are prone to be greater Tyrants, and more rigorous Exacters upon others to conform to their illegal Novelties, than such, whose pride was formerly least disposed to the obedience of lawful Constitutions; and whose licentious humours most pretended conscientious Liberties; which Freedom, with much Regret, they now allow to me, and my Chaplains, (when they may have leave to serve me,) whose Abilities, even in their extemporarie way comes not short of the others, but their Modestie and Learning far exceeds the most of them.

But this matter is of so popular a nature, as some men knew it would not bear learned and sober Debates, lest, being convinced by the Evidence of Reason, as well as Laws, they should have been driven either to sin more against their knowledg, by taking away the Liturgy; or to displease some Faction of the people by continuing the use of it.

Though I believe they have offended more considerable men, not onely for their Numbers and Estate, but for their weightie and judicious Pietie, than those are, whose weakness or giddiness they sought to gratifie by taking it away.

One of the greatest Faults some men found with the Common Prayer Book, I believe, was this, That it taught them to pray so oft for me; to which Petitions they had not Loyaltie enough to say Amen, nor yet Charitie enough to forbear Reproaches, and even Cursings of me in their own Forms, in stead of praying for me.

I wish their Repentance may be their onely punishment; that, seeing the Mischiefs which the Disuse of publick Liturgies hath already produced, they may restore that credit, use and Reverence to them, which by

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the ancient Churches were given to Set Forms of sound and wholesome words.

Anno

1644.

But *Praier* upon all occasions must be *ex tempore*, and to pick and chuse what *Chapters* or *Psalms* the Minister pleaseth; but before and after *Sermon* to conclude with the *Pater noster*, Novemb. 26.

For *Baptism* it must be in the *Church*, the manner referred to the use of *French* and other *Reformed Churches*, beyond Seas.

And afterwards came in the *Directorie* for *Mariages*, *Visitation of the Sick*, and the whole compleated by the *Commons*, Decemb. 23.

But in respect of many dissenting *Brethren* of the *Assemblee*, it was referred to a *Committee* before it should be born up to the *Lords*, and onely three hundred of them printed to be distributed to the *Members*, to seek God for his direction.

And at length complete, Mr. *Rous* carries it up to the *Lords*, *Januarie* 1. and so it was printed for the publick use of all people.

And the two *Scribes* of the *Assemblee* whose pains are considered therein, and are to partake equally in the profits, *Fan.* 4.

And the same Day passed the Ordinance also for attainting the Arch-bishop of *Canterburie* of high *Treason*.

Thus much for *Church-worship*, and now they consider of the *Presbyterial* way for *Government* of the *Church*, and the dissenting *Assemblers* having printed their *Reasons* for each Member of the *Commons*, a strict Order was, That no man presume to reprint or to disperse any of those *Reasons* as they will answer it at their perils.

Certainly they were though dispersed, and so satisfactory against the *Presbyterial* way, which is the reason they were strictly inquired for and suppressed.

And on the sixth of *Januarie* the *Commons House* resolve, That to have a *Presbyterie* in the *Church* is according to the Word of God.

And the same day provision is made for such of the *Assemblee* that have lost their Means to have better subsistence: and so having never any, or lost but little, they were preferred to the best places in *England*, and some to *Pluralities*.

But on they go, to order the Train of *Pastors*, *Doctors*, *Teachers*, *Elders*, *Deacons*, &c. Officers of the *Church*. And good God how this new manner wrought upon many.

The Prince *Elector* was come over, and who but he must be ordered by Parliament, to sit with the *Assemblee*, and to have a print of the dissenting *Reasons*; so that it was said, (not in earnest) that he was sent *Nuntio* from the *Palatinate* to direct our *Directorie*.

And then what *Debates*, *Resolutions*, *Votes*, *Orders*, *Ordinances*, about the use of *Classes*, several *Congregations* under one *Classis*, and that the *Church* should be governed by *Congregational*, *Classical*, *Synodical Assemblies*, which made such work among the weaker sort, as that it was suspected, those hard words would disturb the doctrinal part, as it did.

We

Anno

1644

Parliaments
Propositions
for Peace.

We have heretofore observed how oft the King had sent to the Parliament for a Treaty of Peace, and now being returned from the West, and settled at Oxford, they by a Committee of *English* and *Scottish* (for now they are joyned in all publick affairs) present him with their Desires and Propositions for a Peace, agreed upon by mutual consent of the Parliaments of both Kingdoms, united by Solemn League and Covenant. *Novemb. 23.*

1. That by Act of Parliament in each Kingdom respectively, all Oaths, Declarations, and Proclamations, against both or either Houses of the Parliament of England, and the late Convention of the Estates in Scotland, and their proceedings, &c. be declared null.
2. The King to swear and sign the late Solemn League and Covenant, and the taking thereof by all the Subjects of the three Kingdoms.
3. To pass the Bill for the utter abolishing of Bishops Root and Branches, agreeing with the late Treatie at Edinburgh, *Novemb. 29. 1643.*
4. To confirm the Ordinances for the settling of the Assemblie of Divines.
5. That Reformation be settled by Act of Parliament, as the Houses shall agree upon, according to the Covenant, &c.
6. That Papists abjure and renounce the Pope, Transubstantiation, Purgatorie, Images; if not, to be therefore convicted; and severe Laws to be made against them.
7. Their Children to be educated Protestants.
8. To give his royal assent to several Acts and Bills to be passed, as is named,

An Act in the Parliaments of both Kingdoms respectively, for confirmation of their Treaties, viz. the large Treatie, for coming in of the Scots, and the settling of Barwick, and for Ireland, and all other proceedings between the two Kingdoms by Treaties.

An Act to avoid the Cessation of Ireland, and to prosecute the War there by Orders of Parliament.

To establish the joint Declaration of both Kingdoms, Dated Jan. 30. 1643. in England, and 1644. in Scotland.

With these Qualifications, viz.

That the persons without pardon are these to be excepted.

Princes Rupert and Maurice, the Earls of Bristol, Derby, Newcastle, the Lords Cottington, Pawlet, Digby, Littleton, Arch-bishop of Canterbury, Bishop of Ely, Sir Robert Heath, Bishop of Derry, Sir William Widrington, Colonel Goring, and these Knights, Hopton, Dodington, Ratcliff, Langdale, Hothams Father and Son, Vaughan, Windebank, Greenville, Hide, Morley, Cole, Riddell, Ware, Strongways, Culpeper, Floyd. Esquires Endimion Porter, Henry Jermin, Jo. Bodeville, David Jenkins, Sir George Strode, Sir Alexander Carew.

The Reign of King Charls.

753

With twice so many Earls, Lords, Bishops, Knights, and Gentlemen of Scotland.

Anno

1644.

All Papists that have, are, or shall be in Arms against either Parliaments, or of the Rebellion in Ireland.

Then are excepted all those of the then Parliament of Oxford; and all such of Scotland that have assisted the King there.

All such as have deserted either Parliaments of both Kingdoms.

The Estates of such unpardonable, to pay publick Debts.

The tenth part of all other Delinquents within the joint Declaration.

Then follows other Acts, which the Parliaments shall mannage.

For arming the Kingdoms, settling the Admiralties, to name Commissioners.

That all Honours and Titles given since the great Seal went to the King, viz. May 21. 1642. or hereafter to be made, shall be null. Not to vote in Parliaments; and so for Scotland since June 4. 1644.

The Governours of Ireland, and the great Officers of both Kingdoms be nominated by the Parliaments of both Kingdoms.

The like for Scotland.

The Kings Children to be governed and married.

The Prince Elector to be restored.

Peace and War.

Act of Oblivion.

Armies disbanded.

All these as the Parliaments of both Kingdoms shall order.

Thus much in general.

Now for the City of London. Acts for them.

Their Charters, Customs, Liberties to be confirmed notwithstanding any Non-user, Mis-user, or Abuser.

The Militia of London and the Liberties.

The Tower of London to be in the Mayor and Common-Council.

The Citizens not to be drawn out of London to any service.

The Acts of the Mayor and Common Council heretofore and hereafter to confirm, as if by Act of Parliaments.

And these being granted, they will endeavour that the King shall live in splendour, &c.

'Tis true that all the Kings party were impatient for Peace, which obliged the King to shew his real Intentions, being assured, that if he could come to a fair Treaty, the chief of the Parliaments party could not hinder the Peace; first, because themselves are weary of the War; and next, because of their Distractions, Presbyterians against Independents in Religion, and General against Gene-

ANNO

1644.

ral in point of Command. Upon these grounds, the most probable means for the King to procure a Treaty, was to be used, and the noise was therefore published of the Kings return to London, the best Rhetorick to please the Popular, that thereupon a Treaty would be procured, or if refused, it would bring most prejudice to the Parliament, and advantage to the King: for although he offered fair Propositions, yet they were mixed with such Conditions, as might not easily be admitted, and so the Kings offer did but amaze the people into a milder opinion of his proceedings.

These Propositions for the present were neglected as unlimited, yet the King imagined that in a Treaty Commissioners might Argue them into Reason, and so returns the Messengers, that he will send to the Houses; which he did forthwith by this Letter.

CHARLES REX.

The Propositions presented to his Majesty being very long, which contain matters in themselves of great weight and importance, as being in great part in alteration of the frame of Government both in Church and State. And the Messengers who presented them, declaring that they have no power to treat or consent to any alteration, it cannot be expected that his Majesty shall return a Present Particular and Positive Answer.

But as he hath (from his soul) alwaies desired the settling of an happy peace in this distracted Kingdom, for that purpose hath from time to time tendred all possible Overtures, in hope that all will work upon the hearts of all persons concerned, That even this apprehension (such as it is) upon further thought and consideration may produce some good effect towards it, to which his Majestie calls God to witness, therein shall nothing be wanting on his part which is agreeable to Justice, Honour, and Conscience, and there shall all possible expedition be used in preparing his Majesties Answer, yet he intends speedily to send by Messengers of his own, and to that purpose that there may be no losse of time, He desires safe conduct be speedily for the Duke of Richmond, and the Earl of Southampton with their attendance to bring up his Majesties said Answer. And his Majesty doth heartily wish, that God may so deal with him and his, as he endeavours all just and lawful waies to restore this poor Kingdom to a lasting and happy peace:

Oxford 27. Novem. 1644.

G. Digby Secretary.

The Parliament excepts against this Letter, as directed to Nobody, the Parliament not so much as named therein. And it was remembered that the Lord Digby by his Letters told them long since, That the Foundation upon which the King did build all his designs, was never to acknowledge this a Parliament, and that if he receded from that

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Maxim, the King would undoe himself, and all those that have appeared for him. Yet after long debate, it was resolved that their General Essex do forthwith return a Letter to Prince Rupert (who in the absence of the Lord Brainford appears the Kings Lieutenant General) That if his Majesty shall send to the Parliament of England Assembled at Westminster, and to the Commissioners of the Parliament of the Kingdom of Scotland, they will with all readines grant a safe conduct for the Duke of Richmond and the Earl of Southampton, and treat with them according to his Majesties desire. Which was so acknowledged by Prince Rupert in his Majesties Name, and directed to the Earl of Essex, and so they were received into Somerset House with this Order, That no Member visit, or speak, or send any Message to either of them during their stay here. And had audience of a Committee of twenty four Lords, and twenty eight Commons, and the Scottish Commissioners in the Painted Chamber, which was in effect only, That the King designed a Treaty, and time speedily to be fixed, and to be certified by those Messengers; but they had Answer of both Houses that they would hasten, and so required them to return back.

Upon the rumour of this intended Treaty, and hereafter of a peace, the King was assured that the Parliaments chief Articles would be to continue the *Irish Wars*.

Indeed this Article of *Ireland* was a tender point, and the King resolved not only not to break the Cessation, but to make peace with the Rebels, to which end he had promised the Queen in *France* of some favours to the Catholicks of *Ireland*. And expressly a little before the Treaty he writes to the Marquesse of *Ormond*; That he is sorry to finde the sad condition of his particular fortune, for which, saies he, I cannot finde so good and speedy remedy as the peace of *Ireland*, and to redresse most necessary affairs here. Wherefore I command you to dispatch it out of hand, with this Addition to my former dispatch. And for *Poinings Act* I refer you to my other Letter, and for matter of Religion, I doe hereby promise them, (and command you to see it done) that the Penal Statutes against Roman Catholicks shall not be put in execution; the Peace being made, and they remaining in their due obedience; and further, that when the *Irish* gives me that assistance which they have promised for this suppression of this Rebellion, and I shall be restored to my Rights, then I will consent to the Repeal of them by a Law, but all those against Appeals to Rome and Premunire must stand.

This being in Cipher he is commanded to impart to none but to *Brown*, the Lord Muskery, and *Plunket*, and that with injunction of strict secrecie, and concludes his Letter again for his speedy dispatch of the Peace of *Ireland*, and his necessary supply fromthence,

15. Decemb. 1644. Oxford.

Directions to
Ormond to
make peace
with the Re-
bels in Ireland

Anno
1644.

Then so soon as the Treaty was on foot, the King writes again to Ormond.

Upon the great Rumours and expectations now of Peace, I think it necessary to tell you; That the Rebels here have agreed to Treat, and most assuredly one of the first and chiefest Articles they will insist on, will be to continue the Irish War: Which is a point not popular for me to treat on, of which you are to make a double use. First, to hasten (with all possible diligence) the Peace there, the timely conclusion of which will take off that inconvenience, which otherwise I may be subject unto by the refusal of that Article upon any other reason. Secondly, by dexterous conveying to the Irish the danger that may be of their total and perpetual exclusion from these Favours I intend them, in case the Rebels here clap up a Peace with Me upon reasonable terms, and only exclude them which possibly were not counselable for me to refuse, if the Irish Peace should be the only difference betwixt us, before it were perfected there. These I hope are sufficient Grounds for you, to perswade the Irish to dispatch a Peace upon reasonable terms, assuring them, that when you have once fully engaged my Word (in the conclusion of a Peace) all the earth shall not make me break it.

But not doubting of a Peace, I must again remember you to presse the Irish, for their speedy assistance to me here, and their friends in Scotland. My intentions being to draw from thence into Wales (the peace being once concluded) as many as I can of my Armed Protestant Subjects, and desire that the Irish would send as great a Body as they can to land about Cumberland, which will put these Northern Counties in a brave condition. Provide all the Shiping you may, as well Dunkirk as Irish Bottoms, and remember that after March it will be difficult to transport into England, the Rebels being Masters of the Seas. 7. Jan. Oxford.

Memorials for
Secretary Nicholas at the
Treaty.

But the Treaty assigned at Uxbridge, and the day neer at hand, the thirtieth of January the King gives these Memorials to Secretary Nicholas.

First, For Religion and Church Government, the King will not goe one jot further then is by you offered already.

Secondly, And so for the Militia, more then what you have allowed by me, but even in that you must observe that I must have free Nomination of the full half; as if the total number, Scots and all be thirty, I will name fifteen. Yet if the Parliament will be so unworthy as to admit of ten Scots to twenty English, I am contented to name five Scots and ten English, and so proportional to any number.

As for gaining of particular persons, besides security, promise them rewards for performed Services, not sparing to ingage for Places, so they be not of great Trust, nor to dispossesse honest men, but as much profit as you will, with this last you are only to acquaint Richmond, Southampton, Culpepper and Hide. And

The Reign of King Charls.

757

And the King gives directions to his Commissioners in writing, thus.

Anno

1644.

First concerning Religion.

In this the Government of the Church (as I suppose) will be the chief Question, wherein these two things are to be considered, Conscience and Policy: in the first, I cannot yield to the change of the Government of Bishops, not only as I concur with the most general opinion of Christians in all Ages, as being the best; but likewise I hold my self particularly bound by the Oath I took at my Coronation not to alter the Government of the Church from what I found it. And as for the Churches Patrimony, I cannot suffer any diminution or alienation of it: it being without peradventure Sacrilege, and likewise contrary to the former Oath. But whatsoever shall be offered for rectifying of abuses if any hath crept in, or yet for the ease of tender Consciences (so that it endamage not the Foundation) I am content to hear, and will be ready to give a Gracious Answer.

Directions to
the Kings
Commissioners to treat.

For the second (Policy) as the Kings duty is to protect the Church, so it is the Churches to assist the King in the maintenance of his just Authority; wherefore my Predecessors have been alwaies careful (especially since the Reformation) to keep the dependency of the Clergy intirely upon the Crown, without which, it will scarcely sit fast upon the Kings Head. Therefore doe nothing to change or lessen this necessary dependence.

Concerning the Militia.

After Conscience, this is certainly the fittest Subject for a Kings quarrel; for without it, the Kings Power is but a shadow; and therefore upon no means to be quitted, but to be maintained according to the Ancient Lawes of the Land; Yet (because to attain to this so much wished Peace by all good men) It is in a manner necessary that sufficient and real security be given for performance of Agreement. I permit you therefore, either by leaving strong Towns or other Military Forces into their possession (until Articles be performed) to give such assurance for performance of Conditions as you shall judge necessary for to conclude a peace. Provided alwaies, that you take (at least) as great care by sufficient security, that Conditions be performed to me. And to make sure, that the Peace once settled, all things shall return into their Ancient Channels.

For Ireland.

I confess they have very specious popular Arguments to presse this Point, the gaining no Article more conducing to their ends then this. And I have as much reason, both in Honour and Policy, to take care how

Anno

1644.

to answer this, as any: All the world knows the eminent inevitable necessity, which caused me to make the Irish Cessation, and there remain yet as strong Reasons, for the concluding of that Peace: wherefore you must consent to nothing to hinder me therein, until a clear way be shown to me, how my Protestant Subjects there may probably (at least) defend themselves: and that I shall have no more need to defend my Conscience and Crown from the Injuries of this Rebellion.

The Protestation consented unto and taken by his Majesties Commissioners appointed to Treat.

I A. B. One of the Commissioners assigned by his Majesty for this present Treaty at Uxbridge, doe protest and promise in the sight of Almighty God, that I will not disclose, nor reveale unto any Person or Persons whatsoever (who is not a Commissioner) any matter or thing that shall be spoken of, during the Treaty, by any one or more of his Majesties Commissioners in any private Debate amongst our selves, concerning the said Treaty; so as to name or describe directly or indirectly, the person or persons that shall speak any such matter or thing, unlesse by the consent of all the said Commissioners that shall be then living.

Memorandum, That it is by all the said Commissioners agreed, that this shall not binde where any ten of the Commissioners shall agree to certify his Majesty the number of the Assenters or Dissenters, upon any particular result in this Treaty, not naming or describing the persons.

Treaty at
Uxbridge.

Upon the Kings former Message from Evesham July 4. And his second Message from Tavestock Septem. 8. and the consideration of the Parliaments late Propositions sent to the King at Oxford Novem. 23. which he Answered in the general, the effect whereof produced an offer of the King for a Treaty, so that at last it was assented unto, and Commissioners appointed on all sides for the King, and for the Parliament of England and the Parliament of Scotland to Treat at Uxbridge the 30. of January.

The day came, and after eithers Commission was assented unto, the Kings Commissioners complain against one Mr. Love, who preached in Uxbridge to the people that very day, Thursday Market day, Telling them, that the Kings Commissioners came with hearts full of bloud, and that there is as great distance between this Treaty and Peace, as between Heaven and Hell. With divers other seditious passages against the King and his Treaty. It was Answered that Mr. Love was none of their Train, and that they would present this Complaint to the Parliament, who will no doubt proceed in justice therein, who was sent to the Parliament, and slightly blamed, but grew into so much favour with a Faction, and therein very bold, that we shall finde him hereafter a Traitor, and sentenced:

ced to be hanged, drawn and quartered, but had the favour of the Ax. The observable end of many such in these times.

Anno
1644.

Commissioners pro Rege.

Commissioners pro Parl.

Duke of *Richmond* and *Lenox*.
Marquess of *Hertford*.
Earl of *Southampton*.
Earl of *Kingston*.
Earl of *Chichester*.
Lord *Capel*.
Lord *Seamour*.
Lord *Hatton*.
Lord *Culpepper*.
Sir *Edward Nicholas*.
Sir *Edward Hide*.
Sir *Richard Lane*.
Sir *Thomas Grandure*.
Sir *Orlando Bridgeman*.
Mr. *Jo. Ashburnham*.
Mr. *Jeffery Palmer*.
Doctor *Stuard*.

Earl of *Northumberland*.
Earl of *Pembroke & Montgomery*.
Earl of *Salisbury*.
Earl of *Denbigh*.
Lord *Wenman*.
Mr. *Hollis*.
Mr. *Pierpoint*.
Sir *Hen. Vane Junior*.
Mr. *Crew*.
Mr. *Whitlock*.
Mr. *St. Johns*.
Mr. *Prideaux*.
Lord *London*.
Sir *Charles Erskene*.
Mr. *Doudas*.
Mr. *Brackley*.
Mr. *Henderfon*.

} Scots Com-
missioners.

Then they proceed to their Order of Treaty, 1. concerning Religion. 2. Militia. 3. Ireland.

But ere the Treaty began, this Paper was delivered in to the Commissioners of Parliament from the other, for reconciling all differences in the Matter of Religion, and procuring a Peace we are willing,

The Kings
Commission-
ers offers con-
cerning Reli-
gion.

1. That freedom be left to all Persons of what opinion soever in Matters of Ceremony, and that all the penalties of the Lawes and Customs which enjoin these penalties be suspended.
2. That the Bishops shall exercise no Act of Jurisdiction, or Ordination, without the consent and Councel of the Presbyters, who shall be chosen by the Clergy of each Diocess, out of the Learnedst and gravest Ministers of that Diocess.
3. That the Bishop keep his constant Residence in his Diocess, except when he shall be required by his Majesty to attend him on any occasion; and that if he be not hindered by the Infirmary of old age, or sickness: he preach every Sunday in some Church within his Diocess.
4. That the Ordination of Ministers shall be alwayes in the Publick and Solemn Manner, and very strict rules observed concerning the sufficiency and other qualifications of those men who shall be received into holy Orders: And the Bishop shall not receive any into holy

Anno

1644

holy Orders without the Approbation and consent of the Presbyters or the Major part of them.

5. *That competent Maintenance be established by Parliament, to such Vicarages as belong to Bishops, Deans and Chapters, out of the Impropriations according to their value of the severall Parishes.*
6. *That no Man shall be capable of two Parsonages, or Vicarages with cure of Souls.*
7. *That toward the settling of the Publick peace, a hundred thousand pounds shall be raised by Parliament, out of the estates of Bishops, Deans and Chapters, in such manner as the King and Parliament shall think fit, without the Alienation of any of the said Lands.*
8. *That the Jurisdiction in causes Testamentary, Decimals and Matrimonials, be settled in such a manner as shall seem most convenient by the King and Parliament. And likewise that Acts to be passed for regulating of Visitations, and against immoderate Fees in Ecclesiastical Courts, and abuses by frivolous Excommunications, and all other abuses in Ecclesiastical Jurisdictions as shall be agreed upon by King and Parliament.*

And if the Parliaments Commissioners will insist upon any other things which they shall think necessary for Religion, the Kings Commissioners shall very willingly apply themselves to the consideration thereof.

But no Answer was given thereto.

The Parliaments Commissioners paper concerning Religion.

That the Bill be passed for Abolishing and taking away of all Archbishops, Bishops, &c. according to the third Proposition.

That the Ordinances concerning the calling and sitting of the Assembly of Divines, be confirmed by Act of Parliament.

That the Directory for Publick Worship already passed both Houses, and the Propositions concerning Church Government annexed and passed both Houses, be Enacted as a part of Reformation of Religion, and Uniformity according to the first Proposition.

That His Majesty take the Solemn League and Covenant, and that the Covenants be enjoined to be taken according to the second Proposition.

To this was annexed the following Paper.

That the ordinary way of dividing Christians into distinct Congregations, and most expedient for edification is by the respective bounds of their dwellings.

That the Minister and the Church Officers in each Congregation, shall joyn in the Government of the Church, as shall be established by Parliament.

That many particular Congregations shall be under one Presbyterial Government.

Government.

That the Church be Governed by Congregational, Classsical and Synodical Assemblies, to be established by Parliament.

That Synodical Assemblies shall consist both of Provincial and National Assemblies.

Anno

1644.

Which Papers suffered three dayes of the Treaty in dispute. The next three dayes were ordered for the *Militia*, and was afterwards resumed for other three dayes.

Propositions concerning the Militia, 4 February.

We desire that the Subject of England may be Armed, Trained and Disciplined as the Parliament shall think fit.

That the like for Scotland as the Parliament there shall think fit.

An Act for settling the Admiralty, and forces at Sea, and monies thereto for maintenance, may be as the Parliament shall think fit. The like for Scotland.

An Act for settling all forces by Sea and Land in Commissioners to be named by Parliament, and as both Kingdoms shall confide in, and to suppress all powers and forces contrary hereto, and to act as they shall be directed by Parliament.

So for the Kingdom of Scotland.

That the Militia of the City London, and of the Parishes without London, and the Liberties within the weekly Bills of Mortality, be in the Lord Mayor, Aldermen and Common-council.

That the Tower of London may be in the Government of the City and the Chief Officers, those be nominated and removable by the Common-council.

That the Cittizens or forces of London, may not be drawn out of the City without their own consent, and that the example in these distracted times may be no Precedent for the future.

The next three dayes began the 7. of February, and the same was also taken up again, Feb. 18. for other three dayes for Ireland.

That an Act of Parliament be passed to make void the Cessation of Ireland, and all Treaties of the Rebels without Consent of Parliament, and to settle the prosecution of the War of Ireland in the Parliament, to be managed by the joynt advice of both Kingdoms, and his Majesty to assist and to do no act to discountenance, or molest them therein.

Ireland.

But the Kings Commissioners were so far from yeilding

Anno
1644.

to this Proposition, that they had intimation from the King, how he was ingaged for Ireland, having two dayes before in great earnest writ to hasten the Peace in Ireland in these words.

Ormond,

I cannot but mention the necessity of hastning the Irish Peace. But in case (against all expectation and reason) Peace cannot be had, you must not by any means fall into a new rupture with them, but continue the Cessation, &c. for a year, for which you shall promise them if you can have it no cheaper, to joyn with them against the Scots, and Inchequin, for I hope by that time my condition may be such, as the Irish may be glad to accept lesse, or I be able to grant more.

16. February 1644. Oxford.

By those Letters, the mystery is opened why the King is so violent for Peace with the *Irish*, but this was tenderly treated by the Kings Commissioners, and well they might be willing to shadow these designs, if they were acquainted with the bottom, which few could fathom.

Observations
concerning
the Treaty.

In general the Kings Commissioners had, upon the matter of the Parliaments Propositions, consented unto many particulars and alterations of great Importance, and complain that the other have not abated one title of the most severe of their Propositions, nor have offered any prospect towards Peace, but by submitting totally to those Propositions which would dissolve the Frame of Government, Ecclesiastical and Civil.

In the matter of Religion, the Kings Commissioners offered all such alterations as they conceived might give satisfaction to any Objection that hath or can be made against that government, with their reasons why they cannot consent to the Propositions, but if consented unto, could not be in Order to Reformation or publique Peace.

And though in the Parliaments Covenant (enjoyned to be taken by the King and all his Subjects) they undertake the Reformation in Government and in Doctrine too, thereby laying an imputation of Religion it self: yet the Parliaments Commissioners have not given the other the least Argument, nor the least prejudice to the Doctrine of the Church of England. Nor given any view in particular of what they would propose to be abolished. And therefore the Kings Commissioners offered, That if the Articles proposed by them, did not give satisfaction, that then so great an alteration as the total abolishment of a Government established by Law; may (for the imparlance of it, and any reformation in Doctrine for the scandal of it) be suspended, till after the Disbanding of all Armies, the King may be present with the Parliament, and calling a National Synod, may receive such advice both from the one and the other, as may be necessary, and as any Reformation thus calmly made, must

must needs prove for the singular benefit, so, whether the contrary; that is, an alteration even to things though in themselves good; can, by the principles of Christian Religion be enforced upon the King or Kingdom.

In that of the Militia, Though the Parliaments Commissioners did not deny that the apprehensions of danger are mutual, and that the chief end of depositing the Militia into the hands of certain persons, is for security against possible dangers. Yet they did insist, that those persons should be nominated by the Parliaments of England and Scotland, and that the time of that great unheard of Trust shall be in such manner, that though it seems limited for seven years, yet in truth it shall not be otherwise exercised then as the King and Parliament shall agree, and he may thereby be totallie divested of the Sword, without which he cannot defend himself from Foreign or Domestick, or protect his Subjects. Add to all, that Scotland, professing distinct and different Laws, shall yet have a great share in the Government of this Kingdom.

Instead of consenting to these Changes, the Kings Commissioners proposed, That the persons to be Trusted with the Militia may be Nominated between them, or, that an equal number, the one half by the King, the other by the Parliament, and all those to take Oath for the due discharge of that Trust: so their security being mutual, neither can be supposed to violate the agreement, the whole Kingdom, being eye-witnesses of the failing.

And as it is reasonable that for this security the King, parting with so much of his own power as makes him unable to break the Agreements, so it is most necessary, when the apprehension of all danger of that breach be over, that then the Soverain power of the Militia should revert, and be as it hath alwaies been in the Kings proper Charge.

And therefore the Kings Commissioners proposed that the Trust should be for three years, a time sufficient to produce a right understanding of both sides: and if any thing else material may be necessary to be done, that the same may be considered after the Peace settled. But in all that this Kingdom may depend of it self and not of Scotland: as Scotland shall without advice of this Kingdom.

Concerning Ireland. The Parliaments Commissioners proposed, that the King Nal this Cessation made by Royal Authority, The Lords, Justices, and Councils desires, and for the preservation of the remain of the poor Protestants there from Famine and Sword. And to put the whole War, Militia, and Government of Ireland into the hands of the Scots General, by advice of a Joint Committee of both Kingdoms, wherein each to have a Negative voice.

Anno
1644.

To which the Kings Commissioners acquainted them with the just Grounds of the Kings proceedings in that businesse of Ireland, which they conceived might satisfie all men of his Pietie and Justice therein. And offered to joyn in any course for the good of that Kingdom.

These being the Particulars, it will be considerable how far these Propositions trench upon the Kings rights, without any considerable compensation. First,

In that of Religion, The Parliaments Commissioners proposed the taking away his whole Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction, his Donations, and Temporalities of Bishopricks; His first Fruits, and Tenths of Bishops, Deans and Chapters, instead whereof the Parliaments Commissioners did not offer to constitute the least dependance of the Clergie upon the King. And for this considerable, a part of his Revenue, they proposed only the Bishops Lands to be settled on him (reserving a power even in those Lands as the Parliament shall think fit) whereas all the Lands both of Bishops, Deans and Chapters (if those Corporations must be dissolved) doe undoubtedly belong to the King in his own Right.

And for the Militia as it is proposed. The King is so totally divested of the Regal power of the Sword, that he shall be no more able, either to assist his Neighbour Allies, though men were willing to engage therein, or to defend his own Dominions from Rebellion or invasion, and consequently the whole power of Peace or War, (the undoubted right of the Crown) is taken from him.

And so for Ireland. The power of nominating his Deputy or Officers there, of managing, or the least meddling in that War, or making Peace is thereby taken from the King. Nay it was proposed to bereave him of the power of a Father, Education, or Marriage of his own Children, and of a Master in the rewarding of his own Servants. And it was observed to the Parliaments Commissioners, That after a War of neer four years, for which the defence of Religion, Property of Subjects, and Priviledges of Parliament were made, the Cause should be treated and concluded in 20. daies, the time limited by the Parliament. Nor indeed in all the Treaty there hath not been offered to be treated concerning the breach of any Law, or of the property of the Subject, or priviledge of Parliament, but only Propositions for altering a Government established by Law, and for the making of new laws, by which almost all the old are, or may be cancelled: and there was nothing insisted on of the Kings Commissioners which was not Law, or denied that the other Commissioners have demanded as due by Law.

And for conclusion of all (which we conserve for the last place) the Kings Commissioners being agast at the others sudden Decla-

Declaration, of no more time to Treat, besought them to interpose with the Parliament: that this Treaty may be revived, and the whole matters not treated on may be considered; and that depending the Treaty, to the end they may not Treat in blood, there may be a Cessation of Arms, and the miserable people may have some earnest of a blessed peace. And because they cannot give a present Resolution, they are desired to represent all to the two Houses, and that the King may have their speedy Answer.

So then in all the fore-recited passages, it may easily be observed.

First, the Parliaments Indisposition and Aversion from Treating.

Secondly, their Impotency and Qualification of their Commissioners to Treat.

Thirdly, their Expostulations and Demands in the Treaty.

And lastly, their Obduration against all Enlargement, Prorogation, or Reviving of the Treaty.

The King complains of what is come to pass, the fruitless end of this Treaty, that his Commissioners offered full measured Reasons, and the other Commissioners have stuck rigidly to their demands, (the same with their former propositions), which had been too much, though they had taken him Prisoner, and transmitted the command of Ireland from the Crown of England to the Scots, which shewes that Reformation of the Church is not the chief end of the Scottish Rebellion.

But it being in him presumption, and no piety, so to trust to a good cause, as not to use all lawfull means to maintain it. Therefore he gives power to the Queen in France to promise, that he will take away all the penal laws against the Roman Catholicks in England, as soon as he shall be able to do it, so be he may have assistance; the visible necessity of his affairs so much depending on it, the ill effect of the Treaty enforcing.

And professes in these words.

I look (saies the King) upon the way of Treaties, as a retiring from fighting like Beasts, to arguing like men; whose strength should be more in their understandings, then in their limbs.

And though I could seldome get opportunities to Treat, yet I never wanted either desire or disposition to it; having greater confidence of My Reason, then my Sword: I was so wholly resolved to yield to the first, that I thought neither my self, nor others, should need to use the second, if once we rightly understood each other.

Nor did I ever think it a diminution of me; to prevent them with expresses of my desires, and even importunities to Treat: It being an office, not onely of humanitie, rather to use Reason, then Force; but also of Christianitie, to seek peace and ensue it.

As

Upon Uxbridge Treaty, and other the Kings offers; Eikon Bas. Chap. 18.

Anno

1644.

As I was very unwillingly compell'd to defend my self with Arms; so I very willingly embraced any thing tending to peace.

The events of all VVar by the Sword being very dubious; and of a Civil VVar, uncomfortable; the end hardly recompensing, and late repairing the mischief of the means.

Nor did any success I had ever enhance with me the price of Peace, as earnestly desired by me as any man; though I was like to pay dearer for it, then any man: All that I sought to reserve, was mine Honour, and my Conscience; the one I could not part with, as a King; the other, as a Christian.

The Treaty at Uxbridge gave the fairest hopes of an happy composition; had others applied themselves to it with the same moderation, as I did, I am confident the War had then ended.

I was willing to condescend, as far as Reason, Honour, and Conscience, would give me leave; nor were the remaining differences so essential to my peoples happiness; or of such consequence, as in the least kinde to have hindered my Subjects either security, or prosperity; for they better enjoyed both, many years, before ever those demands were made; some of which to deny, I think the greatest Justice to my self, and favour to my Subjects.

I see, Jealousies are not so easily allaid, as they are raised: Some men are more afraid to retreat from violent Engagements, then to Engage: what is wanting in equity, must be made up in pertinacie. Such as had little to enjoy in peace, or to lose in war, studied to render the very Name of Peace odious and suspected.

In Church-affairs, where I had least liberty of prudence, having so many strict ties of Conscience upon me, yet I was willing to condescend so far to the settling of them, as might have given fair satisfaction to all men, whom Faction, Covetousness, or Superstition had not engaged, more then any true zeal, charity, or love of Reformation.

I was content to yield to all that might seem to advance true piety; I only sought to continue what was necessary in point of Order, Maintenance, and Authority to the Churches Government; and what I am perswaded (as I have else-where set down my thoughts more fully) is most agreeable to the true principles of all Government, raised to its full stature and perfection, as also to the primitive Apostolical pattern, and the Practise of the Universal Church conform thereunto.

From which wholly to recede, without any probable reason urged or answered, only to satisfy some mens wills and fantasies (which yet agree not among themselves in any point, but that of extirpating Episcopacy, and fighting against me) must needs argue such a softnesse, and infirmity of minde in me, as will rather part with Gods Truth, then mans Peace, and rather lose the Churches honour, then cross some mens factious humours.

God knows, and time will discover, who were most to blame for the un-successfulnes

un-successfulnesse of that Treaty; and who must bear the guilt of after-calamities. I believe, I am very excusable both before God, and all unpassionate men, who have seriously weighed those transactions, wherein I endeavoured no lesse the restauration of peace to my people, then the preservation of my own Crowns to my posterity.

Some men have that height, as to interpret all fair condescendings as arguments of feebleness, and glory most in an unflexible stiffness, when they see others most supple and inclinable to them.

A grand Maxime with them was alwayes to ask something, which in Reason and Honour must be denied, that they might have some colour to refuse all that was in other things granted; setting peace at as high a rate, as the worst effects of VVar; endeavouring first to make me destroy my self by dishonourable Concessions, that so they might have the less to do.

This was all which that Treaty, or any other produced, to let the world see, how little I would deny, or they grant, in order to the Publick Peace.

That it gave occasion to some mens further restiveness, is imputable to their own depraved tempers, not to any Concessions, or Negations of mine: I have alwayes the content of what I offered; and they the regret and blamed for what they refused.

The highest tide of success set me not above a Treaty; nor the lowest ebb below a Fight: Though I never thought it any sign of true valour to be prodigal of mens lives, rather then to be drawn to produce our own reasons, or subscribe to other mens.

That which made me for the most part presage the unsuccessfulness of any Treaty, was, some mens unwillingness to Treat: which implied some things were to be gained by the sword, whose unreasonableness they were loth to have fairly scanned, being more proper to be acted by Soldiers, then by Councillors.

I pray God forgive them that were guilty of that Treatise's breaking: And give them grace to make their advantages gotten by the Sword a better opportunity to use such moderation as was then wanting; that so though Peace were for our sins justly deferred, yet at last it might be happily obtained; what we could not get by our Treaties, we may gain by our prayers.

The King having formerly the twelfth of January, 1643. assembled those of the Parliament Members which were at Oxford into a sitting there, and his presence giving them the repute of a better appearance, and (as he conceived) more honourable and just than that of Westminster, whom the King had disowned, though afterwards he named them a Parliament, which did not (says the King) justifie themselves to be so.

This Oxford Assembly could not sadg together, their Factions so increased, that the King wearied (as he says) with impertinencies

Anno
1644

cies, (the Fate of Free Assemblies) they were dissolved in *March* this Moneth. And handsomely performed, for whilst they sate they pressed the King to make more Overtures for renewing the Treaty: but now he resolves, If the Treaty be renewed (which he believes will not without some eminent good Success on his side) it shall be to his honour and advantage; he being now (he says) as well freed from the place of base and mutinous Motions (his *Munger* Parliament there) as of the chief Causers, *Wilmot*, *Piercie*, and *Sussex*, all three now sent away to the Queen in *France*, to berid of them here: against whom the King complains, and that very heavily, *That he fears their Repair thither would rather prove a Change than an End of their Villanies.*

Irish Rebels
Macquire and
Mac-Mahone
Executed.

Two principal *Irish* Rebels Conspiratours of the bloody Massacre, the Lord *Macquire* and *Macmahone* had been seized in *Ireland*, the beginning of the Rebellion, and sent up to the Parliament, and imprisoned in the *Tower*; but after some time, they with a thin Steel Instrument sawed in sunder a two Inch thick Oken Door in a Night, and with a Line let themselves down from the *White Tower*, waded the Ditch, and got away for a long time, yet at last the sixteenth of *September*, were retaken in *Drury Lane*, and so sent back to their old Prison. Mrs. *Levystone* a Recusant in the *Strand* being accessary to their Escape, and on the sudden she was seized, and her house by a Committee of three Lords and six Commons was searched; where they finde the *French* Agent at Mid-night, no ordinary Lodger there; she was sent to Prison, and a Bundle of Papers brought to the Parliament, which discovered much Villany designing in *Ireland*.

The *Irish* Prisoners were ordered for their Trial, but much ado to proceed, whether by a *Council of War*, or *Oyer and Terminer*, or otherwise at the *Kings Bench Bar*.

Macmahone was tried there, and soon found guilty of *High Treason*, and was sentenced to be hanged, drawn, and quartered, which he suffered accordingly at *Tyburn* in *November*.

Macquire was a Baron of *Ireland*, and refused that way of Trial, craving the privilege of Peerage of that Kingdom.

This was referred to be considered by the Judges, who ordered him Counsel to plead for it at the *Kings Bench Bar*, but they were nice, and would refuse to plead for so great a Villain, yet over-intreated they undertake it.

The Traitours case was no doubt in an ill condition, which it seems he suspected, and therefore desires Pen and Paper with some Books of Statutes, and to plead for himself.

The *Demur* was over-ruled by the Judges, and he bound to his Trial by God and the Countrey.

Of which Judgment he complains to the House of Lords to

con-

consider his quality as a Peer, and to grant him that Privilege, and lays it home to their own concerns.

The Lords send for his Plea, the Commons desired a Conference, and argued them into so much reason, that ere they consented to have them see his Plea, they were fain to concur for his Trial at the *Kings Bench Bar*.

And at last the *Grand Jury* having found the Indictment *Billa vera of high Treason*; and at his Trial many Witnesses proving him guilty, he was hanged, drawn, and quartered at *Tyburn Feb. 20.* where he cast himself from the Ladder without any remorse for his monstrous Crime.

And now being executed for his Villany, it may merit the moving why he was refused his Trial by Peerage?

The King had a great desire to remove the Siege against *Dennington Castle*, but were beaten off; and therefore it was concluded by the *Council of State*, that *Essex's* Forces should not draw out of *Newbury* into the Field, lest the King should possess it for a Winter Quarter, but that they should fight him at his Retreat; but he retreated to *Marlborough* without opposition; and the Parliaments Forces quit *Newbury*, which the King possesses and reserves as a covert Quarter for his Army, when the other lay in the open Fields, and forced from *Basing* Siege withdrew to *Reading*.

Hereabout we finde the first appearance of Exception which the Parliament had against the good management of their Armies; *Essex* being now suspected as careless or discontent, and therefore they fall to debate hereabout in the House; for Colonel *Norton* had writ a Letter to them, that he had received a Warrant from a chief Commander in the Army to withdraw from *Basing*, which was a thing unexpected, (he says) but accordingly he hath obeyed: nay, the commands of the Committee of both Kingdoms to the Army were lately much neglected and complained of. It grew into a high Debate, *How chance the Parliaments Forces permitted the Enemy to relieve Dennington Castle, when they were two for one; and why the Town of Newbury was quitted before the Enemy was marched away, as the pretence of not fighting before was because we would not quit Newbury?*

And now the Kings Forces were quartered at *Basing, Odjam, Newburie, Blewburie, and Marlborough*: and *Essex* at *Reading, Henley, Abington, and Farnham*.

And whilest they thus lodg in Quarters, the Actions of the Parliaments Army are arreigned and committed.

And the Earl of *Manchester* makes the Relation concerning the carriage at *Dennington Castle* of great length in writing, wherein his Lordship makes his own Defence, and gives a Charge against

Anno

1644.

The design of
new model-
ling the Ar-
my.

Lieutenant General *Cromwel*, a Member of the *Commons*, who had deserved much honour for his good Service to the *State*, and who made answer to several particulars therein mentioned, and the point of privilege of Parliament upon the transmitting of that business from the *Lords*, before any Charge was brought to the *House of Commons*, but it was committed, and they to receive the proofs for making good of the Earls Information concerning Lieutenant General *Cromwel*, and to make protestation of secrecy therein; and so silent they were that we never heard more of it.

General *Essex* having sped so ill in the West was now returned to *Westminster*, where the Faction was powerfull in the *Commons* House against him, being suspected somewhat more royal than the House would have him to be. And after long Debate it was resolved to new model the Army, and by degrees and in time to be rid of their old General, and to bethink of a new one in quality not more than a Knight, with intention not over-long to trust to the *Lords* at all. And begin with an Order, *That no Member of either House shall during this War enjoy and execute any Office or Command Military or Civil, which hath been granted or conferred on any Member of either House, or by any Authoritie derived from either House.*

This was subtilly done, and but very poor Reasons publick to satisfie the world in this policy, *That in relation to the Armie all Commissions to Parliament men being void, the new molding the Armie may be carried on with less exception when all are concerned alike. That all Differences militarie among the great Commanders, Parliament men, which may retard the work, is hereby quieted. And those that shall be new made Officers may be elected of the lesser quality, and the sooner subject to question and punishment, and the Armie maintained at a less charge.*

And after fourty days expiring this Order, all their Commands and Offices in the Army shall be null; but in order to justice, they publish their Resolution to pay off their Arrears, which was slenderly performed, when their Offices were out of date. And to crown this Design, they fast and pray, and to boot, the well-affected City give them thanks, and promise to live and die with them for this their new voting.

And somewhat to sweeten the Earl of *Essex's* sorrowfulness, the Parliament ordered him ten thousand pounds *per annum*, out of Delinquents Estates for his good Service, and his great Losses: and amongst their Commanders they elect Sir *Thomas Fairfax* in his room.

But this great Ordinance of Molding goes on slow, and suffered much Debate and Alteration; for the *Lords* House began to foresee the effects, and would not assent untill Petitions from the City and several Counties, drew them to conclude it, with this

Title,

Title, *An Ordinance for the raising and maintaining of Forces for the defence of the Kingdom under the command of Sir Thomas Fairfax.*

Who is sent for to London out of the North, and comes in private, and the next day, Feb. 19. is conducted to the Commons House by four of their Members, a Chair was set, and he to sit therein; M. Speaker telling him the great trust the Kingdom had put upon him in the command of this Army, and the good opinion they had of his valour and fidelity, for the defence of Religion, Laws and Liberty, encouraging him to go on as he hath begun.

Great Disorders in the modelling this new Army, and long time settling, hastened an Order to the Scots Army to march Southward with all speed. This new Army consisted of twenty one thousand, viz. fourteen thousand Foot, and six thousand Horse, and a thousand Dragoons.

The House of Commons finding the Peers so pregnant, as notwithstanding the great Exceptions, and publick discourse of an intention to lessen their Lordships; it was thought fitting to caress them by an appointed Committee, March 18. to congratulate their happy concurrence, and to assure them of the Commons real affections and endeavours to support their Lordships in their Honours and Privileges. A language which heretofore the Lords would have disdained to have received from them.

The List of the Officers thus passed were these, besides those of the old, which are kept in.

Sir Thomas Fairfax Commander in chief.

Major General Skippon, who was indeed the City Champion.

New Officers of Foot Colonels. New Officers of Horse Colonels.

Crayford.
Berkley.
Montague.
Aldridg.
Holborn.
Fortescue.
Ingolsby.
Pickering.
Rainsborough.

Middleton.
Sidney.
Graves.
Sheffield.
Vermindon.
Whaley.
Levisay.
Fleetwood.
Rossiter.
Sir Robert Pie.

Anno

1644.

The Kings Army was now under the chief command of the Prince of Wales, Prince Maurice, and Prince Rupert in the Northern parts, and association of the Counties adjoyning, the Earl of Derby, and Sir Marmaduke Langdon in Byrone, and Gerard in VVales, Southward, and these Counties thereabout.

Hopton, Goring, and Greenville in the West, with several small Armies. Amongst those of the old Commanders for the Parliament, I finde Lieutenant General Cromwel the most considerable for his former wisdome, discretion, and valour, and the first that reduced his Brigade into orderly obedience. Him they now stile a worthy and valiant Member, and one of the Saviours (as God hath miraculously manifested him to be) of this Israel; from whom the House receives this account: that since his coming to his Regiment, the carriage of it hath been very obedient and respectfull to him, and valiant, a good testimony they lately gave against Longs Regiment. And for any mutinous carriage to the Parliament, they had expressed their hearty sorrow, & had desired him to send their humble petition to be received into former favour, and for the quite removing the cloud of jealousy over them, which they doubt not to clear by their valiant testimonies hereafter] this was well taken, and a President to others.

Newcastle
siege.

The Town of Newcastle Garisoned for the King, had endured the utmost of Forces of the Scots Army, and also of the Parliaments Northern Forces, ever since the coming of the Scots. And for many Moneths a most close and desperate siege, to the great loss of the Besiegers by Sallies and other Executions. Enduring such misery, and yet with that resolution, as can not be parallel'd by any other, since these unhappy Wars. Several Treaties and Cessations thereupon, had been used by the Besiegers to win upon the Garison. Then they fall to storming, mining, scaling, and what not to enforce the Town.

Newcastle sur-
rendred.

Therefore, on Saturday the 19 of October, all the Scottish Forces with extraordinary violence assaulted the Town in several places at once, and at the Evening became Masters thereof. Sir John Morley the Mayor, with others got to the Castle, and stood it out untill extraordinary necessity enforced them to a surrender upon good quarter. The particulars you shall have from a Scot himself, the Lord Humby, directed to the Lord Chancellor, and the rest of the Scottish Commissioners at London.

Right Honourable,

I should have gone into Newcastle on Thursday, but was put off till Friday by these obstinate Miscreants, especially the Maier of that Town. Sir David Hume, John Rutherford and I, went in on Friday at nine in the morning. We had Commission from the General (Lesley) and Committee, if we found real dealing to yield to honourable conditions. The

Anno
1644.

The Maior, Sir *Nicholas Cole* and Sir *George Baker* were treating with us, they gave us big words, do what we could, they would not so much as come to speak of conditions of rendring up the Town. And after three or four hours debate, all that we could draw from them was, that they would think upon our propositions, and return them within three or four daies, and that when all conditions were agreed upon, they would give Hostages to surrender in case relief came not in twenty daies. Nor would they so much as write to the General their own propositions, so that after our return we sent to the Town these conditions forthwith to be accepted.

That all Officers should have liberty to stay, or to march out in all honour, with Arms, bag and baggage to any Garison, with a Convoy within sixty miles, and all others not Souldiers should have the like liberty. The Town to enjoy all their former Liberties and Charter, with all manner of protection to the Inhabitants from plunder; freedoms, as any Town subject to the Parliament. No free billeting imposed. None to enter the Town, but onely a competent Garison. Signed by the General, with this Caveat, that they should send out Hostages by eight of the clock next morning, for surrender of the Town before Munday 21. of October.

In stead of which, they sent out to us a bitter invective Letter, though they knew that all our Batteries and Mines were ready, yet they boldly drew from us these enforcements. Therefore this morning the *Scots* make three Breaches, and to spring four Mines, and so to fall on. The Breaches were made reasonable low before three a clock after noon; all the Mines played well, and yet the Town stood out obstinate. My Lord Chancellors Regiment and *Backloughs* entered a breach at *Closegate*. The General of the Artillery his Regiment, and that other of *Edinburgh* entered at a Mine under the *White Tower*. Colonel *Stuart* and *Gasks* Regiments entered at a Mine (but with hot dispute) at *Westgate*; this was our quarter. Lieutenant General *Baily* had another quarter at *Newgate* with five Regiments, his own, *Waughtons*, *Compers*, *Dunferlings* and *Dudhopes*, who entered by a breach, many of our Officers killed. Major *Robert Hepburn* much lamented; *Castles*, *Kelhead*, *Wedderburn*, *Marshall*, and the Master of *Testers*, these had the third quarter. *Sinclare*, *Aiton*, *Niddery*, the Master of *Cranston*, and the Lord *Niddery* had the fourth quarter who entered at two Mines. They within made their utmost opposition with great Execution on us; but we forced them, and the Maior, with others, Gentlemen of quality got to the Castle: more you shall hear within a day or two.

Octob. 19. 1644.

Your Lordships humble Servant,
A. Humble.

And

Anno
1644.

The siege of
Basing House.

And presently upon this Letter Thanksgiving was made at *London*, with hearty thanks to God for his great mercy in giving up the Town of *Newcastle* in *England* to our Brethren of *Scotland*.

And the 27 of *October*, the Castle likewise surrendered with three hundred persons; the Lords *Craford*, *Rea*, and *Maxwell* sent to *Edinburgh* to be executed, and the Town taken by *Onslaught*, was plundered to the full; and the *Scots* excused themselves, that therein the Parliament of *England* would be the better pleased.

Basing House is the Seat and Mansion of the Marquess of *Winchester*; and because it is no more now, it is worthy the Record to Remember what it was. It stands on a rising ground, its form Circular, encompassed with brick ramparts, lined with earth, and a very deep ditch but dry.

The lofty *Gatehouse* with four Turrets looking Northwards, on the right hand thereof without the Ditch, a goodly Building containing two fair Courts; before them is the *Grange* severed by a Wall and common Road again divided from the foot of *Cowdreys down*, by Meads, Rivelets, and a River running from *Basing-stoak* a Mile distant from the *West*, through *Basing Town* joyning upon the *East*; the *South* side of the Castle hath a *Park*, and toward *Basing Town* a little wood; the place seated and built as if for Royalty, having a proper *Motto*, *Ayez Loyalte*. Hither the Marquess first retired, when the incivility of the War, neither allowing neutrality, or permitting peace to any, enforced him to stand upon his guard not more then his Family, yet twice the Parliaments attempts proved vain.

To him the King sends a hundred Musquetiers under command of Colonel *Peak*, *August* 1643. against whom comes Colonel *Harvey*, and Colonel *Norton* that very night, but were beaten off to *Farnham*, and after that it was re-enforced by Colonel *Rowden* with an hundred and fifty men more, and the Marquess hath Commission to raise more.

November the sixth arrives Sir *William Waller* with his new levies, seven thousand Horse and Foot, and after nine daies and three times storming it, was fain to retreat to *Farnham*, with much dishonour of his bruised Army, and but two lost in the Garrison, and some small injury of battering the Chimnies: and so gave time and liberty for further fortifying it, able to do injury to their Enemies Trade and Forces: and being sufficient against surprize or storm, they resolve to starve it; setting their several Forces six weeks together round about in the Neighbour Towns, harrowing the Countrey untill they marched to *Oxford*.

And now comes Colonel *Norton* with Forces, (by intelligence of a run-away Souldier) defeats a party drawn out to *Odiham* with divers Prisoners, faced the house, and quartered at *Basing-stoak* with

with a Regiment of Horse and Dragoons; after him comes Colonel *Morleys* blew Regiment from *Sussex*, Sir *Richard Onslowes* with five Ensignes of Red from *Surrey*, and two more of White from *Farnham*, are all drawn up upon the South side of *Basing-stoak*, and distribute their Forces, the White to *Sherfield*, *Onslow* to *Anwell* house, *Morley* with *Nortons* horse in *Basing-stoak* often skirmish, but alwaies with los to themselves, and each of these had a Troop attending.

For in the Garison were these Gallants, two Majors, *Cuffand* and *Langley*, two Lieutenant Colonels, *Johnson* and *Peak*, and Colonel *Peak* sallying out oftentimes with Execution on their Enemy, but very little los to themselves. So that now the besiegers suffering too much by being loose, they contract their Quarters into the Park, the Lane, and the Close, three sides with the Foot on their Horse on *Cowdreys down*; and at night break ground.

Onslow in the Lane had set up a *Demy Culverin*, till a shot from the House silenced his Gun. But these without had in this time run their Line within half Musquet shot. However the Garison got out and fell upon *Onslow*, whose *Irish* Souldiership was beaten, his petty *Culverin* dismounted, many killed, till four Companies of Red came to his rescue, more Forces come from *Southampton*, and four fresh Companies; two daies before, *Morley* ambitious of some honour, in the absence of their chief *Norton* sends this summons

My Lord,

To avoid effusion of blood, I send your Lordship this Summons to demand *Basing House* for the use of the King and Parliament; if this be refused, the ensuing inconvenience will rest upon you, and your speedy Answer.

My Lord,

Your humble Servant, *Herb. Morley*.

And had this sodain Answer,

Sir, it is a crooked Demand, and shall receive a futable Answer. I keep the House in the Right of my Sovereign, and shall do it in despite of your Forces. Your Letter I reserve in testimony of your Rebellion.

Winchester.

This is returned by a Drum, with direction; *Haste, haste, haste, post haste*, upon the Letter. And whilest *Morley* plaies on the Water-house with his Guns, the Garison got out, but eight Foot-men fetcht in six Beasts grazing before *Onslow's* works, and he looking on. When *Norton* returns from Sir *William Waller's* defeat at *Cropredy Bridge*, and findes a Captain of *Morley's* shot dead at his foot from thofe within.

The

Anno
1644

The hurt within is not much, the Marquess hurt, two men killed by chain shot, the Carriage of their Cabonet broke from their Culverin, and by excess of rain the Medowes floting, the Besiegers widen more open from the Towers, and receive much hurt: whilst under covert of a Blinde they fall out again upon *Onslow* so luckily, that he is forced to fly; which daies work ends the year of their first Garisons, and the second Moneth of the Leaguer.

These within are tyred with over duty of eight and forty houres, and therefore divide their reliefs every four and twenty; the Gentlemen and Troopers doing the same duty of Foot within and without, with Musquets or Brown Bill; and for seven weeks keep their Horse with Grass and Sage, which in the night they were forced to fetch under the Enemies Works. And knowing their intentions by Prisoners, rather to starve than to storm, the doubt of more Forces removed, they within resolve to make sallies.

A party therefore of Horse under Command of *Cuffard*, falls upon some of their Foot lying at hazzard upon *Cowdrey's Down*, whilst Cornet *Bryan* also (about twenty Horse apeece) riding at a rate, falls in betwixt them and the Hedges, rout them flying to *Basing-stoak*, and are pursued with Execution, with loss of Colours, Trumpets, seven Horses, and three Troopers, many slain, and returning under command of their own Cannon not a man slain.

Then comes additional Forces with Colonel *Whitehead's* new raised Regiment to *Cowdrey's Down*; the next morning Major *Cuffard* gets out with six Files of Musquetiers, and twenty Troopers, and some Brown Bills, fall into the Park, and attach their out-lines, burn their Blinds and their Baskets, bring off one of their Morter Peeces, whilst Lieutenant *Snow* with twenty Musquetiers, and twelve Bills, fall upon the Lane Quarter of *Onslow* with execution on them, break their *Demy culverin*, fire their Guard, and return with Arms, and Ammunition, and Match to their dishonour.

And therefore, *Oram* Captain of the Guard, for vindication, must be called to a tryal, for neglect or cowardize; (and evermore) for holding correspondence with the besieged, is cashiered their service.

They without are angry, and with fifty Musquetiers fall upon the New Works of the Besiegers, but soon draw back, sixty more get to the Ditch, under the Platform; but being answered by the Bulwark, flanking the ditch, they return in hast, leaving their Arms, for they had three Guns with case shot pouring on their Rear.

The Reign of King Charls.

777

Anno

1644.

In the Evening *Cuffand* and Cornet *Bryan*, each with twenty Horse, and fourty Musquetiers, sally out upon the *Down*, beating the Foot from their Workes, and the Horse-guard from their Post, pursuing them to *Basing-stoak*, whence strengthened with *Irish* Horse, force the other to retreat, take *Bryan*, and a Troop, wound three, and kill Ensign *Emery*. And the other came home, Lieutenant *Cooper*, a Corporal, and seven more. From whom they are assured that divers were hurt the day before in the Trenches, and *Morley* shot in the shoulder.

For a fortnight the Besiegers fall to battering; having torn the Towers, they fall upon the House side next the Town, making a work within Pistol shot: and because of short commons within, some of cowardize get out to the Enemy. Whilest necessities increased, no beverage but water, no bread but of Pease and Oats, other Corn all spent.

Then comes this Summons.

My Lord,

These are in the Name, and by the Authority of the Parliament of England, the Highest Court of Justice, to demand the House and Garrison of Basing to be delivered to me; and hereof I expect your Answer by this Drum within one hour. In the mean time I rest,

yours to serve you,

Rich. Norton.

And had Answer,

Sir, whereas your demands pretend Authoritie of Parliament; I answer; that without the King there can be no Parliament, but by his Majesties Commission I keep this place, and without his command shall not deliver it to any pretender whatsoever.

Sept. 2.

Winchester.

Which Answer findes no other Reply, but six score shot, Cannon and Culverin, and the next day but twenty; their Cannon over heat and faulty, is drawn to *Farnham*.

No relief came according to promise from *Oxford*: desperate, they sally out, *Snow*, *Byfield*, and *Ontram*, each with twelve Troopers, Brown Bills, and eighteen Musquetiers, and fall upon *Onslow*, who seldome scaped the scowring; gain his redoubt, draw off his Demy Culverin, with so many Prisoners as filled the Goal within; with loss onely of three men, and one hurt and retreat.

Whilest Sir *William Waller* with two Troops arrived at *Basing-stoak*, and came out with his Horse, faced the House, had his

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Cap-

Anno

1644.

Basing relieved
the 12 of Sept.

Captain killed, and many more from the works within; so that this daies service is accounted with loss without: sixty killed, and twelve hurt, two Gunners, and two Lieutenants. Those that sallied lost, were six slain, and but six wounded.

The Besiegers are re-inforced with two Companies, two Wagons, and twelve Troops of Horse; the next day two Regiments, their Artillery, ten Guns followed, with one Company. For Sir *William Waller's* whole Army, appeared going to the *West*, took their Leaves of the Leaguer, for the King was sending relief from *Oxford*, and *Waller* would not stay. The Messenger *Edward Jeffery* being returned with this good news, that they were advanced to *Alder-Maston*, for there was ten out of a Company of Commanded men, drawn out of several of the Kings Garisons of *Oxford*, *Wallingford*, *Winchester*, and *Dennington* Castle, amounting to fourteen hundred men, the most part Foot, but some were mounted Dragoons. And all these commanded by Colonel *Gage*, who by a still march in the night, and yet many hazards, by seven a clock *September 12* was come to *Chinham-down*, where he findes Colonel *Norton* (by an Alarm) standing ready in a Body, and from him the Alarm went on to Colonel *Morley*, and so to all their other Quarters. And notwithstanding the advantage of ground which *Norton* had, men fresh and prepared against tired Troops, and wearied Foot: a thick Fog also to blinde his Ambuscadoes, against the Cavaliers that were strangers, and could discern no way, nor pass, more than what their valour and the sword could cut out. But *Gage* makes his approach appearing first on a Hill, near the High way which leads to *Andover*. Whereupon *Norton* charges with great courage, and broke through the others Horse, who having a reserve of Musquetiers, and with more than ordinary valour (to give them their due, saies their Adversaries) forced *Norton* to retreat, or rather to fly to *Morley's* Quarters, as far as the Church, and so through *Basing-stoak*.

The day by this time clearing up, Lieutenant Colonel *Johnson*, with some Musquetiers, sally out of the Garison, beat them at the Grange from their Line, and pursue them to the Hill, thence to the *Delve*, clearing that Quarter, with so small defence, as is not easily to be believed, nor their loss to be credited; the slain are not numbred, but the Prisoners brought in, were counted sixty four common Souldiers; two Serjeants, one Lieutenant: but indeed the suddain supply, and boldly managed, had amazed the Besiegers.

The relief consisted of many Horse Loads of Powder and Match, a Drove of Cattel, besides Plunder from *Basing-stoak*.

The Ammunition brought in, the Convoy return to *Cowdrey's Down*, and the Enemies Horse retreat to *Chinham*, and forced from

Anno

1644.

from thence, they finde in the Town fourteen Bartels of Powder, one hundred Arms, with good provisions of all sorts, which are sent in also to the Garison. Major *Cufford* and *Hull* marched out, and take in *Basing* side, *Onslowes* fatal place and quarter, and in it two Captains *Farvas* and *Fephson*, one Lieutenant, two Serjeants and thirty Souldiers, who were made to draw *Onslowes* Demy-Culverin into the Garison: their Tents and Huts fired, and hastening away from their Works, Colonel *Morley's* Cornet lost his Colours with this Motto *Non ab Equo, sed in Equo victoria*, not from their Horse for they fled, but in the equity of their Cause who had the victory.

All done with the losse of the Garrison Souldiers, but fifteen and some hurt, whereof five died, and so *Gage* goes home again to *Oxford* by the way of *Reading*, leaving their quarters in *Blaze* and only one left them quiet: for Intelligence came to him that the Parliament Forces were drawing together neer *Silchester* and *Kingscleer*.

Lieutenant Colonel *Johnson* was a Doctor of Physick, but besieged, and in this hazard for his life became a Souldier, was now shot in the Shoulder, whereof contracting a Feaver he died, valiant in that Profession, and learned in the other both Herbalist and Physician.

After this for many daies the Garrison had room and courage to march out and meet their Enemy in several Parties several times, and return with Booties, sometimes Arms, otherwhile Cartel with losse to their Enemie, when in *October* they might see from off their Towers the Van of the Earl of *Manchesters* Army march to *Basing-stoake* and *Shefeld*, the next day eight Regiments of Foot and some of Horse drawn to the South of *Basing*, Troop to *Farnham*. Sir *William Wallers* Regiment and others of the General *Essex* joyn to the Leaguer, draw into Battalia, the next day march towards *Reading*.

But in fine, the besiegers wearied with twenty four weeks diseases, and now Winter seizing them, their Army wasted from two thousand to seven hundred, the evil news from the General *Essex* Army in the West of *England*: *Newburie* Battel lately passed, the King come to *Bulington Green*, raised *Dennington* Siege, and now advanced to *Hangerford*, from thence to *Oxford*, and the Parliaments Forces leaving the Field: the Besiegers at *Basing* began to confider, and to resolve to rise and be gon.

At morning Sun the 16. of *Novem.* the Besiegers draw off their Wagons and Guns, the Foot march to *Odjam*, and fire their Huts; for it was but time, they had intelligence that Colonel Sir *Henry Gage* with one thousand Horse brings in Amunition and provision, and so were quit of any opposers.

A Siege where the Souldiers within suffered all inconveniences

The Besiegers
rise from *Basing*.

Anno
1644.

incident thereto, want of provision supplied as by miracle, having no lesse then one hundred and fourty uselesse persons. Sir *William Waller* harrowing with his Forces at *Farnham*. *Norton* able to bring three times the Force against the the supplies, yet all failed, and *Basing House* now at liberty. When at *London* it was confidently reported it was lost. And the Lady *Onslow* reporting that the Parliament had considered their good service in the Cause, and therefore had given *Basing House* to her Husband, and hoped the world should then see them in a better condition, but it proved otherwise he being forced out of his Lines of Communication.

Arch-Bishop
of Canterbury
arraigned.

On the tenth of *January* comes to the Scaffold *William Laud* Doctor of Divinity, *Arch Bishop of Canterbury*, and *Primate* of all *England*. To begin the Story of his Life at the hour of his Death, would be tedious and out of time and tune, some have done it well, and given him his due. Nay Mr. *Prynnes* Breviate published on purpose to defame him to the Common-man, but sets him out (even in what he saies) with Eminent Vertues, Piety to God, Fidelity to his Sovereign, a publique Soul towards the Church and State, Constancie to his Friend; and so little biassed by private interests, that this age (we may assure) affords not many equals. He was threatned for his life in *March 1619*. the Prologue to other Libels and Scandals year by year to *Anno 1640*. though the *Scots* Remonstrance of their Invasion heretofore resolved then to ruine him.

And in the beginning of the long Parliament 1640. about *December*, He was named for an Incendiary by the *Scots* Commissioners, and accused of Treason by the House of Commons, and ten weeks Prisoner to the Black Rod, and after his Charge committed to the Tower *March 1*. And so from that time he endured there almost four years, to his death. In the mean time he is denied of his Servants 1641. and close Prisoner presently after. Then they divest him and sequester his Rents 1642. Seize his Goods, Books, and Papers, 1643. and as yet the Man unmoved. For he besought God (as Mr. *Pryn* confesseth) to give him full patience, and proportionable comfort and contentment with whatsoever he should send. And himself hath said to his Friends, that he thanked God that he never found more content in his greatest Liberty, then in this time of his restraint. It had been put to the Question in the Parliament to ship him over for *New England* there to expose him to the scorne of great Professors.

He had been often summoned before the Lords, and as often appeared monethly for some years, weekly for many moneths, and daily remitted to farther Attendance, upon the least pretence of ordinary businesse, and so was thereby exposed to the common view and scorne of the Rabble sort of people, a way they had to

work

Anno
1644.

work down excellent Spirits (if possible) by ignominious experiments and trials. But he was fixed to the end. Indeed he was a perfect School-man, a quick and ready Disputant, and certainly he was not to learn that Maxim of *Drexelius*, who wonders that any man a *Logician* should be troubled with afflictions. For the *Axiome* in Logick is, That Accident is such a thing, that *adest & abest sine interruptione subjecti*, and argues it into a Syllogisme.

Tu homo es subjectum,

Et quicquid accedere potest, est nisi accidens; sed afflictiones sunt nisi accidens, Ergo whether they doe adesse or abesse, they should be sine interruptione subjecti.

At the Scots second Invasion Anno 1643. his Arraignment was revived 17. *January*, and Mr. *Pryn* appointed to prosecute the Charge, (and therefore *He*, who had been charged heretofore) and a long time it was ere they could finde that he deserved either Death or Bonds, until Serjeant *Wilde* found out his offences, *That he was guilty of so many and notorious Treasons, so evidently destructive to the Common-wealth, that he marvelled the people did not tear him in pieces as he passed between his Boat and the Parliament.*

Had the rabble done so, it would happily have excused the other in their way afterwards alike to him, who was by them made guilty in the House of Commons 20. *Novem.* 1643. and the 17. *Decem.* 1644. guilty of high Treason, as to the matter of Fact upon three Heads of his Charge; *His endeavouring the subversion of the Lawes, subversion of Religion, and the overthrow of the Priviledges of Parliament.* And the fourth of *January* they passed their Ordinance of Parliament by both Houses to be drawn hanged and quartered on Friday the tenth of *January*, the first man that ever suffered death by Order of Parliament.

On *Tuesday* before, he petitions the Lords to have his Chaplain Doctor *Sterne*, that worthy Divine, *admitted to administer with him, to alter the manner of his Execution, and to be beheaded.* To which their Lordships willingly consented, and commended it to the Commons but they would not. Only in care of his soul they would adjoyn Mr. *Marshall* as more sufficient then the Doctor, and the Arch-Bishop refused him. The Lords were angry to be thus denied, and had much adoe to get their consent of beheading. He had been a Confessor and must think it a release of misery to be made a Martyr, and to be executed six dayes after. That time he spent in Meditation and Prayers, but the night before the Dismal day, he refreshed his Spirits with a moderate Supper, slept soundly till morning, then at Prayer, till *Pennington* and his Officers conducted him to the Scaffold on *Tower-hill*, mounting that Throne whereon he was to receive the Crown of Martyrdom. Then he spake to those about him.

Good

Anno
1644

Good People,

THis is an uncomfortable time to Preach, yet I shall begin with a Text of Scripture, Heb. 12. 2. Let us runne with Patience that race which is set before us, looking unto J E S U S the Authour and Finisher of our Faith, who for the Joy that was set before him, endured the Crosse, despising the shame, and is set down at the right hand of the throne of God.

I have been long in my Race, and how I have looked to J E S U S the Author and Finisher of my Faith, He best knowes: I am now come to the end of my Race, and here I finde the Crosse, a death of shame, but the shame must be despised, or no coming to the right hand of God; J E S U S despised the shame for me, and God forbid but I should despise the shame for Him; I am going apace (you see) toward the Red-sea, and my feet are now upon the very brink of it; an Argument, I hope, that God is bringing me to the Land of Promise, for that was the way through which he led his People: But before they came to it, He instituted a Passeover for them, a Lamb it was, it must be eaten with sower Herbs. I shall obey, and labour to digest the sower Herbs, as well as the Lamb; For I shall remember it is the Lords Passeover; I shall not think of the Herbs, nor be angry with the hand that gathereth them; but look up only to Him which instituted that, and governes these; for men can have no more power over me then what is given them from above. I am not in love with this passage, through the Red-sea, for I have the weaknesse and infirmities of flesh and blood in me: And I have prayed as my Saviour taught me, ut transiret Calix iste, that this Cup of Red-wine might passe from me: But if not Gods will (not mine) be done, and I shall most willingly drink of this Cup as deep as He pleases, and enter into this Sea, yea and pass through it, in the way that he shall lead me.

But I would have it remembred (good people) that when Gods Servants were in this boysterous Sea, and Aaron among them, the Egyptians which persecuted them (and in a manner drove them into the Sea) were drowned in the same waters, while they were in pursuit of them; I know my God whom I serve, is as able to deliver me from the Sea of blood, as he was to deliver the three Children from the Furnace; and (I most humbly thank my Saviour for it) my Resolution is now, as theirs was then; They would not worship the Image the King had set up, nor the Imaginations which the people are setting up; I will not forsake the Temple and truth of God, to follow the bleating of Jeroboams Calf in Dan or in Bethel. As for this People, they are at this day miserably misled, (God of his mercy open their eyes that they may see the right way) for now the Blinde do lead the Blinde, and if they go on, both will certainly fall into the ditch.

For

For my self, I am (and I acknowledg it in all humilily) a most grievous sinner many wayes, by thought, word and deed, and I cannot doubt, but God hath mercy in store for me (a poor penitent) as well as for other sinners. I have now, upon this sad occasion, ransacked every corner of my Heart, and yet (I thank God) I have not found (among the many) any one sin which deserves death by any known Law of this Kingdom: And yet hereby I charge nothing upon my Judges; for if they proceed upon proof (by valuable witnesses) I or any other Innocent, may be justly condemned; but (I thank God) though the weight of the sentence lyes heavy upon me, I am as quiet within, as ever I was in my life. And though I am not only the first Arch-bishop, but the first man that ever died by an Ordinance of Parliament, yet some of my Predecessors have gone this way, though not by this meanes; For Elphegus was hurried away and lost his head by the Danes; Symon Sudbury was beheaded in the fury of Wat Tyler and his fellows; and long before these, St. John Baptist had his head danced off by a lewd woman; And St. Cyprian, Arch-bishop of Carthage, submitted his head to the persecuting sword. Many examples (great and good) and they teach me patience; for I hope my Cause in heaven will look of an other dye then the colour which is put upon it here. And some comfort it is to me, not only that I go the way of these great men in their severall generations, but also that my Charge (as foul as it is made) looks like that of the Jewes against St. Paul (Acts 25.) For he was accused for the Law and the Temple, that is, the Law and Religion; And like that of St. Stephen (Acts 6.) for breaking the Ordinances which Moses gave, that is, Law and Religion, the holy place and the Law (verse 13.) But you'l say, do I compare my self with the integrity of St. Paul and St. Stephen? No, far be it from me; I only raise a Comfort to my self, that these great Saints and Servants of God were laid at in their severall times, as I am now. And it is memorable, that St. Paul who helped on the Accusation against St. Stephen, did after fall under the very same Accusation himself. Yea, but here's a great Clamour that I would have brought in Popery; I shall answer that more fully by and by; In the mean time you know what the Pharisees said against Christ himself, If we let him alone all men will believe in him, Et venient Romani, and the Romans will come and take away both our place and Nation. Here was a Causelesse Cry against Christ, that the Romans would come; And see how just the judgment of God was; they Crucified Christ for fear the Romans should come, and his death was it which brought in the Romans upon them, God punishing them with that they most feared: and I pray God, that this Clamour of Venient Romani (of which I have given no cause) help not to bring them in: for the Pope never had such a Harvest in England since the Reformation, as he hath now upon the Sects and Divisions that are amongst us. In the mean time by Honour and dishonour, by good report and e-

Anno
1644.

vil report, as a deceiver and yet true, am I passing through this world, 2. Cor. 6. 8. ---- Some other particulars I think not amisse to speak of.

And first, for His Sacred Majesty, the King our gracious Sovereigne; He also hath been much traduced for bringing in of Popery, but on my Conscience (of which I shall give God a very present account) I know him to be as free from this Charge, as any man living; and I hold him to be as sound a Protestant (according to the Religion, by Law established) as any man in this Kingdom: And that He will venture His Life as far, and as freely for it; and I think I do, or should know, both His affection to Religion, and His grounds for it, as fully as any man in England.

The second particular is concerning this great and Populous City, (which God bless.) Here hath been of late, a fashion taken up, to gather hands, and then go to the great Court (the Parliament) and clamour for Justice; as if that great and wise Court, before whom the Causes come, (which are unknown to the many) could not, or would not do Justice, but at their appointment. A way, which may endanger many an Innocent man, and pluck his blood upon their own beades, and perhaps upon this City also: and this hath been lately practised against my self; the Magistrates standing still, and suffering them openly to proceed from Parish to Parish without Check; God forgive the abettors of this (with all my heart I beg it) but many well meaning people are caught by it. In St. Stephen's case, when nothing else could serve, they stirred up the people against him; and when Herod had killed St. James, he would not venture on St. Peter, till he found how the other pleased the people. But beware you that cry so much for Justice, lest when you cry for your selves you have nothing but Justice; take heed, take heed of having your hands full of blood, for there is a time (best known to Himself) when God (above other sins) makes inquisition for blood, and when that inquisition is on foot, the Psalmist tels us, That God remembers (that's not all) He Remembers and forgets not the complaint of the poor, that is, him whose blood is shed by oppression, verse 9. take heed of this; It is a fearful thing to fall into the hands of the living God, but then especially, when he is making inquisition for blood; (And with my prayers to avert it) I do heartily desire this City to remember the prophesie that is expressed, Jer. 26. 15.

The third Particular is the poor Church of England. It hath flourished and been a shelter to other neighbouring Churches, when storms have driven upon them. But, alas, now 'tis in a storm it self, and God only knowes whether, or how it shall get out; and (which is worse then a storm from without) it's become like an Oak cleft to shivers with wedges

Acts 6. 12.

Acts 12. 3.

Isa. 1. 15.

Psal. 9. 12.

Heb. 12.

wedges made out of its own body, and at every cleft, Prophaness and Irreligion are entering in, while as Prosper speakes (in his second Book De vitæ contemptu, cap. 4.) Men that introduce prophanesse are cloaked with the name of Imaginary Religion ; for we have left the Substance and dwell too much in Opinion, and that Church which all the Jesuits could not ruine, is fallen into danger by her own.

The last particular (for I am not willing to be long) is my self ; I was born and Baptized in the Bosome of the Church of England established by Law ; in that profession I have ever since lived, and in that I come now to dye ; what Clamours and Slanders I have endured, for labouring to keep a Conformity in the external service of God, according to the doctrine and Discipline of the Church, all men know, and I have abundantly felt.

Now at last I am accused of High Treason in Parliament : a Crime which my soul ever abhorred ; this Treason was charged to consist of two parts , An endeavour to subvert the Lawes of the Land, and a like endeavour to overthrow the true Protestant Religion established by Law. Besides my answers which I gave to the several Charges, I protested my innocencie in both Houses. It was said, Prisoners protestations at the Bar must not be taken, I can bring no other witnesse of my heart and the intentions thereof ; I must therefore come now to it upon my death, being instantly to give God an account for the truth of it ; I do therefore here in the presence of God and his holy Angels, take it upon my death, that I never endeavoured the subversion either of Law or Religion ; and I desire that you would all remember this Protestation of mine for my innocency in these, and from all Treasons whatsoever ; whereof I would not for all the World be so guiltie as some are. I have been accused likewise as an enemy to Parliaments ; No, I understand them, and the benefit that comes by them, too well, to be so : But I did dislike the misgovernment of some Parliaments many waies ; and I had good reasons for it, Corruptio optimi est pessima, and that being the highest Court, over which no other hath jurisdiction, when That is misinformed or misgoverned, the Subject is left without all remedy ; But I have done, I forgive all the World, and everie of those bitter Enemies which have persecuted me, and humbly desire to be forgiven of God first, and then of every man : and so I heartily desire you to joyn in prayer with me.

O Eternal God and Merciful Father, look down upon me in mercy, in the Riches and fulnesse of thy mercies look down upon me ; but not until thou hast nailed my sins to the Crosse of Christ, not till thou hast bathed me in the Blood of Christ, not till I have hid my self in the wounds of Christ : that so the pu-

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Anno

1644.

nishment due unto my sins may passe over me. And since thou art pleased to try me to the uttermost, I humbly beseech thee to give me now in this great instant, full Patience, Proportionable Comfort, and a heart ready to dy for thy Honour, the Kings happinesse, and this Churches preservation. My Zeal to these (far from Arrogancy be it spoken) is all the sin (humane frailty excepted and all incidents thereunto) which is yet known to me in this particular, for which I now come to suffer; I say in this particular of Treason; but otherwise my sins are many and great: Lord pardon them all, and those especially (whatsoever they are) which have drawn down this present Judgment upon me, and when thou hast given me strength to bear it, do with me as seems best in thine own eyes, *Amen*. And that there may be a stop of this Issue of Blood, in this more then miserable Kingdom, O Lord I beseech thee, give grace of Repentance to all Blood-thirsty people, but if they will not repent, O Lord confound all their devices, Defeat and Frustrate all their Designs and endeavours, which are or shall be contrary to the Glory of thy great Name, the truth and sincerity of Religion, the establishment of the King and His Posterity after Him in their Just Rights and Priviledges, the Honour and Conservation of Parliaments in their Just power, the preservation of this poor Church in its Truth, Peace, and Patrimony, and the settlement of this distracted and distressed people under their ancient Lawes, and in their native Liberties. And when thou hast done all this in meere mercy for them, O Lord, fill their hearts with thankfulnesse, and Religious Dutiful obedience to thee and thy Commandements all their dayes: So *Amen*, Lord Jesus, *Amen*, and receive my Soul into thy Bosome, *Amen*.

Our Father which art in Heaven, &c.

This Speech and Prayer ended, he gave the Paper written, as he spake it, desiring *Doctor Sterne* to shew it to his other Chaplains, that they might know how he departed, and so prayed God to shew his mercies and blessings on them all. Then he applyed himself to the *Fatal Block*, as to the Haven of his Rest, but finding the people pressing upon the Scaffold, he desired *that he might have room to dye*, beseeching them to let him have an end of his miseries which he had endured very long. Being now neer the Block, he put off his Dublet, and used words to this effect. *Gods will be done, I am willing to go out of this world, no man can be more willing to send me out of it.* And spying through the chinks of the Boards that some people were got under the Scaffold, and the place of the Block: he called to the Officers for some dust to stop them, or to remove the people thence; saying, *It was no part of his desires that his blood shall fall upon the heads of the people.* When he was somewhat interrupted by

Anno
1644.

by one Sir *Fohn Clotworthy*, who would needs try what he could doe with his *Spunge* and *Vineger*, and stepping neer the *Block*, asked him, (not to learn by him, but to tempt him) what was the comfortablest saying which a dying man could have in his mouth ? To which he mildly answered, *Cupio dissolvi & esse cum Christo*. Being asked again, what was the fittest speech a man could use to expresse his confidence and assurance. He answered meekly, *That such assurance was to be found within, and that no words were able to expresse it rightly*; which, when it would not satisfie the impertinent man, unlesse he gave some place of Scripture, whereupon such assurance might be truly founded. He replied to this effect, *That it was the word of God concerning Christ, and his dying for us*. And so without expecting further questions, he turned to the *Executioner* and gave him money, saying, *here honest friend, God forgive thee, doe thy Office upon me with mercy*, and having given a sign when the blow should come, he kneeled down upon his knees and prayed.

Lord, I am coming as fast as I can, I know I must passe through the shadow of death, before I can come to see thee. But it is but Umbra mortis, a meer shadow of death, a little darknesse upon nature; but thou by thy mercies and passion hast broke through the jawes of death. So, Lord receive my soul, and have mercie upon me; and blesse this Kingdom with peace and plenty, and with brotherly love and charity, that there may not be this effusion of Christian blood amongst them, for Jesus Christ his sake, if it be thy will.

His Prayer at
the Block.

Then laying his head upon the *Block* and praying silently to himself, he said aloud, *Lord receive my soul*, which was the signal to the *Executioner*, who very dexterously did his Office at a blow.

This one Note I may not forget as a truth from an Honourable person then present upon the Scaffold, that though the Chinks were stopped, yet there remained a small hole from a knot in the midst of a Board, and in which his finger of the right hand happened to fall into and to stop that also, that his desire might be fulfilled, lest his blood might descend on the peoples head, his soul ascending to Heaven, and leaving his body on the Scaffold to the care of men embalming it with their tears.

His body was accompanied to the earth afterwards with great multitudes of people, whom love had drawn together to perform that Office and decently Interred in the Church of *Allhallows-Barking* (a Church of his own Patronage and jurisdiction) according to the Rites and Ceremonies of the Church *England*. He deserved that honour at his death, being the greatest Champion of the *Common Prayer Book* whilst he lived. Nor need Posterity take care to provide his Monument. It being well observed by Sir *Edward Deering*, *He who threw the first stone at him, that St Pauls Church will*

Anno
1644.

be his principal Monument, and his own Book (against the Jesuite) his lasting Epitaph, and so I leave him to that comfort which the Psalmist gives him. *The righteous shall be had in everlasting remembrance, and shall not be affraid of any evil report,* Psal. 112. 6, 7.

Take this though for the present.

*Thy brave attempt on Pauls in time to come,
Shall be a Monument beyond a Tombe;
Thy Book shall be thy Statua, where we finde,
The Image of thy Nobler part, thy Minde;
Thy Name shall be thy Epitaph, and he
Who hears or reads of That, shall publish Thee.*

Colonel Stephens surprizing, was surprized.

The Kings Party had Garisoned a repaired Castle at the *Devises*, and Colonel *Deveraux* had a Garison at *Rondon* House between the *Devises* and *Malmshurie*, being set upon and Besieged. Colonel *Stephens* in *Wiltshire*, newly made by the Parliament Governour of *Beverston* Castle, was willing to give aide to the Besieged at *Rondon*, and sets upon the Besiegers with three Troopes of his own, and some *Malmshurie* Foot, without staying for *Deveraux* assistance, broke through the Cavaliers and Relieves the House with Provision and Powder: and alighting, would needs eate and refresh himself with his friends: giving time to the Cavaliers Party to Rally and cast up a Brestwork before the passage, and so he with 1400. Horse and Foot cooped up all together, and so the Besieged more straitned then before.

News gets to *Glocester*, from whence comes sixty Horse well commanded, and were to joyn with one hundred Horse and Dragoons from *Malmshurie* to break through the Cavaliers, and these added to the four hundred and thirty within the House, were conceived to force a Passage through the first Sconce. But then comes Sir *Jacob Ashlie* with three thousand, *Massie* raises the County about *Strodewater* doing what he could to face the Garison at *Cirencester*, and to divert the danger of the Besiegers, but nothing prevailed, and so they were faine to Surrender upon bad quarter.

The Cavaliers prevail.

The Cavaliers grow strong on all sides, and a stream of ill success rushes in upon their enemies, upon Colonel *Hopton* having raised sixty Horse, and fourty Foot, Garisoned *Castle-ditch* near *Lidburie* in *Herefordshire*, a Party from thence of three hundred Horse and Foot in twenty four houres took him Horse and Foot Prisoners to *Hereford*.

Sir *John Winter* hath Guards set round about upon him, to straiten his Garison, his own House in the Forest of *Deane*: but they

Anno
1644.

they break out, through all those Guards and joyn with a Party of Foot from *Chepstow*, which Landed at *Lancaught*, intending to make good the Passe over *Wye*, and so to issue out of *Wales* at pleasure. To oppose them, all the Guards drew together thither, Sir *Fohn* violently charged the Forlorn of Foot, who gave back to let in their Foot, and so both Horse and Foot fell upon him, some were slain, Colonel *Ganne* and *Vangerris*, Colonel *Pore* of *Berkley* Castle drowned, but Sir *Fohn* and his escaped, being the industrious enemy to all his Parliament neighbours.

These things happened the latter end of the year, *February*, about the time of surprizing *Shrewsburie* by the Parliament.

Prince *Rupert* falls back out of *Shropshire*, and comes upon *Herefordshire* with all his Army, the greatest in the Kingdom being a confluence of these Forces, his own formerly.

Prince *Maurice*, Colonel *Gerard*, Lord *Hastings*, Lord *Asblie*, and Sir *Marmaduke Langdale*, and yet impress more men in abundance in all the neighbouring Counties, with store of Arms, necessity casting them in such waies of violence and coercive power, prest-men, of suspected fidelity, and lesse value, often deceiving them in Battle, yet the King was forced to these waies for conducting to the sudden forming of an Army, when the Kings affairs became desperate, and so thrust in with the old Volunteers, made up the bulk of a great Body, when the Parliament had no such necessity to enforce, rather a more cunning way to win upon that party, the City of *London* being the undrained Magazine of Men and Money, the common Assé that bare the burden, and so ends this year.

Price *Rupert*
in *Wales* with
additional
Forces.

A continuance of the brief Narrative of the Kings Affairs Military in Scotland, under Conduct of the Marquesse of Montrose.

Montrose with considerable Forces enters *Scotland* 13. April 1644. comes to *Dunfrize* seises that Town, expecting *Antrim's* Irish, but being there in some danger, returns to *Carlisle* with his men, for the Earl of *Calander* had raised a new Army in *Scotland* to second General *Leslie* in *England*, and now besieging *York*: *Montrose* having beaten a Garison out of *Morpith*, pillaged the Castle, and took a Fort at the mouth of *Tine* He plentifully sent Victuals to *Newcastle* which come from *Almwick*. And is now sent for by Prince *Rupert*, then in his way to raise the siege of *Torke*, but could not possible get to him, till the retreat from that unfortunate Battle of *Marston-moor*, and so returned back to *Carlisle* with a few, but faithful gallant men. He sends the Lord *Oglebie* and Sir *William Rollock* into the heart of *Scotland* in disguise, who return with sad news that all Strengths in *Scotland* were possessed by the Covenanters, The Earl of *Traquair* (contrary to his Oaths and promises to the King) was an Agent for the Covenanters. Yet this man was more in the Kings Favour then any *Scotish*, except the *Hamiltons*. *Montrose* in these

Military af-
fairs in *Scot-*
land.

Anno

1644.

these Difficulties, sends *Oglebey* with his earnest Desires to the King, for more Men, or at least Arms from beyond Seas, and himself single lies close; but *Oglebey* and his Friends were all surprized and imprisoned by the Covenanters, untill the next year that *Montrose* set them at liberty, who did him faithfull Service.

Montrose with onely two Gentlemen *Rollock* and *Sibald* hasts towards *Scotland*, and by the way escaped Sir *Richard Graham*, who was revolted to the Covenanters, and undertook to discover all men affectionate to the King: this *Graham* heretofore a very mean *Fockey* of the Duke of *Buckingham's* Stables, by Industry and Deceit got into his favour to be the chief Master of his Horse, and by the necessity of the Princes secret Journey into *Spain*, was there serviceable, and upon that score had grace and preferment to be made a Knight Baronet, getting an Estate emulous to all his Neighbours, and now becomes a Traitor.

But after four Days *Montrose* arrives at his Cosin *Patrick Graham* in the Sherifffdom of *Perth*, with whom he resides disguised, and sends his two Friends to discover the state of the Kingdom, who return this News, That all the people lay under subjection of the Covenanters, and that the Marquess of *Huntley* had laid down his Arms, and was fled to the North, leaving his noble Family the *Gourdots* exposed to his merciless Enemies Covenanters.

Instead of ten thousand promised, onely 110. *Irish* landed in the North of *Scotland* from *Antrim*, under Command of *Alexander Mac-Donel* a *Scot*, who met with *Montrose* in *Atholde*, but *Arguile* their Enemy was in their Rear with an Army marching after them, the Countrey men eight hundred joyn with *Montrose*, who marches to *Ern*, and passing by *Weme* Castle of the *Meneses* his Enemies, who treacherously fell upon his Rear, he burns their Houses, and waists their Fields, this was the first Onset of War.

His noble faithfull Friend *Patrick Graham* commands the *Athole* men to scout before, who meet with five hundred Foot under the leading of the Lord *Kilton* Son to the Earl of *Taith*, descended of *Grahams*, and Sir *John Drummond* Son to the Earl of *Perth*, both Kinsmen to *Montrose*, raised to oppose the new-landed *Irish*, but understanding of *Montrose* the state of the Kings affairs, they all joyn in a Body, these discover that the Covenanters were in Arms at their Rendezvouz at *Perth*, and waited for them at *Athole*, he marches within three miles of them drawn out in an open Plain *Tippermore*, ready to fight, and commanded by the Lord *Elcho*, with the Earl of *Tullibardin*, and the Lord *Drummond* with six thousand Foot and seven hundred Horse.

It was on Sunday the first of September, *Elcho* had the right Flank, one Sir *James Scot* the left, and *Tullibardin* the Battel, to each Flank Wings of Horse. *Montrose* had not one Horse, and being

Montrose
spoils the *Meneses*.

being but few in Foot, he draws out open as possible he could, with his Files onely three deep, commands his Ranks all to charge at once, the first Rank kneeling, the next stooping, the third being the ablest men upright, not to stoop, but in the teeth of their Enemy, and to spare Shot in vain, and immediately after to fall in upon them with their Swords and Musquet-ends. *Montrose* commands the right Flank against *Scot*, the left to the Lord *Kilpont*, and the Bat-tel to *Mac-Donel* with his *Irish*.

Montrose sends to the Enemy one *Drummond* Son to the Lord *Maderty*, who told them, That *Montrose* had his Commission from the King, Victory they might have, if they would please to conquer themselves, and return to their Allegiance; for his own part he was not covetous of any mans wealth, nor ambitious of their honour, nor envious of any mans preferment, nor thirsty of blood; onely he begged of them, to return faithfull to their King, hitherto provoked with unspeakable injuries, who had deserved to be the best of Kings.

These inhumane Wretches gave no Answer, but send the Messenger Prisoner to *Perth*.

Being now within Musquet-shot, the Enemy sends out *Drummond* with the Forlorn Hope, at the first Onset routed them back to their Main Body, and with a shout lets loose his whole Forces upon them, and puts them to flight, pursued six miles, two thousand slain, and as many Prisoners, the most take Oath with him, but proved perfidious; he took the City *Perth*, but without one jot of Plunder.

Here he stays three Days, to whom comes the Earl of *Kinole* with some Gentlemen of *Gawry*, inconstant too. *Arguile* was come up with his Army. *Montrose* quarters in the Fields, having passed over *Tay*, near *Conper* a Village in *Angus*, where Sir *Thomas Ogleby* Son to the Earl of *Arley* comes to him with others; next morning early there happened a base Murder in *Montrose's* Quarters, one *Stuart* (lodging that night with the Lord *Kilponten*) discovered his Design to murder *Montrose*, inviting his assistance, upon great assurance of preferment from the Covenanters, who set him on work, which being the Lord refused, he suddenly stabb'd him with many wounds, and before Day, and dark, he escaped to *Arguile*, and was forthwith preferred to high Commands.

Montrose marches to *Dundee*, who refuse to submit, but he not fitted for a Siege turns towards *Eske*, amongst his supposed Friends, who yet withdrew, onely the Ear of *Arley*, a man of sixty years old, with his two Sons Sir *Thomas* and Sir *David*, and some others joyned with him, through all extremities to the end. And now they march towards *Aberdine*, where lay Commissioners of the Covenanters, with an Army of two thousand Foot and five hundred Horse, commanded by the Lord *Burgly*, labouring to assure the Northern

Defeat at
Aberdine.

Anno

1644.

Northern parts, which *Montrose* would prevent, and fight them ere that *Arguile* should come: and first gets the Bridg over *Dee*, where he found the Enemy drawn up near the City. *Montrose* had but fifteen hundred Foot, and but just four and fourty Horse, (for he had given leave to *Kilpotten's* men to convoy their dead Master home, and the *Athole* men were returned with Spoil) with these he made two Divisions, mixing his best Fire-men and Archers, nimble and quick on either Wing to prevent the Enemies Horse upon his Rear, the right Flank to *James Hay* and *Nathaniel Gordon*, the left to Sir *William Rollock*. The Enemies left Wing was commanded by *Lewis Gordon*, (Son to the Marquess *Huntly*) a Hare-brain'd Fellow that had forced his Fathers Friends to this Fight, who charges *Montrose's* right Flank, whom *Rollock* aided with twenty Horse, and beating back three hundred to a Rout, and run away, but left them, for the Enemies right Wing of Horse was charging their left, who had no Horse, till these twenty Horse were got in, but not able to endure so great a Charge, wheeled about and fell upon the Enemies Flank with their Swords, and put them also to Flight. Those Horse that stood it out were to be assisted with fresh Foot out of the Main Body, which *Montrose* soon apprehending, prevented them, fell upon the other on all sides, and put them to a Flight, whom he followed with execution into the Gates and Streets of *Dundee*.

It was a Fight of four hours space equal, till *Montrose* his Men got the Advantage, which soon after proved a Victory. Could it be otherwise, when a ragged *Irish* man having his Leg broke with a great Shot, *On my Comrades*, (quoth he) *I am sure now to be mounted a Trooper*, and with his Skene cut off the skin by which it hung, bidding his Fellow *to bury it, lest the hungry Scot feed on my flesh*.

Then *Montrose* enters *Aberdine*, affording his Souldiers two days rest.

When News comes, that *Arguile* was at hand, assisted by the Earl of *Lothian* with fifteen hundred Horse; therefore *Montrose* removes to *Kinton* twelve miles off, and from thence sends Sir *William Rollock* with News of his good Success to the King at *Oxford*, and withall to get Supplies against so potent Enemies every day increasing: so that he was forced to bury his great Guns in a Bog, quit his heavy Carriages, and to get into the *High-land* Mountains, where the Enemies Horse could not come, and for Foot he feared none: to that end he marches to the River *Spey*, at *Richmursie* ruined Castle, and there incamps. On the other side he findes the Countrey in Arms about five thousand, to hinder his passage, till *Arguile* might come at him; *Montrose* was now fain to turn aside to *Badenoth* a rocky place, where he lay sick some days, but being recovered he returns to *Athole*, and sends *Mac-Donel* with a party to the *High-lands*, to win the people by fair means, or to fight the

them by force, himself marches through *Angus*, and gets over the *Grainsbane* (a perpetual Ridg of Mountains that parts the East and West, of *Scotland*) and so into the North, and leaving *Arguile* so far behinde, (who by his slow Marches meant not to fight) goes to *Strathboggie* to meet with the *Gordons*, and perswades them to engage, but they were hindered by *Huntly* himself their Chief; out of malice to *Montrose* his Success; and the Lord *Gordon* (*Huntly*'s eldest Son) was detained by *Arguile*, his half Uncle; the Earl of *Alboin* (the second Son) inclosed within the Siege of *Carlisle*; and *Lewis* another Son was forced with the Enemy; so that the *Gordons* had no one of their Family to fight under.

Here *Montrose* quarters, sometime skirmishing abroad, and evermore with Booties, but doing no good as to get aid, he in the end of *October* goes to *Favy* Castle, and possessed it; when on the sudden he hears that *Arguile* and *Lothian* were within two miles with two thousand five hundred Foot and twelve hundred Horse. *Montrose* now (*Mac-Donel* being gone) had but fifteen hundred Foot and fifty Horse. In this exigent (and the best way) he draws his Men up to a Hill, rough ground, Hedges and Ditches as good as Breast-works, and here such of the *Huntly*'s Dependents fairly forsook him, and up the Hill the Enemy mounts; *Lothian* charging with five Troops, and were no sooner encountred but retired, and other of their Foot were beaten from a Fastness, leaving some Bags of Powder behinde; and towards night *Arguile* retreats two miles off, and slept not it seems till the next day, for then he did nothing neither to any purpose. This while *Montrose* in mighty want of Shot, melts all his Vessels into Bullets; but *Arguile* was gone marcht off over the River, the very same way he came, three miles off back again, like a Coward as he came, and *Montrose* returns towards *Strathboggie*, but is pursued by Horse, which entertains Skirmish with his Rear, till *Arguile* gets up to *Montrose*, who was mounted on a Hill; and which induces *Arguile* to come to a Cessation of Arms, that they both might treat; and whilest they confer, *Montrose* is bought and sold for Silver, to betray him, which he could not better secure than resolving to march away by mid-night as far as *Badenoth*, but sent away his Carriages before, when on the sudden *Sibbals* his old Friend and first Comrade stole away with a Prisoner to *Arguile*; but *Montrose* instantly posts his Command to his Convoy of the Carriages to return, by which he meant to amuze the Enemy with longer stay, that the Fugitives might not be believed, untill after four days he with great skill and courage marched away to *Balveny*, where most of his Men of Birth and Quality (by *Arguile*'s corruption and Bribe) fell off from him, onely that noble Lord *Ogleby* and his two Sons never forsook him; nay, the *Irish* and *High-landers* professed themselves the more intirely faithfull.

Fight at Favy.

Anno
1644.

Montrose returns from *Balveny* to *Badenoth*, and hears that *Arguile* with his Foot onely lay at *Dunkeld* in *Athole*, thither goes *Montrose* in wondrous haste one night twenty four miles, through ways untroden, untill'd, waste, full of Snow, and never inhabited by mortal man; but ere he gets thither, and sixteen miles off, *Arguile* had knowledg by Scouts, and up he rises and runs away in wondrous Disorder, they whither they would, but himself goes into *Perth* a strong Garison.

By this time returns *Mac-Donel* with the *Macarenolds*, five hundred Men, and *Patrick Graham* from the Funeral of his Chief, with some choice men of *Athole*, and with this Recruit he marches to the great Lake the Head of the River *Tay*, and so through *Bradalbain*, into the Countrey of *Arguile*. Why he did so is too tedious to tell; but he never did any thing without Reason for his Resolution; for in a word, *Arguile* was powerfull, tyrannous and cruel amongst the *Highlanders*, formidable to any of the Kings Friends, forcing the Countrey to fight against their wills, and yet hated him in their hearts; the *Low-lands* of the Kingdom garisoned with Covenanters and great Bodies of Horse; and so *Montrose* had no other place to winter in, and therefore with a minde beyond extraordinary, through long and foul Winter way with incredible speed he comes to *Arguile*.

The Earl was lifting Souldiers at a Rendezvouz, secure by the Castle *Inverare*, supposing no Enemy within an hundred miles, nor was it imaginable that an Army could ever get thither, when the trembling Cow-herds told him *Montrose* was within two miles, and so scared him into a Fisher-boat and flies away, leaving his Friends, and Fortunes, and his own Countrey to the mercy of a provoked Enemy, a Countrey barren of Corn, and mountainous, but Pastures and Cattle, which *Montrose* visits round about with three several Brigades of his Army, by himself one, *Mac-Donel* another, and the chief of the *Macarenolds* the third, they range and waste all, kill all in Arms that will not submit, and drive all serviceable men out of that Territory, fire the Villages level with the ground, with that like usage as *Arguile* had done to the Kings Friends, he being the first of any that prosecuted with Fire and Sword; and thus was *Montrose* forced to do, from the thirteenth of *December*, 1644. to the last of *January* following, and so departing through *Lorn*, *Glencow*, and *Aber*, he came to *Loghness*.

And here he meets with new-raised Forces of the Enemy, the Earl of *Seafort*, with the Garison of *Inverness*, and the whole strength of *Murray*, *Rosse*, *Sutherland*, *Cathnes* and the *Sept* of *Frasers* were ready to meet him with a desperate Army of five thousand Horse and Foot: *Montrose* had onely fifteen hundred; for those of *Clanrenold* and *Athole* men, hoping no use of them, got leave to go home

Montrose in
Arguile,

divastates all.

home with the Spoil of *Arguile*, and to return when he had occasion: this was his comfort, he had Souldiers brought up to hardnes, the others new raised raw and rude.

Nay, if *Montrose* could be made afraid, *Arguile* with three thousand Foot was at an old Castle *Innerloagh* upon the bank of *Logh-Aber*: *Montrose* meant to fight him first, where he knew the Coward lodged and leaguer'd, to see the Game plaid over by the Northern men. But *Montrose* now thirty miles off, seeks him out not the ordinary way, but about through unknown by-paths, monstrous to imagine, and killing the Scouts came upon *Arguile* ere he was aware; yet in a fright he was allarm'd; it was Mid-night, but Full Moon, light as day, by which they skirmished, whilest *Arguile* was got in a Cock-boat, ready to quit all.

The Morn was *Candlemas day*, and by the Sound of *Montrose's* Trumpets (a sign that he had Horse, though unusual there) the *Campbells* (*Arguile's* Sirname) began the Battel, but the common Souldiers in the front, after once Discharge began to run, when with a Shout eagerly pursued, the rest were routed, and ran all 9. miles, upon execution fifteen hundred slain, the chief of that Name fell in *Campo Belli*, in the Field of War, I cannot say in the Bed of Honour, in that Rebellion, and such as could be saved he used courteously and sent them home.

Arguile defeated.

They did not fight but fly, so as of *Montrose's* men but three killed, and many hurt, amongst whom was Sir *Thomas Oglebey* Son to the Earl of *Arley*, of which he died after. He had done good Service in *England* under his Father in Law the Lord *Ruthen* Earl of *Forth* and *Branford*, and this Victory ended this year, but opened a way to *Montrose* for future Victories.

The Queens industry in *France* had laboured out a Design of some Assistance from the Duke of *Lorain*, who was at leasure, with a rambling Army, and Money in his Purse to do somewhat for any body, and with Reputation to himself, he thought not amiss to treat with the Queen of *England* now in the *French Court* at *Paris*, and he with his Forces about *Colein*. Much trouble there was in earnest, which way to pass to the Water-side, whether through *France* or *Holland*; then where to land in *England*, Westward or Northward. But the Cardinal *Mazarine* was too wise for either, he went on in *Richlieu's* former Rode, to increase, not to amend the *English* miseries; and so the King was abused in the help from *Lorain*, though it held on in hope the next year.

A Design for the Duke of *Lorain's* assistance to the King.

The King had treated with *Denmark*, whose natural affection to him by bonds of affinity intended his assistance, but he became suddenly imbroiled in his home-affairs by the ambitious success of the *Swedes* in *Germany*, and so in their conquering condition fell up-

Anno
1644.

on *Denmark*, upon the credit of that great Astrologer *Ticho Brahe*, who had foretold, *That the good King Christian should be driven out of his Kingdom, and that this mutable fate should fall upon him, 1644.*

The Design of the *Swede* was sudden, in a word, to snap some Ships and Barques at Anchor in the Haven, and so entered into the Isle of *Fune*, and craftily rendered themselves Masters of all unawares, without a blow.

The King of *Denmark* stricken with amazement at this Invasion, instantly gives notice to the *States General* at the *Hague*, but the cause he could not, unless that of Ambition and Treachery in a Neighbour Nation; but we may ghes the reason, and it was thus:

The good King *Christian* (for so he was esteemed) always endeavoured by solicitation to mediate the Mischiefs of *Germany*, and to interpose his Arbitration, as yet *Neuter*: both Enemies accept him Umpire, and the place *Munster*, and their Ambassadors to meet there; and in the mean time the Emperour was induced to withdraw his Garison from *Wolfenbotel*, rendering the Town to the Duke of *Luneburgh*: the *Swede* grew jealous of their cause, to intrust it with the *Dane*, as more affectionate to the Empire; and so minding to be afore-hand, sends no Ambassadour, but marches with his Army into his Territories, and hires Ships and Sea-men in *Holland*.

General *Torstenton* for the *Swedes* advanceth into *Holstein*, surprizes *Kiel*, and with ease and speed seizes *Futland*; onely the Isle of *Fune* was made defensible, the Approaches intrenched, and *Torstenton* repulsed there.

The *Dane* on the sudden gets together a little Fleet, which lay before *Gatenburgh*, prepares more Ships and Men, and implores assistance from his Friends on all sides, complaining of this treacherous Invasion, without cause given or pretended, and that in time of peace and kindness from this King: but on the sudden the *Swedes* had surrounded their Adversaries, and another of their Generals *Coninxmark* takes the Arch-bishoprick of *Bremen*, belonging to the King, when he was Prince, so that the good old man had but two Islands left him, *Zeland* and *Fune*; and at Sea the *Swedes* had hired Vessels from *Holland* under *Martin Ties*, whom yet the *Dane* drove into a Neighbour Port.

The King was as full of courage as age, threescore and seven years old, and now his own Admiral himself, in the fights and bloud round about him, whose example exhorted all, and forced the *Swedish* Fleet with full sail to fly to the Haven of *Kiel*, then comes the King a shore, and becomes his own General by land, waging the War by Skirmishes, the *Swedes* having got the strong place *Christian Pries*, leaving the King but two more, *Gluckstat* and *Crempe*.

When

The reason of
the Danish
War.

When, in comes *Gallasso* from the Emperour and arrives at *Oldesto*, enters *Hamburgh* and *Lubeck*, Treats with the *Dane* against the common Enemy the *Swede*.

The *French* Mediatour was the Ambassadour *Monsieur de la Tuillerie*, his Outward Errand was so, but his aime was otherwise to undoe the House of *Austria* by any means, *Richlien's* *Maxime* bequeathed to *Mazarine*.

The *Dunkerkers* took part with the *Dane* not willing to let goe the *Sound*, a prey to be divided between the *Hollander* and *Swede*, and so to give leave to all Traders into the *Baltick Sea*, to which the King inclined, and with those helps to attach his Enemies on all sides. Now were the Politick Agents set on work to serve the Interest of their respective Masters. *French* and *Holland* joyned Arguments against all *Allies*, to deter the *Dane* from doting on the Emperialist ayd, and so to endanger his amity with all other Potentates, Enemies to that ambitious House of *Austria*.

During disputes on Land, the *Swedes* Fleet got loose into the main Sea, which cost Admiral *Galdie* his head for suffering their escape. And the King Marches with sixteen thousand men (all *German*s) into *Scania*, and there to give *Gustavus Horne* battel, but the *French* *Tuillerie* seeing the odds against his Masters interest, steps in between both Armies, and with his Rhetorick stops the onset, and so both Hosts retired, and *Torstenton* takes leave and returns to his party in *Germany*: *Gallasso* lets him passe, but follows him to the like intention as when he let the other goe, oftentimes able to attach the other, and to worst him, just like that of the *Danish* Admiral, and as deserving to forfeit his head, as corrupted by the *Swede*. Truly *Galasso* was a gallant man, and better judgements may excuse him, not to advance, unlesse the Leaguer men first concluded upon Terms, as between the *French* and *Swedes*, which the *Dane* (as was conceived) could not refuse, in regard the Emperour came in, to extinguish the fire amongst them, but left it flaming at home: and being Leaguer'd together, things might become as in the former condition before the War, since the interest of *Denmark* seemed to require it, and all to abate and weaken the *Swede*.

The good King was thus deceived, upon respective interests of each Party, and so the overtures of the *Dunkerk* failing, the Emperialists returned home, leaving the *Dane* to himself in distresse for the losse of six stately Ships, four taken and two fired, the King not Master of himself, having to do with his own States, of different sence with his, and the successe of affairs thereafter.

The *Swedes* almost Conquerours, but the Kings virtue overmastering such misfortunes, gathers his Fleet at *Copen-haven* to preserve *Zeland*, when the *Hollander* religious in nothing more, then their Interest of gain, both to see the *Swedes* to swell too big, and to get the *Sound*, arrived with a Fleet at *Copen-haven*, land an Ambaf-

Anno
1644

Ambassadour, who resumed the heat which *Tuillery* had left so hot; and never left powring on the water of good counsel, until he had cooled the *Swede* with threats also, that made the *Swede* agree to a peace, with much advantage to the *Dane*, and gave the good King *Christian* quiet, to end his daies in peace, after that he had reigned above fifty years; lodging all his malice into a Record, until time come, to be quit with the *Swede* for those encounters. And thus we take leave of the year 1644.

Anno 1645.
General Fairfax his Commission.

The great Ordinance for calling the Members of both Houses, from *Military* and Civil affairs and places, was with exception of such and such persons and places mentioned therein. And a particular Commission was ordered by Parliament for the General *Fairfax*, to execute all Martial jurisdiction, and fight with, and slay such as shall oppose him, and to suppress all such Forces as are not raised by authority of Parliament. And because sundry ill-affected persons had fomented discontents between the two Houses, in relation to this new model of the Army, and so report that the Commons went to undermine their Lordships priviledges, which intention they do disclaim and abhor, and do acknowledge the many Noble and Renowned Actions performed by their Lordships Ancestors, in defence of the liberty of the Commons. This Speech was made to the Lords by Sir *John Evelin* from the Commons, and concluded, to assure them, that the House of Commons consisted of no other persons, but such as were Gentlemen, &c. And a Declaration was left by him unto the Lords from the Commons, to publish to the world what he hath spoken on their behalfs.

Peace with
the *Swedes*;

The Kingdome of *Sweden*, now under the Regency of the young Queen, onely Daughter and Heir to *Gustavus*, took this time and opportunity of the jealousie of the Parliament, against the Crown of *Denmark*, (for assisting the King of *Englands* party) to send Ambassadours to the Parliament, for a Treaty of League and Amity with them, which was heartily accepted, and fixed into Articles, so that by this, we are accounted both as one.

Shrewsbury
betrayed to
the Parliaments Forces.

And now comes Colonel *Mitton* into the House of Commons, to receive Publick thanks for his fidelity to the State, especially for that gallant Service in surprizing *Shrewsbury*. In had been the Kings chief Garison, and faithfull to his Interest, and of long time had endured the vexation of a powerfull Enemy, which they quitted by often sallies, and plundering their Adversaries thereabout; but was lately, Feb. 22 last, surprized by the Committees of *Wem* and *Oswestrie*, being assisted with four Companies, and four hundred Horse, from the Neighbour associations, and three hundred *Staffordshire* Foot, and one Company under command of Colonel *Bowes*, and all these under the general command of

Mitton,

Milton, about fifteen hundred men. But without all this adoe, in numbring up their Forces, it was in a word betrayed to the Parliament, with many persons of quality: the manner I could never well understand, nor would they print the shame of treachery.

The Prisoners were eight Knights and Baronets, fourty Colonels, Majors, Captaines, and others of quality; two hundred common men, one Captain, and five Souldiers slain. They took fifteen pieces of Ordnance, many hundreds of Arms, divers Barrells of Powder, Prince *Maurice* his Magazin, the Town, the Castle, and all the works, and without the loss of three men. For they say, there were but two killed by chance. So that a day of thanksgiving was set apart for the Parliaments successes in taking *Scarborough*, *Plymouth*, *Weymouth*, and *Shrewsbury*, within a moneth.

The old General *Essex*, lately laid aside, took his retirement out of Town, from the noise and clamour of his Officers now discarded. And although their merits were much to the service of the Parliament, yet divers of them also, (upon what account we may imagine) were questioned and committed, without their Arrears, And others of them the wiser way, gave up their Commissions to save the labour and dishonour, of being taken *per force*. Prudently considering that a new Model of manners, in the main of the *Militia*, must necessarily require a mutation and change of men to manage that service, answerable to the mindes of such as command in chief. For indeed, *Essex* was not at all Presbyterian, nor could he preach. And therefore it was resolved by himself and his Counsellours for him, to surrender his Commission, together with the Earl of *Manchester's*, and the Earl of *Denbigh's*, (two General Commanders) before they should be thereto required. They did it on a day together, in the Lords House. And *Essex* therewith delivers a Paper which spoke his sence, *April 2.*

The Earls of
Essex, *Man-*
chester, and
Denbigh, sur-
render their
Commissi-
ons.

Having received this great Charge in obedience to the commands of both Houses, and taken their Sword into my hand, I can with confidence say, that I have for this now (almost) three years, faithfully served you, and I hope without loss of Honour to my self, or prejudice to the Publick, supported therein by the goodness of God; and the fidelity and courage of a great many gallant men, both Officers and Souldiers. But I will neither trouble you nor my self, by repeating either the difficulties, or danger, we have overcome, or the service that I have done you.

I see by the now coming up of these Ordinances, that it is the desire of the House of Commons, that my Commission may be vacated, and it hath been no particular respect to my self, (whatever is whispered to

A Paper deli-
vered to the
Lord by the
Earl of *Essex*,
together with
his Commis-
sion.

the

Anno

1645.

the contrary) that hath made me thus long omit to declare my readines thereto, it being not unknown to divers men of Honour, that I had resolved it, after the action of Gloucester, but that some importunities (pressed on me with arguments of publick advantage, and that by those of unquestionable affection) over-ruled me therein: I now do it, and return my Commission into those hands that gave it me, wishing it may prove as good an expedient to the present distempers as some will have it believed, which I shall pray for with as hearty a zeal as any can desire my doing this, which I now do.

I think it not immodest that I intreat both Houses, that those Officers of mine, which are now laid by, might have their debenters audited, some considerable part of their Arrears payed them, for their support, and the remainder secured them by the publick Faith; and that those of them that remain questioned, may be brought to some speedy trial, whereby they may receive either the punishment or justification that is due to them; under which notion I remember onely three, of whom I must testifie, that they franckly and couragiously have adventured their lives, and lost their blood for the Publick, and that with continued fidelity, for ought ever I could observe.

My Lords, I know that jealousies cannot be avoided, in the unhappy condition of our present affairs, yet wisdom and charity should put such restraints thereunto, as not to allow it, to become destructive. I hope that this advice from me is not unseasonable, wishing my self and my friends may (amongst others) participate the benefit thereof, this proceeding from my affection to the Parliament, the prosperity whereof I shall ever wish from my heart, what return soever it brings me, I being no single example in that kinde, of that fortune I now undergoe.

Good man, little dreamed he heretofore to be so soon discarded, being lately carested from the King, and the whole body of that Army, offering to him the wayes and means of reconciliation and peace, then in his power, which indeed was some reason of his remove. To tamper with an Enemy gives cause of suspicion, from those that imploy him; and in truth they found him honourable and honest. We say no more, but they mistrust him, and he comforts himself, *Not to be the single example of eminent Persons of this kinde and fortunes.* No; we need not wander much out of the way, to fetch a President from his Father; for tampering with Tyrone, he forfeited his head not long after.

Indeed *Denbigh* was neglected, and *Manchester* was wise and saw how the world went, biased, with desperate design, to undoe all as they imagined.

But upon these surrenders, the Lord calls a conference with the Commons, and conclude this Declaration.

Whereas

Anno
1645.

Declaration
in behalf of
these Generals.

Whereas the Earl of Essex, Earl of Manchester, and Earl of Denbigh, had this day in the House of Peers, laid down their Commissions; the House did declare, that they did esteem it an acceptable service, in this conjuncture of time, and as an evident demonstration of the fidelity and care these three Lords had, to the publick; and therefore desired the House of Commons to concur for payment of their Officers arrears. And a Committee was chosen to consider of gratifying those Lords for their former faithfull service. Which when it shall come to their Receipt, I shall not fail to remember the summons of their reward.

But not to trouble your expectation, I shall take leave at this time, to sum up his future condition. He retired out of the publick apparance unto *Eltham House in Kent*, where his melancholy disposition, contracted into a *Fever*, of which he dyed at *London, September 24. 1646.* Of whom more particular in that due place and time.

The Earl of *Warwick* also surrenders his Commission of Admiral, and that Office intrusted to Commissioners; six Lords, and twelve Commons: they are named, the Earls of *Essex, Northumberland, Pembroke, Warwick*, the Lords, *Say and North.* But the Commons did the work, the others for names sake onely.

Sir *T. Fairfax* in a Triumphant March, sets out of *London* towards *Windsor*, his Army being compleat, but stayed for the finishing the great Ordinance, *For discharging the Members of Parl. from all Offices, Military and Civil*, which indured notable debates, ere that the Houses could concur in each particular; the substance thereof was,

That all and every the Members of either House shall be discharged (at the end of forty daies after the passing of the Ordinance) of all their command Military or Civil, conferred by Parliament since the 20. of November, 1640.

That all other Governours and Commanders (not Members) by Land or Sea, shall continue in their Offices wherein they were intrusted the 20 of March, 1644.

Provided and excepted, that Lieutenants or their Deputies in the severall Counties, Cities and Places, or of any Custos Rotularum, or Justices of Peace, or Sewers, or any Commission of Oyer and Terminer, or Goal Delivery.

And also that those Members of either House, who had Offices by Grant from his Majesty before this Parliament, and were by Him displaced before the sitting of this Parliament, and have since by the Parliament been restored, shall not be discharged from their said Offices or Profits thereof, but shall enjoy the same, April 3.

At this time came forth a grievous complaint of a scandalous Pamphlet (as they call'd it) in Print; Entituled, (*A Character of a London Diurnal*) fathered by Mr. *Cleveland* of *St. Johns Colledge*

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in

Grand Ordinance to disable Members from Offices and Commands.

Anno
1645.

Both Armies
how disposed.

Blackington
delivered to
the Parlia-
ment.

Colonel
Windebank
shot to death.

Taunton be-
sieged by the
Kings For-
ces.

in *Cambridg*; and appears (say they) a precious piece of wit in the eyes of Malignants.

I shall not thereby confess my self to be one, if I commend it. But did ever any man read more mistaken stuff, forced together, then what may be found in the *Diurnals*, News Books, of that time, we hope that this History shall not be arraigned by those Texts.

The King continues at *Oxford* Garison, but hath all things in readines to march out, for the City was hard beset by the Parliaments Forces, the two Princes (Brothers,) with *Goring*, *Hopton*, *Gerard* and others, are all met at *Bristol*, to confer about the war. The Forces of *Greenvile* and *Derington* continue blocking up of *Taunton* in the *West*. *Langdale* hath lately relieved Sir *Fohn Winter's* house in the Forest of *Dean*, and beat of Col. *Massey* with great loss.

Lieutenant General *Cromwel* and *Waller* follow the *Western* war, and are now about *Salisbury*; *Skippon* about *Buckingham*; *Brown* about *Abbingdon*; *Brereton* in *Cheshire*. And the *Scots* sent unto by several Messengers to march *Southwards*, the *North* being well cleared. But the General *Fairfax* quartered at *Windsor*.

Lieutenant General *Cromwel* with a Brigade of but eleven hundred Horse, had fallen upon the Kings Horse under the Command of the Earl of *Northampton*, and part of the *Queens* Regiment at *Islip* Bridge neer *Oxford*, and had taken four hundred Horse, two hundred Prisoners, the *Queens* Colours, and those that escaped fled to *Blackington* House, where Colonel *Windebank* kept a Garison for the King, but *Cromwel* pursues them thither, and by Treaty had the House and Garison rendered up to him upon Articles, with all the Powder, Amunition and Armes, and seventy two Horse, 24. *April*, and this the first successe of the new Model.

This so sudden surrender startled those at *Oxford*, and the Colonel was call'd to a Council of war, condemned to be shot to death, which he took with patience and courage, clearly excusing himself, not to be able to hold out against so great a Power, and being besides over-swayed by the pewling tears of some Ladies, got thither in a visit of his fair Bedfellow-Bride. However his hopeful years so soon blossomed, was presently repented by the King, who graciously provided for his Widow, and blamed Prince *Ruperts* malicious instigating with devised reasons, to hasten the execution thus presently repented.

The Town of *Taunton* closely besieged by *Greenvile*, *Goring*, and *Hopton* for the King, and lately have taken Colonel *Pophams* House and Garison at *Willington* by Storm, fifty slain, with a hundred and fifty Prisoners, and much Amunition and Plunder. The *Scots* not as yet marching *Southwards*, and the General *Fairfax* not yet forwarded, fit for the Field. Indeed *Cromwel* was now returned from the *West*, and lay surrounding *Oxford* and thereabouts, with a

Party

Anno
1645.

Party of Horse fell upon Sir *Henry Vavisor*, quartered neer *Bampton* Bush, and surprized him and his whole Party, one Colonel, two Lieutenant Colonels, a Major, five Captains, eight Lieutenants, eight Ensignes, Doctor *Dunch* a Divine, twenty Serjeants, two hundred and thirty Prisoners, two hundred Arms and much Ammunition.

Prince *Rupert* marching all night came now before *Ludbury* 22. April, who intercepting some Scouts came upon *Massie* with an Alarm, charging him into the very Town, with whom were Major *Farlow*, *Baylie* and *Bacchus*, *Kerle*, *Gifford* and *More* with their Forces, and two hundred Musquetiers of the County, 'tis true, they were suddenly put to it, drew up at sight of *Rupert*, came close and fought, till *Massies* Foot might Retreat toward *Glocester*, and the rest did little lesse then march off with hot charges, wherein the Lord *Hastings* was slain. But the Cavaliers followed the Retreat of the other, whose Horse left the Foot to mercy, and many cut off, two hundred Prisoners; with Major *Bacchus* almost dead, and *Harlow* hurt. *Rupert* had a mind to *Massie* and shot his Horse dead, he hardly escaping with this Victory. He returns towards *Ludlow*, and so for *Shrewsburie* with reasonable Force; neer six thousand Horse and Foot. But hearing that *Fairfax* and *Skippon* with nine thousand men, were marching together, and onwards on their way from *Windsor* and *Andover*, toward the relief of *Taunton* in the West. *Rupert* Wheels off with *Goring* and comes to *Burford* twelve miles from *Oxford*, purposely to clear the passage for the King and his Artillery to march out thence to draw towards *Bristol*, and break into that Association: and therefore *Fairfax* was ordered from *Westminster* to intrust Colonel *Graves* with a party of three thousand Foot, and a thousand five hundred Horse sufficient to relieve *Taunton* and himself, and *Skippon* to return and joyn with *Cromwel* and *Brown* to keep the King in, or if abroad, to attend his motion.

But the King with gallant Forces marched from *Oxford*, attended on by Prince *Rupert* and *Maurice* towards *Cambden*, and intending towards the relief of *Chester*: his Infantry advancing after, and commanded by *Goring* with thirty Field Pieces and other Carriages towards *Worcester* and pursued by *Cromwel*. But how comes that to passe, he being liable to the great Ordinance as a Member of the Commons? but *Cromwel* was dispenced with by Order not to attend the House, and to continue his Command for forty daies longer, which signified for ever. The like Order for *Brereton* and *Middleton* in *Chester* Association, and so had some others both of the Sword and the Gown, the Commissioners of the great Seal, and the Master of the Roles also for forty dayes, upon receipt of the Parliaments Order: *Fairfax* returns, but sends Colonel *Graves* with Forces to relieve *Taunton*, and on Sunday 11. of May came before the

Anno
1645.

Taunton relieved for the present, and again besieged.

State Ambassadors take leave.

the Town, with so great power that the Besiegers quitted their Trenches and marched away, leaving a poor starved Town, few left alive, the Countrey harrassed by Cavaliers, and depopulated. And for this and other good services of Colonel *Blake*, the besieged Governour of *Taunton* he had thanks, and from henceforth came into esteem both by Land and Sea, but the Town was soon besieged again by the Cavaliers: *Fairfax* is returned to *Newburie*, and there rested his wearied Souldiers, and then sits down about *Oxford*, contracting his Forces into a narrow compasse, *Cromwell* and *Brown* come to him to compleat the design, being now at *Maston*, a mile of *Oxford*. The Garison therein, fire the Suburbs, drown the Medows, slight the Out-garisons of *Walverton* and others such. At his first coming, and walking on the Bowling-green and viewing the Works, an eight pound bullet whisked by his head, and moved his Hat brims.

And now the States Ambassadors *Borrel* of *Amsterdam*, and *Reinsworth* of *Utrecht*, both made Knights and Barons by the King, being sorry that the differences of these civil wars are beyond their endeavours of Reconciliation, they take their leave. And this Declaration sent after them from the Parliament.

To the High and Mighty Lords the States, &c.

Most High and Mighty, &c.

We the Lords and Commons of England in Parliament Assembled, doe with all thankfulness acknowledge your Christian and Neighbourlie zeale to the Peace of this Nation by your Ambassadors, for inviting our King to return to his dutie, and for restoring us to a better confidence of his future carriage; notwithstanding their fair intentions, (which perhaps being well managed might have produced better effects) we may not conceale from you, your Ministers grosse abusing their trust to our prejudice, themselves rather interested parties, then publick Agents; You have been thereby deceived, and we despised and affronted by them. We think fit to present these inclosed to your consideration, wherein they were not satisfied to approach us to our faces, and to take upon them to judge the quarrel against us, except they glorie in it, to make their boldness publique and increasing by the Addition of their own Authoritie, other Particulars concerning these persons, we have here authorized these bearers (unto whom we desire credence) to relate unto you, and to demand justice upon them on our behalf upon the whole matter; we do not doubt but you who verie well know how much more ill there is in War then in oppression, will either afford your best assistance in suppressing tyrannic, and preserving our Religion, or at least be indifferent spectators of our labours to deliver our selves: And, God be blessed for it, our condition is not yet so low, but that we can resent, if not return, both courtesies and injuries. which

The Reign of King Charls.

805

Anno

1645.

we therefore adde, because we know it will be comfortable to our friends to hear, and because we desire to give a testimony thereof, if it shall please you to expresse it to us wherein we may be useful to the States our honoured neighbours and Predecessors in the like sufferings.

Sir John Winter was up again, and obtains from Prince Rupert, two thousand Horse, and fifteen hundred Foot; and so manages his business as drawes all Gloucester Forces upon him, marching to Westbury, quartering within a mile of Winter; but then Massie not able to do much against six thousand Horse and Foot, drove after the rear of their march, and attending their motion with petty Forces of fifteen hundred Horse and Foot, and some Forces from Northampton and Warwick, was got to Lidbury, whither came a part of the Army within half a mile of the Town, to surprize or summon it. Massie commands his Horse to mount, and marches off the Foot; that the Cavaliers, right or left wing, might not get before him, which they endeavoured by sending one party to the Towns end to keep him play, whilest two other parties fetched a compass on either hand; but Massie was enforced to entertain the other with several changes; Here was Backhouse mortally wounded, Massie's Horse shot under him; but Prince Rupert plyed him so close, that Massie drawes off, retreats, and then flies; a fore day to Massie, being in the instant of surprize, but escaped.

Sir John Winter recruited.

Lidbury fight.

Here the Prince being to form sufficient powers, summons the County to this Protestation, as the Parliament had done in the like President. That they believe no power of Pope or Parliament can depose the King, and absolve them from their natural obedience to his royal person and Successors; that the two Houses of Parliament without the Kings consent, have no power to make lawes, or to binde or oblige the Subjects by their Ordinances; that they believe the Earls of Essex and Manchester, Sir Thomas Fairfax, and Sir William Waller, together with all such as have already, or shall hereafter take up Arms by Authoritie or Commission from the Members of Parliament at Westminster, pretending to fight for King and Parliament; doe thereby become actual Rebels; and as such, ought with all their adherents and partakers, to be presented and brought to condigne punishment. That they will never bear Arms in their quarrel, but will, if they be thereto called, assist their Sovereign and his Armies in the defence of his Royal person, Crown, and Dignity, against all contrary Forces to the utmost of their skil and power, and with the hazard of their Lives and Fortunes.

A Protestation of Loyalty to the King.

That they will not discover the secrets of his Majesties Armie unto the Rebels, nor hold any correspondence with them, and all designs of theirs against the Kings Armie, for the surprizing or delivering up of the Cities of Hereford or Worcester, or any other of his Majesties Forts, they shall truly discover unto those whom it shall concern so soon as it

comes

Anno
1645.

comes to their knowledge. That his Majesties taking up of Arms for the causes by himself, so often declared in Print, is justly necessary. That they shall endeavour all they can to hinder popular Tumults, Risings, Rendezvouz, Meetings, Confederacies, and Associations of the people, Townes, Hundreds, and Counties, which are not warranted to Assemble by his Majesties express Commissions, and in the sence he means it, and that they detest from their hearts, the seditious and traiterous late invented National Covenant, and protest never to take it. All these particulars to vow and protest sincerely to observe without Equivocation or mental Reservation.

This was conceived by the people very just and reasonable, for it was a Riddle to the meanest understanding, for the King to fight against those that pretended to fight for him. This Protestation therefore taught them how to distinguish that the Parliament borrowed the Kings name to amaze the people.

Prince *Ruperts* Army, (the main rest of the Kings affairs) draining Garisons, and taking in to him the lesser Brigades; Colonel *Goring's* Brigade passed from *Bristol* over *Severn* to the Prince at *Hereford*. And now *Rupert* draws thence: the Infantry and Artillery lay between *Worcester* and *Bewdly*, commanded by Sir *Jacob Ashly*, whilst *Rupert* and *Maurice* with the Horse and some select Foot, fetcht off the King from *Oxford*, assisted also with *Goring's* Horse and Dragoons, who left his Majesty at *Stow*, and marched back over the Hills into the *West* through the *Glocester-shire* Borders.

Glocester association in much want received three hundred and fourty Auxiliaries in two Troops from the Grand Garison *Newport Paynel*, out of *Buckingham-shire*; and with all these and their own were hardly able to keep their Counties from daily distresses, surprizal, and imprisonments.

Sir *John Winter* having with much resolution and providence maintained his House *Lidney* a Garison, against several assaults of his Adversaries, and now called away to publick service into the body of the Army, and not willing to leave his House a prey to his Enemies advantage, deserted and fired it, having weakened his adverse party round about, and left them nothing to live upon, naked and ruined.

And now comes a larger supply of Horse to *Glocester* from the remainder of Colonel *Beke* and *Dalby's* Regiments, commanded by Major *Baller*, and so was enabled for some enterprize. *Evesham* had much distressed *Worcester*, hindering the Parliaments Committee for establishing that County. *Massie* therefore drew forth before it with five hundred Foot from *Glocester*, and two hundred from *VV*arwick, who belonged to the *Worcester* Committee with a strong able Brigade of Horse, and summoned Colonel *William Leg*,

Governour of Evesham, to make a speedy surrender of the Garison, with all Persons, Arms, Ammunition and Provision, which he there held against the King and Parliament, and the Justice of them both. Or upon the refusal, to expect such Justice, as Fire and Sword would inflict.

To which he received this Answer,

You are hereby answered in the name of His Majesty, that this Garison intrusted to me, I will defend so long as I can, with the Men, Arms, and Ammunition therein, being nothing terrified with your pittifull summons; perceiving that you are a stranger, and slenderly acquainted with our strength and resolution, not admitting any further Treaty; but you, to do your worst.

The Assault was to be made upon each part of the Town: Worcester side was to be stormed in five places, and one place of the Bridge on the other side of the River. The commanded parties of the Foot were lead on by the severall Capitaines, and seconded by the Horse divided into three Bodies. After the disposition of the Design, and the night spent in Alarms, the signal was given a little after break of day, when Horse and Foot fell on both together in a furious assault, broke up the Pallisadoes, filled the Gratts with Fagots, made sundry passages, recovered the works, and stood firm on the Parapet, whilest the Musquetiers from within, played furiously on the Assaylants. The Foot having recovered the shelter of the Ditch, beat off them within, got up by Scaling Ladders, stood upon the breast Works, and some entered, but were bravely beaten off, and afterwards were driven on again by the Horse up to the top of the Works, where they stood firm and fired: but then again beaten off by the violent charge of the Horse within, until a party of the Assaylants Horse on that side drew up close; and having a small breach made for their entrance, fell in, and beat off those within from that Bulwark: this while, another Party had made a breach, and entred near the Bridge, and now they tumble over the Works on all sides, and charge up both Horse and Foot with equal gallantry, bore down those within, and mastered the Garison. This Conflict was hot and difficult for almost an hour, and maintained by the Garison with wondrous courage and resolution. The Assaylants lost many men, two Officers, and a dozen private Souldiers there, and in other places, more than they within. The Prisoners taken were about five hundred, of whom two Colonels, one Major, thirteen Captains, and other Gentlemen Reformadoes. The evening before the assault, (about a hundred Horse) were sent to keep off any approaching Horse from Worcester, and kept guard five miles from Evesham, faced a Party

Anno

1645.

Leicester taken by the King.

Party of Horse, who gave the Alarm to *Worcester*, where they finde four great Guns to summon the County.

This was *Masse's* last action, to take leave of his Government at *Glocester*, where he did very diligent and acceptable service, but was evil requited by the Parliament; and after other publick actions, took his farewell at *London*, and got over beyond the Seas, taking part with the Royalist against the Parliaments designs ever after, to this day.

And hereupon it was ordered by the Parliament, that Master *Luke Nurse* Maior of *Glocester*, Alderman *Singleton*, and Colonel *Blunt*, or any two of them, shall have the command of the Garison of *Glocester*, and of the Forces and Garisons in *Glocester-shire* as Colonel *Masse* had, untill the appointed Governour come down there, or the Parliament take further order.

The King marching, (as we said) towards *Chester*, the fear of his approaching made *Brereton* quit the siege, and so the Kings Work being done, wheeled about, and sat down before *Leicester*, and after summons, not long about it, with great courage in an instant, fell to storming the last of *May*: the first news whereof, sends away *Fairfax* thither, leaving the siege of *Oxford* to *Brown* onely; for *Cromwel* is gone to the Isle of *Ely* his old Garison, to order them into a frame. But *Leicester*, though not able to withstand the potency of the Kings entrance, yet they held fight for three hours in the Market-place, having their Cannon at the cross, to oppose the Assaylants. But being overcome, were killed, the Committee men imprisoned, the *Scotish* Reformadoes and *Dalbin's* men slain. Major *Emis*, *Barchly*, and some others fled and escaped to *Rochingham* Castle. The Governour Colonel *Gray*, and *Hacker*, taken Prisoners, and much Ammunition and Plunder of the Town, sent to the Kings Garisons thereabout, as *Newark*, *Belvoir*, *Ashby de la Zouch*.

This was a notable advantage to the Kings affairs for the present, and gave him good cause to say in a Letter to the Queen. *I may without being too much sanguine, affirm, that since the Rebellion, my affaires were never in so hopesfull a way.* And thus it seemed to the Parliament themselves, and therefore *Fairfax* is sent for out of the *West*, who comes to *Newport Pagnel*, *Cromwel* from *Ely*, their Forces about *Oxford* called off, opened that City to more Elbow room. All the Forces of the associated Counties are called into a Body, with the help of the *Scots* also, and all to Rendezvouz at *Brickill*, Friday the 5 of *June*, and Scouts sent out, who bring word of the Kings being about *Daventry*.

And now was *Cromwel* called for, who by the late Ordinance was near his time limited, to quit the field, and to come to counsel the civil affairs in Parliament. But there was need of his valour and interest in the Army, and therefore *Fairfax* beseeches the

Par-

Parliament to spare his return, and to Authorize his continuance in the Army, as also to Commission him Lieutenant General of the Horse, and *Skippon* ordered to draw the form of a Battel, for now they meant to fight.

Whilst the King drives the Countrey of Cattel, and Plunder, and sends all to his Garison of *Oxford*, Himself and Army now near *Northampton*, *Fairfax* at *Gelington*, the Scots come down to *Nottingham*. And so near each Army to other, that the twelfth of *June* their Forces Skirmish with equal successe, and sufficient to Alarm each other, for now they mean to fight.

The King continued about *Daventry*, and quartered upon *Burrough-hill*.

Fairfax is come within four miles at *Gilborough*, advancing directly upon the King, who was abroad, (not a Hunting as is surmized) and the Souldier not very careful having expected the Enemy, and took leasure to have them nearer. And now take Alarm towards night, and there it rested till the next day. But *Fairfax* rides about his Guards at midnight, heedful to observe, and coming to an Horse Quarter he had forgot the Word. Excusing himself to be their General, and desired the Centinel to give it him, who refused to take notice of any mans person, nor to give, but to take the Word, and so the General was stopt in a great shower of rain, till he had aid from the Captain of the Guard, to give the Word to the General, for which judgement and discretion the Centinel was preferred, but this was in the dark night.

The Duke of *Buckingham*, Lord General and Admiral, was so served at *Portsmouth*, his brave Fleet ready to disembarque there. He would needs skip from Dinner with his Courtiers about him, and to see a fight at Sea, but mounting the Works was charged to stand, till a Corporal was called, who took him by the Coller, set his Sword point to his breast, and carried him prisoner to the Guard, without any respect or reverence to his person: indeed the Duke was angry, for by that stop, he lost his desire, and of which he complained to the Governour, who said, himself would have done so, and to make all friends, the Corporal was well rewarded.

About five a clock in the morning *June 13.* the King drew off from *Burrough Hill* towards *Harborough* and *Pomfrait*, that if the Enemy followed they might fight him at more advantage further Northward, but *Cremwel* is come in from the Associated Counties, and brings six hundred good Horse and Dragoons, and bids them draw out to Battel, each one ordered to his Port.

The Van of the King was at *Harborough*, the Rear within two miles of *Naseby*. It was midnight when the King raises Prince *Rupert* quartered near hand, and calls a Councel of war, and all conclude

Anno

1645.

Naseby Fight.

Their Order.

speedily to give Battel, and because *Fairfax* had been thus forward on his way, the King resolved not to stay for him, but to finde him out.

And Saturday June 14. *Fairfax* had marched from *Gelling* towards *Naseby*, and by the morning sun-shine, might see the King putting his Army into Order and Advancing, the wind Westward which he designed to get, and caused *Fairfax* to fall down into a large Fallow Field North-west of *Naseby*, Flanked with a Hedge, but from thence for more advantage they drew off, or retreated to the side of the Hill, which hastened the King the sooner to fall upon them.

The King in person had the main Battel, his Right Wing commanded by the two Princes *Rupert* and *Maurice*, his Left by Sir *Marmaduke Langdale*. His Right Hand *tertia* by the Earl of *Lindsie* and Sir *Jacob Ashley*, his Left by the Lord *Bards*, and Sir *George Lisle*. His Reserve of Horse were commanded by Colonel *Howard*. Behind them the Kings Regiment of Foot being his Life-Guard, and *Ruperts* Regiment of Foot on their Left Hand.

Cromwel had six thousand Horse, and therefore gave way that *Ireton* should Command five Regiments of them for the Left Wing, and himself with the rest, the Right.

The King comes on apace with Gallantry and Resolution, and his Right Wing charged first upon *Cromwel*, who advances firing at a close charge, they came to Blowes, even to the Hilts, and had the better of the King.

Fairfax main Battel had ill successe, the Generals own Regiment only standing, but all the rest gave ground, nay fowly routed, run off in great disorder, and without any attempt to recover, fell back to their Reserves. And their Colonels and Officers were forced to fight there, which Reserves were commanded by *Rainsborough*, *Hamond*, and *Pride*.

The Kings Right Wing of Horse advanced roundly upon *Fairfax* his Left Wing, and because these were not ready, or would not quit their ground, the other made a Stand, a short pause, and then fell on amain. Some Divisions of either side Fought well, charging home, the middlemost of *Fairfax* did not, for they were pressed upon, and gave ground, so did the Left Wing even to rout.

The Kings Foot had the better of one Brigade, until *Ireton* came to their rescue with his Horse, himself run through the Thigh with a Pike, and into the Face with a Halbert, his Horse shot under him and taken prisoner, till the Battel, being in disorder, and his Keeper trusting him too far, he escaped.

But whilst these fight hand to hand, *Prince Rupert* followed the flight of the Enemies Left Wing almost to *Naseby* Town, and returning Summoned the Train, where he disputed not long, ere he

Anno

1645.

he was fain to quit them, and hasten to the Kings Army, which was in distresse in severall Brigades, now Rallying into some Order.

It is confessed of all sides that the Kings Foot in some *Tertia's* fought with incredible courage, being attempted in their Flanks, Front, and Rear, had his other Foot fought but indifferently, they might have served his turn.

The King kept close with his Horse, himself in person Rallying them to hot encounter, which was performed as men use to doe, for their lives blood, now near the last, but *Fairfax's* Horse gave ground staying for his Foot, which were Pillaging of their prey, and others that had been routed, Rallied again, and so came up with a Body; by these advantages their Horse were helped, and the Kings overpowred by hardships impossible for valour to withstand, shifted out of the Field towards *Leicester*, and lost all, being the fatal bat-tel to the King and his party.

The King had the better Horse, the other the more of Foot, and throughout better Arms, compleat in Amunition, and in numbers overpowred the King both in Horse and Foot.

The Roll that came to the Parliament was thus, Major General *Skippon* shot into the side, Commissary General *Ireton*, with these Colonels, *Cook, Butler, Francis* wounded, and many slain, above a 1000. sundry Captains, and Common Souldiers. Of the Kings party, the Earl of *Lindsey*, Sir *Jacob Ashley*, Colonel *Russel* and others hurt, six hundred slain of the common Souldiers, twenty Colonels, Knights, and Officers of note.

Prisoners are thus numbred in the Note.

6. Colonels, 8. Lieutenant Colonels, 18. Majors, 70. Captains, 80. Lieutenants, two hundred Ensignes and other inferiour Officers, 4500. common Souldiers, and many women, 13. of the Kings Household Servants, 4. of his Footmen, 12. Pieces of Ordinance, 8000. Armes, 40. Barrells of Powder, 200. Carriages, all their Bagg and Baggage, with store of rich pillage, 200. Horse, the Kings Standard, and divers of Horse and Foot, one of the Kings Coaches, his Cabinet of Letters and Papers: The King finding the Pursuit so hot, leaves *Leicester* and hasts to *Lichfield*. *Fairfax* follows, and that night with his Horse surrounded *Leicester*, and the next day his Foot comes up to the siege.

And with this newes to the Parliament, comes other from sundry parts, successe upon successe, the Parliament regaining *Hougham* Garison near *Grantham* the 18. of June, and divers Officers and men of quality prisoners.

Anne

1645.

Brereton from *Cheshire* beat a Party, and took above 150. prisoners.

The like from a party of *Shrewsbury*, who took 400. prisoners in a fight.

Another in *Staffordshire*, a party of Captain *Stone* Governour of *Eccleshall* Castle, took Major *Fenningham* and divers others prisoners.

So that the Parliament were glutted with fortunate events, and much busied about the stowage of their prisoners, who were driven in triumph up to *London*, miserable spectacles of the Fate of War: Convoyed by Colonel *Jo. Fines* to be disposed of in prisons, but these are full before. Therefore they were crouded into the walled Military grounds: where numbers of them were starved to death daily, there being in all 4500. many Gentlemen among them there, besides others of Note forced into several prisons, whilst the City for joy, sumptuously feast the Houses.

Nor did this satisfie, untill the Parliament had filld their measure to the brim, by publishing to the People in Print the Copies of the King and Queens secret and private Letters of conjugal affection to each other, of which the King is sensible, and indeavours to sling the shame into their faces, upbraiding them for their incivility in this their inhumane action, as he stiles it.

The Kings
Letters taken
and divulged.

Upon his Majesty's Letters
taken and divulged.
Eikon Bas.
ch. 21.

The taking of my Letters was an opportunity, which, as the malice of mine Enemies could hardly have expected it, so, they knew not how with honour and civility to use: Nor do I think, with sober and worthy mindes, any thing in them could tend so much to my reproach, as the odious divulging of them did to the infamy of the Divulgers: The greatest experiments of Vertue and Nobleness being discovered in the greatest advantages against an enemy; and the greatest obligations being those, which are put upon us by them, from whom we could least have expected them.

And such I should have esteemed the concealing of my Papers; The freedom and secrecie of which commands a civility from all men, not wholly barbarous; nor is there any thing more inhumane then to expose them to publick view.

Yet since Providence will have it so, I am content so much of my heart (which I study to approve to Gods Omniscience) should be discovered to the world, without any of those dreses or popular captations which some men use in their speeches and Expresses; I wish my Subjects had yet a clearer sight into my most retired thoughts.

Where they might discover how they are divided between the love and care I have, not more to preserve my own Rights, then to procure their Peace and Happiness; and that extreame grief to see them both Deceived and Destroyed.

Nor can any mens malice be gratified farther by my Letters, then to see my constancy to my Wife, the Laws and Religion. Bees will gather Honey, where the Spider sucks Poison.

That I endeavour to avoid the pressures of my Enemies, by all fair and just correspondencies, no man can blame, who loves me, or the Common-wealth; since my Subjects can hardly be happy, if I be miserable; or enjoy their Peace and Liberty, while I am oppressed.

The world may see how some mens design, like Absolom's, is, by enormous actions, to widen differences, and to exasperate all sides to such distances, as may make all reconciliation desperate.

Yet, I thank God, I cannot only with Patience bear this, as other indignities; but with Charity forgive them.

The integrity of my intentions is not jealous of any injury, my expressions can do them; for although the confidence of privacy may admit greater freedom in writing such Letters, which may be liable to envious exceptions; yet the Innocencie of my chief purposes cannot be so stained, or mis-interpreted by them, as not to let all men see, that I wish nothing more then an happy composure of differences with Justice and Honour, not more to my own, then my Peoples content, who have any sparks of Love or Loyalty left in them: who, by those my Letters, may be convinced, that I can both minde and act mine own, and my Kingdoms Affairs, so as becoms a Prince; which mine Enemies have alwayes been very loth should be believed of me; as if I were wholly confined to the Dictates and Directions of others, whom they please to brand with the names of Evil Counsellors.

It's probable some men will now look upon me as my own Counsellor; and having none else to quarrel with under that notion, they will hereafter confine their anger to my self: Although I know they are very unwilling I should enjoy that Liberty of my own Thoughts, or follow that light of my own Conscience, which they labour to bring into an absolute captivitie to themselves; not allowing me to think their Counsels to other then good for me, which have so long maintained a War against me.

The Victory they obtained that day, when my Letters became their prize, had been enough to have satiated the most ambitious thirst of Popular Glory among the Vulgar; with whom prosperity gains the greatest esteem and applause, as Adversitie exposeth to their greatest slighting and dis-respect: As if good fortune were alwaies the shadow of Virtue and Justice, and did not oft'ner attend vitious and injurious actions, as to this world.

But I see no secular advantages seem sufficient to that Cause which began with Tumults, and depends chiefly upon the reputation with the Vulgar.

They think no Victories so effectual to their designs as those, that most rout and wast my Credit with my People; in whose hearts they seek by all meanes to smother and extinguish all sparks of Love, Respect and Loyalty

Anno
1645.

Loyalty to me, that they may never kindle again, so as to recover mine, the Laws and the Kingdoms Liberties, which some men seek to overthrow: The taking away of my Credit is but a necessarie preparation to the taking away of my Life, and my Kingdoms: First I must seem neither fit to Live, nor worthie to Reign; by exquisite methods of cunning and cruelty, I must be compelled, first to follow the funerals of my Honour, and then be destroyed: But I know Gods unerring and impartial Justice can, and will over-rule the most perverse wills and designs of men; he is able, and (I hope) will turn even the worst of mine Enemies thoughts and actions to my good.

Nor do I think, that by the surprize of my Letters, I have lost any more then so many Papers: How much they have lost of that reputation, for Civilitie and Humanitie (which ought to be paid to all men, and most becomes such as pretend to Religion) besides that of Respect and Honour, which they owe to their KING,-- present, and after-times will judg. And I cannot think that their own Consciences are so stupid, at not to inflict upon them some secret impressions of that shame and dishonour, which attends all unworthy actions, have they never so much of Publick flatterie, and Popular countenance.

I am sure they can never expect the Divine Approbation of such indecent actions, if they do but remember how God blessed the modest respect and filial tenderness which Noah's Sons bare to their Father; nor did his open infirmitie justifie Cham's impudencie, or exempt him from that curse of being Servant of Servants; which curse must needs be on them who seek by dishonourable actions to please the Vulgar, and confirm by Ignoble Acts their dependance upon the People.

Nor can their malicious intentions be ever either excusable, or prosperous, who thought, by this means, to expose me to the highest reproach and contempt of my People; forgetting that Duty of modest concealment, which they owed to the Father of their Country, in case they had discovered any real uncomeliness; which I thank God they did not; who can, and I believe, hath made me (as he did David) more respected in the hearts of many, to whom they have thought, by publishing my private Letters, to have rendered me as a vile Person, not fit to be trusted or considered, under any notion of Majesty.

And concerning which Letters the King writes to Secretary Nicholas; Though I could have wished the Parliaments paines had been spared in printing of them, yet I will neither deny that those things are untrue which they have set out in my Name, nor as a good Protestant or honest man blush for those Papers. Indeed as a discreet man I will not justifie my self, and yet I would fain know him who would be willing that the freedom of all his private Letters were publickly seen, as mine have now been. However (so that one clause be rightly understood) I care not much

Anno
1645.

so the rest take their fortune. It is concerning the *Mungril Parliament*. The truth is, that the Earl of *Sussex* his Factionnesse at that time, put me somewhat out of my patience, which made me freely vent my displeasure against those of his party to my Wife: and the intention of that phrase was, that his faction did what they could to make it come to that by their raising and Fomenting base propositions. This is clearly evidenced by my following Excuse to her, for suffering those people to trouble her, the occasion being to eschew those greater Inconveniencies which they had, and were more likely to cause here then there. So much to his Secretary.

And in his Declaration concerning some of those Letters: It is further urged, But they have found a Letter of his Majesties to the Queen, which shewes that the Eminent places of the Kingdom are disposed of by her advice, (and then conclude from her Religion, that they are by consequence disposed of by Papists and Jesuits) and that the persons there Named even during the sitting of Parliament, are either all impeached by them, or bear Armes against them. To this his Majesty replies: First, that he cannot but deplore the condition of the Kingdom, when Letters of all sorts to Husbands and Wives, even of his Majesty to his Royal Consort are intercepted, and brought in evidence and published to the world. Secondly, that the places there named, are not places (as they call it) of the Kingdom, but private menial places, a Treasurer of the Household, a Captain of the Pensioners and a Gentleman of the Bed-chamber, &c. Nor of the persons there named, is there any one a Papist, or like one. That in these his most private Letters to the persons nearest him, wherein he cannot be justly suspected to say any thing out of Design or Policy. His own clear perswasion that the Parliament and not he, have been the cause and are the fosterers of this War and Universal distraction, and his sence of it, and his desire of the end of it are so plainly expressed, that they will by this accident be much satisfied with his Innocency and reality, and believe that the reading this in such a Letter, is the very next degree to reading it in his Heart.

But their successes increase, *Leicester* is rendered upon Articles, and thus the Manner.

Sir *John Gell* for the Parliament, whilst the Armies were fighting, had summoned all the forces of those Counties of *Darby* and *Nottingham*, and two dayes after the Battel, they met with some of the Kings scattered Horse and took fifty. Another of his party fell upon threescore of the *Newarkers* Horse, did so by them and carried away fourty Prisoners and fifty Arms. And forthwith they joyn with *Fairfax* and sit down before *Leicester*: Instantly Summons it: with the true Relation of what had befallen the King, and

And his Declaration.

Leicester Surrendered upon Articles to the Parliament.

Anno

1645.

and advises the Governour, the Lord *Loughborow* to surrender speedily to avoid the Mischief of storming. But he stoutly refused: professing, *that it were a shame for them to submit, since if the state of War was so to his Majesty, it might prove the rather now propitious to them; however their opposers should finde their Loyalty never a whit abated by the unhappinesse of his Majesties success; but to do their duty to the utmost of their power which was equal to their Spirits.*

Fairfax finding their Confidence, calls a Council of War and concludes of storming the next day, and instantly to surround the Town, which was done with great expedition: Raising their Batteries, providing Ladders and Engins for their best advantage. On Tuesday 17. *June*, they began their Batteries with their great shot without ceasing; and together fell upon storming in several places, especially the *Newark* side, supposed their greatest strength: And not over-long it was, that the breach widened, which strook so much terrour to the besieged, that Overtures were offered of surrender. The Commissioners sent in, were two Colonels, *Pickering* and *Rainsborough*: But whilst they capitulate, *Fairfax* provides himself of Necessaries which he wanted; *Pittars, Carts, Hay, Granadoes, Ladders*, resolving to fall on upon their return. But it was concluded to surrender, and thereby much blood saved upon Noble Articles.

Prince Elect-
or arrested for
debt, at the
City feast.

And at the Thanksgiving-day in *London* the City feast the Parliament at Grocers Hall; where was for Principal guest the *Prince Elector*, drinking health from the fatall events of his dearest Uncle the King: and when a bold and worthy Merchant (true to his principles) Arrested him in the Room, delivering a writ of Execution to the Sheriffes of *London* there present to do their Office; which debt of 1000. Marks was instantly secured by the Lords that were present; the Citizen committed for some dayes, but his mony paid him to a farthing: And after their full bellie-cheer, they sung the 46. *Psalm*, being a song of Thanksgiving for deliverance of *Jerusalem* (after *Senacherib* with his Army was driven away (or some other such deliverance.)

But the prisoners were now disposed, the most of them more then a thousand to be listed for the Parliaments service in *Ireland*.

Oxford strait-
ned.

Oxford siege is now resolved upon by the Parliament, and twenty thousand pounds advanced for the Army for that, and the Relief of *Taunton*, now again hard beset by the Kings Forces.

Carlisle sur-
rendered.

Sir *Thomas Glenham*, a gallant person had been for some time Governour of *Carlisle* Garrison for the King, and had endured a strickt and forceable Seige, but not able to do more then could be

expecte d

expected by starved Souldiers, lessened by small numbers, little Ammunition, and without expectation of Succour, he surrenders the eight and twentieth of *June* upon honourable Conditions, and the Garison to march away to *Newark*: so then the Parliament had the North parts clear; and therefore have a Conference how mainly to keep their Northern Garisons with *Berwick*, *Carlisle*, and *Newcastle*, clear from the King, or any other Enemy, not trusting therein to our dear Brethren the *Scots*, who were loth to remove Southward from the Northern neighbouring Counties.

We are told that the King is now in person about *Ragland* Castle in *Wales*, to gather Recruits from his faithfull *Brittains*: *Fairfax* at *Marlborough*, *Massie* at *Shaftsbury*, and *Goring* keeps aloof of *Taunton*, so that the Besieged can sally out in more safety: and this *Goring* might do, and forrage the Countrey, for the Club-men were up, I cannot say in Arms, onely with Cudgels; nor can we as yet finde for whom they intend assistance; an unruly Rabble, five thousand and upwards, daily increasing, without Order or Discipline, and so insolent that they forced the Parliaments Quarters in *Wilts* and *Dorsetshire*, specially at *Sturminster-Newton*, and killed many, and seize all the Horse in the grounds, near a hundred Dragoons at a clap; to whom therefore Major General *Massie* sends a Trumpeter for Restitution of Horse; and Arms in other places also, or suddenly reports to reduce them to obedience.

Club-men are up.

These Club-men were called Levellers, in respect of some Principles, which we shall discuss hereafter, but for the present take this Description of their pretences at first.

The Countreys (especially *Wilts* and *Dorsetshire*, and some others) had been extremely harraled, plundered of their Lives and Fortunes by a two-edged Sword, now in power for the King, then for the Parliament, and between both the poor people are crushed and ground to powder, and in no one place more than at this time concerning *Taunton*: to defend themselves the Clowns and Countrey-men stood upon their guard, not submitting Contribution to either, and in truth so formidable they were, and for the present so independing, as *Fairfax* is in doubt to march forward to relieve *Taunton*, untill these mens interests were calmed, or their intentions fixed.

And to make the business more formidable, the Parliament come to a Conference, and conclude of two Letters to *Fairfax* and *Massie* to be communicated to the chief of the Club-men, of the Intentions of the Parliaments Forces in general, in opposition to the King, and of the present Design to advance to the Relief of *Taunton*, and that done, to leave the Countrey in defence and quiet: and therefore the Countrey-men are required to retire to their habitations, not to be questioned for this Insurrection and Tumult, in case they shall speedi-

Anno
1645.

ly submit to the present Order; otherwise the Commanders Fairfax and Massie are to take all advantage to force them, and to bring the chief Actors to condign punishment; and if it shall be necessary to execute martial Law upon them.

These Resolutions of the Parliaments, and Fairfax and Massie joyned in a Body, soon scared the Club-men into a moderate Treaty and Cessation.

The while Goring hearing of these powers against him, draws off his Horse towards Chard, but leaves sufficient Foot to keep the Town in Siege; and so he keeps himself at distance, to fight or fly the fury of his Adversaries Forces, who the nearer they march towards him, the farther he retreats, and in fine falls off with his Forces, and marches towards Exeter, giving room for Fairfax to enter and relieve Taunton for the present.

Club-men
treat with
Fairfax.

The Club-men are now formed into a Body, and countenanced into a publick cause, as concerning all Counties; and persons of some quality are chiefs in their Council, these are sent for as Agents to treat with the General Fairfax near Dorchester, July 3. The chief or Spokesman was one Mr. Hollis of that County, (and Brother to him of Salisbury) their Embassie but for a Pass to their Commissioners, returning some to the King, others to the Parliament.

Those to the King were Doctor Henry Goche, and Thomas Browel, Divines; Jo. St. Loe, Peter Hodskins, Esq; Thomas Young an Attourney, and Robert Pawlet Gent.

To the Parliament were directed Melchisedec Woltham and Richard Cook, Club-teachers or Preachers; Tho. Trenchard and Robert Culliford, Esqs; George Haule and Richard Newman, Gent.

And together with Hollis Desire, he delivers the Petitions themselves with their devised Articles concerning an Association of the County independent of either Armies.

The effect of the Articles.

That those Associate shall finde Arms for themselves to be at peace, unless in opposition of disorderly Souldiers on either side to be brought to the next adjacent Garison.

That they will submit to Quarter and Contribution to their abilities, till their Petitions be preferred, and timely answered.

Not to favour either party, nor to protect any, not so associated.

Then in their Petitions.

They desire a renewed Treaty of King and Parliament, with Cessation of Arms.

That

That the Garisons of Dorset and Wiltshire be put into their hands, till the King and Parliament agree about the disposal of them.

That they be free from all charge but maintenance of those Garisons.

That all Laws not repealed be in force, and to be executed by the ordinary Officers.

That all men that desire, may lay down Arms, and others who have absented themselves from their Dwellings may have liberty to return home.

This being the sum, and sufficient to trouble the General what to do, he (and the Committee with him) conclude of this Answer.

Although the Paper brought to me being not subscribed cannot challenge any Answer, yet to clear my self from avernesse to the satisfaction of the Countrey, who are pretended to be intrusted in these Petitions, I return this.

His Answer.

That my affections, and the affections of this Army, are as much inclined to peace, as any mens whatsoever. And we undertake the War for no other end than the establishment of a firm and happy peace, by opposing the Enemies thereof, and that I shall be ready so far as it concerns me, to further all lawfull means to procure it.

But having seen the Petitions, for the conveyance of which a Let-pass is desired; I must profess my self not so well satisfied with some things contained in them, as to concur to their delivering by any act of mine.

1. In particular, That a Cessation is desired, whilest by Letters written by the King and Queen, (taken at the Battle at Naseby) it evidently appears, that Contracts are already made for the bringing in ten thousand French and six thousand Irish.

2. It is further desired, That the Garisons in these parts, whereof three are Sea-ports, should be delivered up to the Petitioners; which to grant were for the Parliament to acquit part of the Trust reposed in them by the Kingdom, and (considering these foreign Preparations) to run very great hazards of these Ports to themselves and the whole Kingdom.

It is further propounded, That liberty be given to all Souldiers to disband, and to return home, if they desire it; which may with equal justice be desired by all parts of the Kingdom, and so the Parliament made unable to mannage the War before Peace be settled.

These Considerations with some other, as yet to be debated, will not allow me to grant the Desire of the Letter.

But as to that other part of the Petition, which declares the Grievances of the Countie by Plunder and violence, committed either by Garisons or Armies, I do hereby promise and undertake for the Garisons and Armies under the Command of the Parliament, that whatsoever

Anno

1645.

Disorders are committed by them, upon a Complaint making known the Offences and the Persons, justice shall be done and satisfaction given.

As also that I shall endeavour that the Parliament Garisons be regulated according to any reasonable agreement with the Countrey, and without doubt the Parliament will cause them to be slighted so soon as the condition of these parts and the publick good shall permit.

And that the Army under my command shall be ordered as may be most for the good and advantage of these Counties, and the whole Kingdom, of which some reasonable testimony is already given in their quiet and orderly passage through these and other Counties without many of those Complaints which usually follow Armies.

I further desire, that in the publishing of this my Answer to your Request, all assembling of the people to publick Rendezvous may be forborn, and that Copies hereof may be dispersed to the several Parishes, that the Countrey may be acquainted herewith.

Th: Fairfax.

Club-men's
mis-rule.

But although these Club-ambassadors went away with no better satisfaction from so potent an Army, yet they quarrelled with the Governour of *Lime* about *Bridg-port*, who sent to them to disband, and to return from tumult.

To declare themselves for answer, they in scorn tore his Paper-Message; and thereupon they had a Bickering, and some scores slain on both sides; and no doubt *Goring* had fomented that Difference, and lent them some Officers.

Goring and
Fairfax fight

But *Goring* having drawn off all his Forces from *Taunton* the seventh of *July*, marched to *Lang-port*, expecting a party of Horse and Foot to joyn with him from the King, which *Fairfax* resolved to prevent, and first to fight him, and to that end divides his Army; *Masse* with four thousand being seven or eight Regiments of Foot was quartered at *Martobee*, who advanced to the very Rear of *Goring*, fell upon them, took some Prisoners, but few slain: *Fairfax* by this time was come up with his Horse Brigade within a Mile of the Cavaliers Head Quarters at *Lang-port*, not knowing of the Engagement of *Masse*, who was quartered on the other side of the River: *Fairfax* early the tenth of *July* drew out seven Regiments of Horse in *Sutton Field*, and a great part of his Foot likewise; upon whose Advance, *Goring* seeing the Resolution against him, possessed himself of a Pass very advantageous by the Hedges, which he lined with Musquetiers, this Pass lying between his Enemies Armies, and hindered the conjunction, and served his own turn, to draw off his Ordnance and Provisions for *Bridgwater*, with an honourable Retreat, if need were; but his Foot were soon beaten away from their Post, and those that lined the Hedges; and so with more security advanc'd their Horse; Major *Bethel* the first

at *Sutton*
Field.

Anno

1645.

first man that forced the Pass with a single Troop, the rest followed and charged *Goring's* Body, that were ready in a Lane to receive them, with as gallant a Charge as good Souldiers should do: and forced them to a Retreat to their Body for more help, when Colonel *Desborough* being at hand supplied that loss, and with about four hundred Horse of the General's Regiment gave a smart Encounter, and turned the Scale of Fortune; for *Goring* not able to endure their fresh Assaults, and expecting more, retreated to *Bridgwater*; there were eleven hundred slain on both sides, and prisoners to each party equally. But *Fairfax* pursuing, and the other disorderly retiring, the Victory was more evident; for *Goring* had the worst; Men and Horse taken, many Colours, two Pieces, and some Carriages for Ammunition. And the News of these two Fights of *Masse* and *Fairfax* were presented to the Parliament by Major *Harrison* from the Army.

Goring marches away from *Bridgwater* towards the North of *Devonshire*, *Barnstable*, to whom *Greenvile* and *Berkley* hastening out of *Cornwall* and *Devonshire* to joyn with him, met at *Miniard* six thousand strong; and Prince *Charls*, *Hopton* and the Lord *Wentworth* were gone into *Cornwall* to raise the County.

Goring goes Westward.

And the General *Fairfax* turns aside to salute the Club-men two thousand in a Body between *Bristol* and *Bridgwater*; to whom he offers Propositions.

Fairfax to *Bridgwater*.

That the Kings Forces in Bridgwater might not be supplied by them; that his men should have nothing of them, but for necessary subsistence, and to be paid out of the first moneys, which was expected daily from the Parliament; and justice shall be done to any that offends them.

But they continue in a Body, and return him a doubtfull Answer.

More News of Success to the Parliament came poast from *Pomfret* Castle in the North, Major General *Poins* having with much cost and time spent, now at last receiving it by Surrender, on the one and twentieth of *July*, upon honourable terms for the Surrender, and with liberty to march to *Newark*, with a safe Conduct to *Doncaster*; and the military power of this Castle voted to be invested in the Gen. *Fairfax*, which Northern Association had some limitation in his Commission; but indeed it was suddenly done to prevent the Lords, who had bestowed the command on *Poins* for his labour; but the Commons Vote was first, and so the Lords came too late.

We left *Fairfax* near *Bridgwater*, which he meant to besiege, and to plain his way, four miles off he takes in a Garison Fort of the

Bridgwater bravely defended.

Anno

1645.

Bridgwater
bravely de-
fended.

the Kings called *Burroughs* upon good Quarter to march off, not more than an hundred and fifty therein.

Then he sits down against *Bridgwater*, rather to rest; for he does nothing till his Money come from the Parliament to encourage his Army somewhat sullen for Pay, which being come the three and twentieth of *July*, and the Army paid, he surrounds the Town; he had sent his Summons to the Governour, but was answered with much courage, being assisted by Council of gallant persons his Companions therein, Sir *Hugh Windham*, Sir *John Digby*, Sir *Francis Courtney*, *Tom Eliot* was there too, Sir *John Stowel*, and Sir *John Hales*, well fortified, and fitted with Men and Ammunition, and endured the first Onsets of their Enemy with Success, which made the General to consult, whether by Siege or Storm; but he was told by the Renegadoes of their strength within, and excellent store of good Victual, which confirmed his Resolve to storm; the Souldier animated the Day before by Mr. *Peters* preaching to them *the piety of the Cause*; then the Foot towards Evening were drawn out, and that Night spent in ordering for the Storm, which began early at two of the clock in the Morning the one and twentieth of *July*; the General's Regiment led on to the Work, and gave not over till they had mastered the top, and fixed his Colours, gaining that Plat-form and the Guns, and let down the Draw-bridg for a Captain (one *Reynolds*) to enter with a Forlorn of Horse, scouring the Streets, but with much loss, forced the Besieged from the hither to the upper part of the Town.

Massie endeavoured to do his duty, and did his good will on the other side, but excuses himself, not so ready at the time appointed, and vvas beaten off, and the Tovvnsmen had the better: this lasted but an hour, and being before day the Assailants escaped some of the great Shot that flevv over head, and did no harm.

The hither Tovvn being vvon, the Defendants vv ere the more couragious, to the admiration of the Assailants, flinging their Grana- does and other combustibile Shot that fired the hither Tovvn up- on their Enemies heads, not a house left standing, so that vvhat vv as got vv as in fire, vv hich put the General to a second Sum- mons, and to a Parley, sending his Trumpet to tell them, *That he was moved in compassion to spare the effusion of more bloud, and to save to the Inhabitants what was left from confusion.* This vv as in the Evening at six a clock.

But the Defendants vvould not stoop to a Treaty, resolving sooner to die than to yield; vv hich put *Fairfax* to a Resolution to vv in them by force; and the next Morning early for *Massie* to be- gin the second Storm on that side of his Quarters *July 22.* at the davvn of the day; he fell on, so did *Fairfax* on the other side, but the Tide vv as up and high, vv hich hindered the intention for a time;

Anno

1645.

time; and indeed *Mafie* did but alarm; and yet lost some men; and the General put it, mightily troubled for this ill success; and therefore summons them again, pretending a Treaty in favour of the Women and Children from this horrid Destruction, giving Cessation for that purpose till 4. a clock afternoon: and so the Lady Governess a gallant person was intreated to quit the hazzard of an enraged Enemy; with her went out the Lady *Haule*, Mrs. *Maire*, and divers others of quality: but not prevailing by Storm, they try by firing; all their great Guns, Morter-pieces, Fire-balls, hot Irons, with the help of the Winde, fired the upper Town in four places, of a flame, and unquenchable. *Tom Eliot* was sent down to the General, who now would not be intreated, nothing but Fire and Sword, having twice refused his Offer of Treaty; yet they agree, and Surrender is made, and a Cessation on the sudden, the fire quenching, and conclude with fair Quarter, and to march out, leaving such Ammunition and Plunder as escaped burning, vvhich vvas very little, not vvorth the bloody purchase.

at last surrendered.

And to conclude this Moneth, the lasting Siege of *Scarborough* Castle in the North vvas novv surrendered upon honourable terms; many Commanders having laid their Bones there. *Mel-drum* the Scot did his best for a long time, but enduring monstrous misery by a Shot in his back died under the Walls.

Scarborough Castle delivered to the Parliament.

Then comes Sir *Matthew Bointon* in his place, and after his tedious time, and the Garison vvorn out by sickness, and many slain, and no hope of Relief, all the North cleared to the Parliament, the noble Governour Sir *Hugh Cholmley* renders it upon very good Conditions.

Rabby Castle suffered under the like fate, and like Conditions.

Some two or three such Garisons continue yet for the King, as *Skipton* and *Sandal* Castle, but are upon surrendring.

The Scots are marching towards *Worcester*, and by the way took *Canon From*, a strong Garison by Storm.

Hopton is near *Exeter*, *Greenvile* about *Southam*, *Goring* at *Okington*, *Rupert* at *Bristol* ready to endure a Siege, Prince *Maurice* at *Worcester*, and the King in *Wales*.

On goes the General, and the last of *July* *Bath* was surrendred to him.

Bath rendered to *Fairfax*.

His Head Quarters being at *Wells*, he sent a Party against *Sherburn*; and another Party of two Regiments of Horie, and two Companies of Dragoons under Command of Colonel *Rich* towards *Bath*, to view the Town: at the approach of his Horse, and coming down the Hill to the Bridg, the Town took an Allarm, and

Anno

1645.

and discharged their Ordnance, and *Rich* assailed an Out-work, and beat them in, possessing the place all night, indeed it was not tortured, and no boot to stand it out against so great a power as *Fairfax* had hard by; and the sooner to condition the better terms; and so *Sir Thomas Bridges* the Governour renders it upon good Conditions, to march out in Souldier-like posture to *Bristol*.

And *Fairfax* marches to *Wells*, where he stays, being by this time in want of Recruits; and then he is for *Sherburn*.

Siege of Hereford by the Scots raised by the King.

The City of *Hereford* for the King was committed to the Government of *Sir Barnabas Scudamore* a gallant expert Commander, a Garison of good consequence, faithfull and loyal, receiving Contribution from the Counties thereabout: and thither were the *Scots* ordered to march, for reducing it to the Parliaments Service.

They came the thirtieth of *July*, their Forlorn of Horse were suddenly charged with a party of twenty Horse, and beaten into the Main Body, retreating in disorder; then the whole Body of Horse faced the Besieged about ten a clock in the morning, within the reach of Cannon, and were welcomed with some execution, the Foot as yet undiscovered; a strong party of Foot came out privately and lined the Hedges, galling the *Scots* in their passage to the Fords, and so retreated, and presently insafed all their Ports: the next Morning came up the sole Body of Foot and surrounded the City.

No sooner set, but they invite the Besieged to a Surrender by a double Summons, one from the General *Leven*, directed to the Governour; the other from the Committee of both Kingdoms attending the Army, sent to the Mayor and Corporation, who complied so well in their Resolution, that one Answer served for both parties, a scornfull Denial.

The *Scots* challenge was thus.

For the Governour of the Citie of Hereford.

S I R,

Summons.

Our appearance in this posture is for no other end, but the settling of Truth with Peace in England, without the least desire of shedding the blood of any Subject; therefore this is to summon you to deliver up that City unto me for the King and Parliament of England: if herein you be wise and happy, you may have Conditions honourable and safe; otherwise all the world will acquit me of the manifold Inconveniencies. Consider your own condition, and those under your charge, whose blood will be required upon your account. And return me Answer within three hours.

July 31. ten a clock.

Leven.

My

My Lord,

I am not to give up the Kings Garisons upon any Summons or Letter, neither shall it be in the power of the Mayor or other to condescend to any such Propositions made unto him. I was set in here by the Kings command, and shall not quit it but by special Order from his Majesty or the Prince. And with this Resolution I shall persist in Hereford, this
 July 31. 1645. B. Scudamore.

Anno
1645.

Answers.

This not satisfactory, the Scots began their Approach the first of *August*, but very slowly, rather intending their own security than the hurt of others; but their art could not protect them from small and great Shot, which fell upon them, and by several Sallies were much galled; first, over *Wye* Bridge, beating them to their Main Guard: at another time, demolisht one side of *St. Martin's* Steeple, which would have annoyed the Besieged at the Bridge and Palace: and in these two Sallies they lost but two Men, but the Scots lost many.

Then the Scots make use of a better Engin; the Mayor and Aldermen are now courted to yield the Town, by an Epistle subscribed by six of the County Gentlemen, very compassionate and swasive, which was answered with neglect.

And so they continue their Line of Communication, raise their Batteries, commencing at *Wye* Bridge; from whence they received their own greatest Dammage; and here amongst many others was slain their much lamented Major General *Crafford*, which provoked them to play upon the Gate for two Days, battering it useles, but was stopt up with Wool-packs and Timber; and to elude the Assailants, the Besieged broke an Arch, but raised a very strong Work behinde it.

The Scots frustrate here, raise two several Batteries at the *Friers* and over the *River*, and from thence ply their Ordnance against *Wye* side, but are as quick repaired, and the Walls lined faster than they can batter, and therefore desist.

Then the eleventh of *August* the Scots undermine at *Frene-gate*, but are discovered and counter-mined; and thereupon it is carried on at the other side of the Gate, which was defeated by making a Sally Port, and issued thereout, broke it open and fired it.

The thirteenth they raise Batteries round about the Town, and make a Bridge over *Wye*.

The fourteenth they send a Messenger to Dr. *Scudamore* with a simple Letter from three Gentlemen of the County to the Governour.

May it please your Honour,

We having a great desire for the good of the City and County, and seeing the great distress like to ensue to both Citie and Countie, think fit

N n n n

Anno
1645.

to present these to your Honour, and to give you to understand, that if it please your Honour to admit us with safe conduct, to impart some matters to your Honour, &c.

August 14. 1644.
From the Generals Quarter.

Herbert Westfalling. Roger Hereford.
Ja. Newton.

The wise men were admitted, and their secret counsel and advice was, To render up all to the valiant Scots; and so they parted. And the good Doctor bringing them out of the Port had an unfortunate Shot from the *Scot* that killed him.

The fifteenth, the face of their Battery against *Frene-gate* was discovered with five several Guns-ports, and playing four Cannon jointly at the Wall, and made a Breach, which was soon made up again; and the like on the other side with the same success.

The seventeenth was a notable Sally at *St. Owen's Church*, with great execution, and divers Prisoners taken, they say, within their own loss being but one man. This is certain, the very Boys came out and fired the *Scots* Works to some purpose: and twice they had such success at this Port.

At the Castle there were four several Sallies to very great effect, and little loss to the Attempters, who took many Prisoners, and slew more, beat them out of their Works, with shame and anger. Then they raise Batteries against *St. Owen's Church*, but to little purpose, for from the twentieth of *August* to the seven and twentieth, they were weary from shooting, but plied their Mine at *St. Owen's*, and prepared for Scaling, which was countermined from within, fired their Works, and what was not done by burning, was effected by Water breaking in and drowning.

The nine and twentieth *Leven* assays again by Summons to surrender, and is answered with flighting; and therefore in terrour the Ladders are prepared the first of *September*, playing with their Cannon upon *Bistane-gate*, and the Half-moon by *St. Owen's Gate*; but the same Night at the very Noise of the King coming from *Worcester*, they prepared for Flight; and the next Morning not a *Scot* to be seen, felt, or heard of, they were all fled.

So you see after a Moneths Siege, the *Scots* wasting their Men, Money, and time march away through *Glocester*, and so to *Warwick*, & from thence they pretended to go homewards. Indeed they were displeased for want of their Arrears And *Leven* was somewhat too strictly observed by the *English* Committee in his Army. Besides there was ill News from *Scotland*, *Montrose* there mightily prevailing for the King, even to the hazzard of *Edinburgh*, and so of that Nation. Therefore the *Scotish* Estates call home Sir *Darid Lesly* with his Body of Horse; and in a snuff the *Scots* General in *England* will be gone also with his Army, and by leasurely Marches gets Northward: and ever and anon he clamours for Money: but

no

The King
raises the Siege

The Scots in
discontent.

no Work no Money, for he will not be as yet intreated to besiege Newark. And Leven being a General in England (though an Hireling) takes upon him to grant Commissions to English for new Levies: against which the Parliament vote,

That the Scottish Armie in England hath no power to grant Commissions to any person for raising Forces within this Kingdome, and that such Commissions are and shall be void.

And because they will not do as they are bidden, the House of Commons vote,

That if the Scottish Armie in this Kingdom shall sit down before Newark by the first of November next, the sum of thirty thousand pounds will be advanced for them, else not.

Nay, the Scots General is curbed in his own Quarters concerning Mr. Case, who was to be tried by a Council of War of the Scots Army, and after much debate thereof in the Parliament:

It is voted, That the Scottish Armie in this Kingdom have no power to trie an English man by Martial Law, and that Mr. Case ought to have satisfaction herein.

Now indeed it began to work, and a Committee appointed to examine the Differences arising between the Parliament and Scottish Army, who were gotten Northwards into Yorkshire, where was no need of their Service, and neglected Newark, a piece projected for their regaining: and therefore a Declaration is drawn up upon these Votes.

That the Houses will observe, and desire to continue the assistance, amitie, and friendship betwixt both Kingdoms, according to the Solemn League and Covenant, &c.

That the residing of the Scots Armie in Yorkshire, where they now are, is not so usefull to this Kingdom, as if they sate down before Newark, neither ought they to lay Taxes on the Countrey where they come without making satisfaction.

That Carlisle, Tinby Castle, Hartlepool, and other Garisons in the North, now in the possession of the Scots, were to be disposed of according to the directions of the Parliament.

That if the Scots Armie sate down before Newark according to a former Vote of the House by the first of November next, they should have forthwith thirty thousand pounds towards their Pay, &c.

And Commissioners appointed to treat with the Scottish Armie, to deliver up all their English Garisons in their hands to the Parliaments Commanders, which was obeyed.

These passages the Scots resent, and take time to consider, but to meet with their Masters, they press the Parliament with Letters and Messages from the Scots Army, to settle Church-matters accord-

Anno
1645.

Sherburn taken by storm.

ing to the *National League and Covenant*. Nor would they budge from the *North* parts, though they are called *Southward* for the Kingdoms security and service. And after some moneths solicitation, and money to pay Arears, Shooes and Stockings to boot, they are intreated to march to the siege of *Newark*. There they stayed not long, but in a pet march *Northward* to *Newcastle*, where they stuck till they got the King into their clutches, fold him, and so went home again, as the particulars shall mention hereafter.

We left *Fairfax* before *Sherburn* Castle a fortnight since, we stood out his Storms, Underminings, Breaches, and what not, that Valiant Defendants could doe for their honour. But Sir *Thomas* was potent and prosperous, and the Kings condition so low, that it was hardly able to give relief to any besieged. And therefore *Fairfax* falls to works with his Cannon shot, and makes a breach in the wall thirty foot wide, and then sends a second Summons, but the Noble Governour Sir *Lewis Dives* returns a peremptory denial. Hereupon he endures a furious storm with as much courage as man could doe. But his Souldiers felt the Smart and Terroure, and would needs call for Quarter, the Governour told them their best security was to fight, for absolutely he would receive no quarter; and so both parties fall to a cruel encounter, and many slain on both sides, untill the Defendants were overpowred with numbers, and forced to yield upon Quarter. Those within were the Governour, Sir *Fo. Strangwain* a son of the Lord *Paulet*, Captain *Fussil* sometime Sub-Governour of *Weymouth* for the King, and many other prisoners. And take the Thanksgiving-day for these together, *Bath, Bridgwater, Scarborough, Pontefract, and Sherburn*, 14. August.

The King this while marches up and down *Wales* upon defence, and to raise Supplies, then comes to *Litchfield*, and by the way fights the *Scots* Horse and Dragoons at *Bewdly*, then marches to *Tedbury*, and *Ashbarn*, and Skirmishes with Sir *John Gell*, and soundly beat him, and took Prisoners, then he comes to *Welbeck-House* August 16.

Club-men surprized by Cromwel.

But the Club-men increase numbers of several bodies in the Western Counties, and are met with by Lieutenant General *Cromwel*, disputing to have their men returned, who were lately taken at *Shaftsbury*, and Mr. *Newman* the Club Captain threatning that ten thousand men of that Gang were gotten together in *Wilts* and *Dorsetshire*, and resolving to secure themselves from Plunder. *Cromwel* talks little, as to any other satisfaction, but suddenly sets upon a party of them about *Hamilton Hill*, near 2000. gotten together within an old Trench; To whom he sends a Forlorne of fifty Horse, but were answered with Bullets, then a second Message, and a third, but seeing no other Answer could be expected, he draws out the

General

Anno
1645.

General, Captain Lieutenant, to reduce them to reason. And whilst these dispute a narrow passage, Major General *Desborough*, wheeled about to their Rear, beat them from their Works with some Execution upon a score of them, hurt many, and took 300. prisoners, 14. of *August*, and sends them to *Sherburn*; the main Sticklers were Tubmen-preachers, and other such like Ministers.

Nor would this Defeat suppress the Fury, for now they march formidable, being to chuse their party, and although this Encounter hapned, yet I finde they are carested, for their Interests, and their best plea was for the Kings Cause, but did not declare, pretending this while to be Neuters. The Parliament therefore being put to it, and considering the dangerous consequence, publish an Ordinance against the *Malignant Clubmen* in several Counties.

That it shall be held Treason for any person to convene and Assemble together in a Warlike posture, in any parts within the power of the Parliament, without the directions and approbation of Parliament, or some Authorized by them, giving Authority to their Forces, to seize such men and their Leaders to condigne punishment.

The King had a Flying Army, not certain in any place, nor whether he intended, but mastering where he came, Alarm'd his Enemies, who while they consult to joyn Forces, he is gone elsewhere, doing his work as he went, worsting his Adversaries, and forcing Contributions thereabouts. So that the Parliament were amazed how to give directions to their Forces abroad. And of a sudden we finde him surprizing *Huntington*, which he enters on Sunday afternoon in Service time, with little resistance at the Bridge, and to their cost that kept it, the Captain and Lieutenant and most of his men slain, and the Town submitted to a Ransome 24. *August*.

Huntington
taken by the
King.

From thence he marches to *Cambridge*, Forced the Town and Skirmished; then to *Owborn*, and by the way fined *St. Ives* 500. l. his Forces marched in several Brigades, and did their Enemies much mischief. Himself marches to *Doncaster*, his way to *Oxford*, 28. *August*.

Where he findes many missing, some of his Nobles very Right Honourably run away to the Parliament, being inticed it seems by the late Propositions for peace sent to his Majesty, *that all such should be received upon payment of the tenth part of their Estate*. Which allured them to come by scores, and yet the word *received* did deceive them, imagining that all comers should be so received: no such matter, so the most of them of Estates were clapt up, having no passes

Anno
1645.

The King
comes to
Wales.

Fight at
Bauton Heath

Bristol besieged by Fairfax and Cromwel.

passes, for the sence of the Propositions did not serve their turn. Then finding their Error, they get Passes so numerous from the Parliaments Forces, that the Commons increase their Fine to these Conditions: *Such if they come not in by the first of December next, shall pay the fifth part, and those that were to be received on the payment of the third part, shall pay the halfe of their Estates.*

The King stales not long at *Oxford*, Factions and self interest guiding the most of their affairs, and therefore he being well recruited, gets out again to *Wales*, and was at *Ludlow* 29. *Septem.* and from thence he marches towards the Relief of *Chester*, seriously beset by *Brereton* and others of long time. And Major General *Poins* with a party of Horse appointed to attend his Majesties motion, Skirting his Rear to take up what fell to ground, in a wearied march: some lame Horses which are reckoned to be his Life Guard. The King came near to *Chester*, *Poins* hastens his pursuit, presuming to fight, upon hope of help from the Besiegers, who did the work. So then on *Bauton Heath* two miles off *Chester*, there the King makes a holt to provoke the other, who now engaged, was soon worsted, and forced back, gave ground, and retyred with much loss, and had been more near his ruine: but then, in the Interim comes Colonel *Jones* and *Lauthian* with 500. Horse and 300. Foot drawn off from the Leaguer with this Signal, the report of two great Guns, which gave some encouragement to *Poins* to Rallie: so the King was beset Rear and Front with fresh men, and overpowered also with great number, retreated into *Chester*, the Town much weakened by the Batteries, the Mines ready for springing, and to fall on to Storming, the King takes leave, and marches thence into *Wales* again.

After the taking of *Sherburn*, *Fairfax* calls a Councel of War, and resolve to besiege *Bristol*, governed by Prince *Rupert*, and sufficiently well conditioned. He sets down the 24. of *August*, and thus enquarters. *Ireton* with a Brigade of four Regiments of Horse, one of Dragoons, and five hundred Foot undertakes that side next *Glocester*, and *Fairfax* the other side, his Head Quarters about *Cheere*; *Rupert* suddenly Sallies out and worsted his Enemy ere he was settled, fires *Bedmister*, and some Blindes being houses in the Suburbs in *Temple-street*. His Forces are sufficient well furnished with provisions for food and fighting, and yet he disarms the ill-affected: for *Fairfax* increased in men by the assistance of the Clubbers, who came opportunely to joyn with him, and instantly fell upon a Fort near the Town called *Porteshead-point*, and with much losse had it rendred at last, with six pieces of Ordnance, one Demi-culverin, and 150. Arms, the Garison (about fourty men) upon Conditions to march home: It is a Fort of consequence commanding the Ships and Boats of the Rivers mouth, so that 7. of their Ships entred *Severn* safely, and Anchored in *Kings Rode* to block

up

up that side. *Fairfax* thus fitted, commands a Fast, and afterwards to Storm. But sends to *Rupert* to surrender, and to save bloodshed and hazard to the City. His first Answer was, to have time to send to the King, but that refused, he declines a Treaty, but to make short work, sends Propositions upon which he will surrender, in effect.

Every man to march away in the height of Honour, with their Arms, flying Colours, Drums, Trumpets, &c. and as much Powder and match as they can carry about them, with Bagg and Baggage, Horse Arms, ten Guns, fifty Barrels of Powder, &c. and lastly, the Lines and Fortifications slighted, and to be no more a Garison, 7. September.

To whom, the General returns Answer.

SIR,

I perceive you decline to treat by Commissioners, and for me to return in writing doubts and exceptions to your Propositions; and expect your Answer, and you my Reply, would take up more time then I can spare. To avoid which, and to reduce all to a resolution. I have here sent you what I am willing to grant, and beyond which, I may not, and from what I demand I shall not recede. I have observed the Order of your own Propositions, and upon every one have granted what is honourable for your Highness, or the safety of the City to have, and fit for me, in honour and faithfulness to them I serve, to give. By which I hope to have cleared my self to God and the world, from the evil that is to come, in case of your refusal. If you accept these Terms, I send two Copies, the one to return to me Signed and Sealed by your self before six a clock this evening at the farthest, otherwise I shall conclude your refusal, and account my self disobliged, save from the desire of being

Your Highness humble servant

Septem. 8.

Tho. Fairfax.

The Articles offered by *Fairfax* were as honourable as *Rupert* could desire, answerable to his marching out, but not to slight the Fortifications, and to continue it a Garison.

Ruperts Replies took up time till *Septemb. 9.* at five a clock at night, indeed gaining the advantage for finishing his Counter-skarfs and Lines, of which he hastened day and night, and the Treaty taking no effect, that night begins the Storm to be made good in three places, on the side of *Somersetshire* by four Regiments, Colonel *Fortescue*, *Herbert*, *Tolbies*, and *Wrey*. The Generals Brigade to be Commanded by Col. *Mountague*, consisting of the Generals Regiment, *Mountagues*, *Pickerings*, *Hardress Wallers*, and to Storm on both sides *Lawford-gate*; Col. *Rainsboroughs* Brigade consisting of his own Regiment, *Skippons*, *Hamonds*, *Birchies*, and *Barekleyes*, and to Storm on this side the River *Froom*, from the Sally Port

Anne
1645.

Port up to the Pryors Port, and 200. of this Brigade by Boat to go with the Seamen and Storm *Water-Fort*. A Regiment of Foot and Horse to move up and down before the Royal Fort to Alarm them within, some Horse to attempt the Line and Works by *Clifford* and *Washingtons Breach*. The manner thus. On Tuesday the 12. of *Septem.* they begin by sign of flaming straw, and shooting four great Guns, the Word *David*, but after the Line was entered, *The Lord of Hosts*. The time was just two a clock in the morning.

Rainsborough had the hardest service with much losse. For the Prince denied Quarter, but lost the Fort, the men retyring, and *Mountague* did as much with his Brigade on his side. *Fortescue* failed, his Ladders were too short, the Mote being deep, and so he did but Alarm.

The Clubmen had their part and fell on at *Bedminster* but were beaten. Yet the Assailants got in by a breach, the Foot first, and the Pyoneers made way for the Horse to follow, and mastered the Town.

Rupert retires into the Castle, but the next day comes to a Parley, and conclude before night, upon the first Articles very honourable in effect as before was offered.

Signed for *Rupert*,
Myn, Tyllier,
and *Varisfor*.

For *Fairfax*,
Mountague, Rainsborow,
Pickering.

In truth the Commanders did bravely on both sides, for it is known *Rupert* dares fight, *Fairfax* had done so ere the other was born, both excellent expert Souldiers, with answerable courage. No doubt the next to them might doe more as to Execution; the Lieutenant *General Cromwel*, whose Actions in earnest were second to none, for we shall finde him the first, with *Cæsars Motto*, no sooner comes, but he overcomes, Council and Execution together. And yet see his modesty after the description of the Fight, not naming himself, he concludes.

Cromwels
Letter from
Bristol to the
Speaker.

It may be thought some praises are due to these Gallant men, of whose valour so much mention is made, their humble suit to you, and all that have an interest in the blessing, is, that in remembrance of Gods praises they may be forgotten. It's their joy that they may be Instruments to Gods glorie, and their Countries good; It's their honour that God vouchsafes to use them: Sir, they that have been employed in this Service, know, that Faith and Prayer obtained this City for you. I doe not say ours only, but of the people of God with you and all England over, who have wrestled with God for a blessing in this verie thing; Our desires are that God may be glorified by the same Spirit of Faith, by which we

ask

The Reign of King Charls.

833

ask all our sufficiency, and having received it, it is meet that he have all the praise.

Bristol, 14. Sept.

Yours O. Cromwel.

Anno

1645.

He takes the
Devizes.

This work being done, *Fairfax* marches to *Exeter*, but *Cromwel* with his Forces takes leave, the Army dividing, and forthwith we finde him at the *Devizes*, and after several Batteries against that Castle, the only Newes thereof is the surrender, and we finde him also affording Reasonable, Noble Conditions for the honour of the Victory, not to be strained to Circumstances, the pride and vanity of Conquest, and Conquerour, 23. Sept.

And three dayes after he comes to *Winchester* well Fortified, but he fires the Gate, and enters the Town, and drives the Souldiers into the Castle, which he Batters, and they yield. More thereof we have not, and lesse of himself, where he saies,

And *Winchester*.

S I R,

This is the addition of another Mercy, you see God is not weary of doing you good. Sir, *His favour to you is as visible when he comes by his power, upon the hearts of your Enemies, making them quit Places of Strength to you, as when he gives courage to your Souldiers to attempt hard things, his goodness in this is much to be acknowledged, which without his mercie might have cost much blood, this is said to you, that God may have all the praise, for it is his due only.*

His Letter.

Your Servant O. Cromwel.

He doth not mention the particulars in the Castle and Town surrendred. I shall only say he took all they had, which in such a strong Garison, we may be assured was very much; Amunition and Victuals; his Enemies slain, and prisoners submitting were many: but those he accounts not his own; He hath purchased them for others, himself the honour, they the gain. In earnest, I have blusht to read of other mens rantings, shameful for a Souldier: to tell the truth of a Battle, he must be by him that looks on, only the Fighter feels the blowes upon himself, but knowes not whom he strikes, or where his Bullet lights. Yet see what a man of might saies of himself: I need not name him, nor the place, perhaps he repents, and this discourse is too publique.

I shall not trouble you with the manner of my besieging this place, the quick march I made thither, nor the advancing of my VVorks there. my deep Trenches, running Lines and Redoubts, Flanks and Palassadoes, &c. and ere that these were done, not a day produced less than double Sallies upon me: Nay, shall I say, oftner than we eat, it was my Meat and Drink to beat them alwaies back again, &c. But the manner of the Storm, how he got up, and then got in, paying and pelting, un-

A Ranting
Commander.

O O O O O

till

Anno

1645.

Basing taken
by storm.

till not many left alive, &c. He took all he found. Then have we the numberless number of Arms and Ammunition by thousands, Bullets by Cart-loads; wondrous provisions even unto the Beans and Bacon. And such a Bed-rolle of the slain, and the most of them Commanders, ten Colonels, fourteen Majors, twenty Capitaines, and other Officers, but names none, least they should prove alive again to requite him.

Basing House had been first attempted in *August 1643.* again by *VValler* in *November* after; and then with considerable Forces, from *June 14.* in the year *1644.* and relieved *11 September* after, then continues very considerable Forces, constantly besieging it, and yet could do no more, till now that *Cromwel* comes to storm and take it.

The Batteries well placed, and each Brigade ordered to their Posts; *Dalbier*, (the long time Besieger) to the North-side next the *Grange*; *Pickering* on his left to *VValler*; (Sir *Hardress*) and *Mountague* next him. After six a clock, the signal given, they all fall on at once, took the two out-Houses: *Pickering* stormed the new House, passed through, and got the Gate of the old House, which put them within to a parley; but the fight was hot, and the noise great; the souldier could not hear, and recover the inner Court of Guard, and a whole Culvering with that Work. And drawing their Ladders after, got over another Work and the House Wall, ere they could enter. And take all, with the gallant Marquess, honourable, and an honest Faithfull Subject to the interest and cause he alwaies undertook, and shewed himself a noble Enemy; and therefore *Cromwel* treats him kindly.

It is much wonder how it held out so long. It can not require less than a thousand men to manage it. It was not considerable for publick service, for it is no Frontire. The Country poor all about, not worth the defence, nor able to support a Garison. And now indeed so defaced, and weakened with Batteries and Morter-pieces and a fire upon it, that chanced since the surrender, for these reasons, and perhaps a more fit place for a Garison. Indeed this House was now utterly flighted, and this goodly antient Fabrick pull'd down to the ground.

And accordingly as *Cromwel* commanded the whole Garison of *Farnham*, some men from *Chichester*, and those Foot of *Dalbier*, (who was soon laid aside) and with these to make a strong quarter at *Newburie*, with some Troops of Horse, were sufficient to curb *Donnington*, and serve as a Frontier to all those parts. For *Newburie* lies upon a River which secures it from any incursion of *Donnington*, *Wallingford*, or *Farrington*; and to advance the common Trade between *Bristol* and *London*. And as a true rule, the County will rather maintain Garison on the Frontier, then in their Bowels, less charge and more safety.

The

The Wealth of *Basing* House was of greater value, then any single Garison could be imagined; in Money, Plate, Jewels, Household-stuffe and Riches. One Bed, valued at fourteen hundred pound, and so orderly under rate of others. Chambers, the most compleat for Furniture. And for help to the House, *Inigo Jones* was gotten thither. He was an excellent Architector to build, but no Engineer to pull down; and but one woman amongst so many men. *Doctor Griffiths* daughter, a godly Divine Protestant, for pure Religion mixed with some Popish Priests profession.

One common man had plundered a bag of three hundred pound in silver. And to make sport with this raw souldier, his Comrades pillaged him by piece meal, to an half Crown coin.

The King had gotten into a good Body of Horse the 10 of *Octo.* and marches to *Texford*, thence to *Welbeck*, and quartered part of his Army at *Bliss* the 13 day, being *Munday*, and had a Rendezvouz at *Walsop* the next day, where he divides his Army, and himself retreats his own Brigade to *Warwick*. Appointing the Lord *Digby* and Sir *Marmaduke Langdale* with considerable Forces, to march North-ward in some design, to joyn with the gallant Marquess *Montrose* in *Scotland*, for the King, and that night went through *Doncaster*, lodging upon *Scawsby-lees*: and by long marches from *Bliss*, *Walsop*, and *Balrick*, amuzed the Parliaments Forces, who attended their motion, supposing that they were designed for *Chester*; but certainly the intent was for *Scotland*. And here they wheel, beat off a guard near *Sherburn*, and gave an Alarm, but had appointed a Rendezvouz before at *Bramton Bierly*. The Parliaments Forces commanded by *Copley*, march by day-light towards *Ferry-Bridge*, to keep that pass secure, and to joyn with some Foot. And therefore he sends away Post to *Pontefract* to give notice, to draw off the Foot to *Caywood*, least *Digby* should surprize them. This warning came out to them, though it came to *Pontefract*, so the Cavaliers got to *Ferrie-bridge* before their Enemy, and marched on amain, surprizing seven hundred Foot, and more at *Sherburn* and *Milford*, with their Arms, shattered Colonel *Wrens* Regiment of Horse, and took many Prisoners, and slew more, having no conveniency to carry them away.

But *Copley* comes to *Pontefract* Castle, who tels him the Cavaliers are passed; whereupon he drawes out a strong Forlorn, to joyn with that which is sent before with Orders, to advance with all speed, and bring the Cavaliers to a stand, hoping thereby to have saved his Foot: he marches with this Body fairly after to *Milford*, where from the Forlorn, he heard that his former Foot were all lost. Hereupon he drawes out and means to fight, not being able otherwise to retreat with honour or safety, And durst not march through *Milford*, fearing there might be some Dragoons, but wheel'd about the West end of the Town, thinking to keep his Bodies

1645.

The wealth
of *Basing*.

The Kings
condition.

His Forces
defeated at
Sherburn in
Yorkshire.

Anno

1645.

firm, and so all march to *Sherburn* to fight them there, and by the way light on a deep Ditch un-passable, and could not draw up but in haste and disorder; which needed not, for the Cavaliers were busily imployed about their prize, and were thereby in more disorder, but drew up towards each other, and at once ready, at once give fire, charging together, Bodies to Bodies, and *Copley's* Regiment paid for all, who was soundly beaten; but having reserves, and the other none, over-powring with fresh men, the Cavalier in fury fell to retreat; and giving ground, turned their back, and fled through the Town with loss, *North-ward*, and *Copeley* comes home again intending *South-ward*, and joyn with *Rossiter* and the associate Horse, with design to meet with the King, who is supposed about *Newark* with fifteen hundred Horse.

Some persons of quality slain and taken, The Prisoners were four or five Colonels, Captains and Officers a dozen, three hundred Troopers taken, as many Horse: the Countess of *Nidfdale* was taken, *Digbie's* Coach and Horses. The Forces were equal in number, but the Cavalier not so fresh nor so well furnished with able Horse as the other. This fight was made *Octob. 15.* Colonel *Sanderfon* was here taken Prisoner, and soon exchanged for Colonel *Slingsbie*.

And here was taken *Digbie's* Cabinet, and therein all those Letters concerning the *Irish* affairs, and the Marquess of *Ormond*, which are bound up together with those of the Kings at *Nasebie*. But most of those Letters were indeed taken here, being the Duplicates of the Originals. For *Digbie* was sometime Secretary of State. And indeed here were other Letters also of late date, bewailing his low and decaying condition since *Nasebie* fight, and evermore advises *Ormond* to make peace or cessation with the *Irish* Rebels. But however he in person is to come over speedily to the King, with all the Ammunition and Forces that he can command, leaving the rest and the Rebels to dispute the quarrel together. Promising *Ormond* to be rewarded and preferred to any dignity, if the King prospers.

But if my undertakings succeed ill, he and the rest of his Friends and Followers will have the honour to dye nobly in an honest cause.

In another Letter, upon occasion of Prince *Ruperts* advice of a Treaty, the King checks him for it, wonders he was so much misled; and tels him that to condescend lower than his terms at *Uxbridge*, would be as bad as a submission, which he will never do so long as he lives.

And in another Letter of late date at *Newark, Octob. 10.* The King declares the ground of his coming to *Newark* rather than any other Garison, being the most unlikely to be besieged. Colonel

General

Digbie's Letters taken concerning Ireland.

Anno
1645.

General *Poins* being (he saies) much broken with pursuing him; that he hath the greatest strength there, to break out upon any occasion, and to get to *Montrose*, who by an expresse gave him to understand, that his condition and late Rout at *Philipbaugh* was not so great as was reported; but he was in a hopefull way to do his Majesty more service, by an addition of Forces from *Kilcan*, which were coming to him, and be able to assist the King.

But *Digby* was met with at *Carlisle Sands*, routed, and he fled to the Isle of *Man*, and thence to *Ormond* in *Ireland*.

Indeed the King was staggering and unstable in his resolutions, what to do, which the Court observed, and so mistrusting each the other, a wonder it was, what a wildeness possessed his affairs. His Councillors endeavouring their own respective Interests, which he saw plainly, and therefore declined them, and took up his trust with such as he could finde for his purposes, which now began to be desperate, and daily worse and worse. His Armies separate without order or dependancy of Council at home, or directions abroad; so that now no supplies hopefull for his Garisons, they were bought and sold; onely some slight defence for the purpose thereupon to surrender them with the better colour. Not a day passed, but such News came Post to the Parliament, being wearied with giving rewards to the bringers. These Garisons in this moneth, *Bristol*, *Farley Castle*, the *Devises*, *Laicuk house*, beaten at *Rowton Battel*, *Berkly Castle*, *Winchester*, *Basing*, *Sherburn fight*; *Tiverton* taken, *Langford*, *Shelford house*, *Balton Castle*, *Beefton Castle*, *Belvoir Castle*, and other Garisons so hard beset, as no hope of relief. *Newark*, *Oxford*, *Dennington*, *Exeter* and others, *Latham*, *Hereford*, *Dartmouth*, *Powderham*; not possible to hold out. And to increase the Kings discontent upon these mishaps, his friends fall out before his face. At *Newark* it was thus,

Digby being gone as you have heard, North-wards, and out of the reach of revenge; General *Gerard* said he was a Traitor, and had done the King great dis-service. The Lord *Bellasis* (lately made Governour there in the place of Sir *Richard Villis*) took *Digby's* part highly, against the opinion of the two Princes, *Rupert* and *Maurice* with divers others that stood for *Gerard*. In fine they fell to parties, and to their swords: But to this hubbub, being at the end of the Feast, which *Bellasis* made,

The King comes in to the fray (unfortunate even in the Proverb) and parts the fight, but increases the fewd by siding for *Digby*. For upon further debate of this business; the two Princes *Rupert* and *Maurice*, General *Gerard*, the Lord *Hawley*, Sir *Richard Villis*, late Governour of *Newark*, and some hundreds more, Gentlemen of quality (one sayes 400) had laid down their several Commissions, and were retired to *Vvorton House* within fourteen

The Kings
Officers quar-
rel

Commanders
quit their
Commissi-
ons.

Anno
1645.

teen miles of *Newark*, standing upon their Guard, and subscribing to a Declaration, that if they can procure their Pass beyond Seas, they will engage their Lives and Honour never to return and take up Arms against the Parliament, and send to Colonel *Rositer* this their Resolutions, and by him had their desires sent up to the Houses. And that the Princes had sent Sir *William Valentine*, Colonel *Osbourn* and some others, to Treat with Colonel General *Poins* therein, by whom they write Letters to the Parliament in all their behalfs, and signed *Rupert* and *Maurice*.

To which the Parliament incline, and give *Rositer* Order to grant them their Pass to *London*, and from thence beyond Seas, and this was done upon the late Ordinance. That all Persons going beyond Seas by Warrant of either Houses, and afterwards returning take up Arms against the Parliament, shall have neither pardon nor quarter given them by the State, 28. October.

But the King is gone from *Newark* to *Oxford* guarded with 300. Horse, who upon their return back were routed by *Poins*, Thursday 6. Novem.

And the same day he sits down before *Belvoir*, and Summons the Governour Colonel Sir *Fervas Lucas*; who returns this smart Answer.

SIR,

I am no lesse distrustful of Providence then you are; and was not placed here by the King to surrender to Rebels, and for the effusion of blood you mention, the crime will be your own, not mine. Therefore I will not give you an inch of ground which I am able to maintain with my Sword, in spite of all your attempts made against this place, and your servant,

21. Novem.

Jervas Lucas.

Belvoir surrendered to the Parliament.

This angered *Poins* who fell upon their Out-works, took them by Storm, and the Stables, and Out-houses, putting all to the Sword, but with extream losse of his own, many slain, and divers wounded. Together with those, lye the Springs and Well that water the House which is closely besieged, with a resolution to starve, not to Storm it. And indeed after four moneths suffering, the House and Castle was delivered up to *Poins* the 2. of February, with as honourable conditions as could be desired. And the next day Sir *Fervas* and his Lady, with their Officers and others 200. with a Convoy for six daies to attend them to *Litchfield*.

Latham House rendered to the Parliament.

It was the fourth of December before the Countess of *Darby* could be enforced by these two years siege last past, to render *Latham House* to the Parliament upon these Conditions. The Governour, Officers, and Souldiers to passe out either to *Tidbury*, or *Ashby de la Zouch*.

And

Anno

1645.

Hereford surprized for the Parliament.

And not long after, viz. the 18. of December was that stout Garison of Hereford taken by Surprize, which saved the labour of doing it by treachery, as it had been agreed upon. But this was done thus. The Garison was strong and well appointed, the Countrey about in affection and friendship together, a piece much aimed at, as thereby denuding the King of all his Welch Forces. And truly the Knight was happy that the Treachery failed.

But Colonel *Fohn Birch*, and Col. *Morgan* Governour of *Glocester*, their design took the effect of a just and Souldier-like surprize. *Morgan* had 1100. Horse and Foot, and *Birch* with 900. Foot and a Troop of Horse march from *Glocester* to *Hereford* in one day and a night, where he was provided of six lusty men in habit of Labourers, and the seventh man must be for a Constable with a Warrant in his hand to bring these fellows to work in the Town as if for service of the Garison. These men thus prepared, with 150. Firelocks, lodged in the dark as near the Gate as possible, without discovery, and a Body of men was ready to second the Design of the other, and to enter with them. In fine, the Bridge is let down to the Constable and his Crew, who with Pick-ax and Spade, and no sooner entred, but the Guard began to examine and to bustle, and to kill three of the Guard, whilst the Firelocks enter with Col. *Birch* and Skirmish, till the Body came up commanded by Colonel *Morgan*, and so entred the Town with small losse on either side, some submitting, wherein were eleven pieces of Ordnance, much Arms and Amunition, the Lord *Brudenel*, 14. Knights, 4. Lieutenant Colonels, 3. Captains and other Officers, and Gentlemen one hundred. 18. December.

Amongst those of the most honoured, was that worthy Lawyer Judge *Fenkins* sent up to the Parliament, and committed to several Jayles, of whom we shall have occasion to mention in many sufferings of his.

This surprize was quick and gallant. As for Treacheries and corruptions of Companies or Guards they have been used by some, but hated afterwards in all. We have met with such on both sides, and but lately, the offer of Sir *Fohn Digby* to Colonel *Ker* Governour of *Plymouth*. It is true that the Parliament willing to intrust that Garison to another person, I doe not finde it out of any doubt in that Gentleman, but *Digby* took that occasion to tempt *Ker* with this treachery.

Of treachery
or Corruptions.

SIR,

I am troubled to understand, that through the ingratitude of those you serve, you are likely to be rewarded with the dishonour of having a person of much inferiour merit put over your head, an injury insupportable to any man of spirit, and which may offer you a justifiable occasion of
doing

Anno
1645.

doing a very eminent service to your Native King and Countrey: and which if you will embrace to deliver up the Town with the Works of Plimouth, I shall engage my self on my honour, and the faith of a Gentleman, you shall be rewarded with ten thousand pounds, and have the command, if you please, of a Regiment of 500. Horse, with what honour your self can desire. Sir, be not scrupulous in taking the advice of an Enemy that desires heartily on these terms to become your true friend and faithful servant
Jo. Digby.

For Colonel Ker Govern-
nour of Plimouth.

30. Decem.

Colonel Ker returns him this Noble Answer.

SIR,

Your motion to Treason I have seen and detest it, it is below my spirit for personal injury (supposed only by an Enemy) to take National revenge, and for a Punctillio of honour to take advice from Hell, and betray my trust. I am sorry that one so ingenious as your self should abuse your natural parts only to doe mischief. Yet I have no reason to wonder much at your perswasion to treacherie, because I have had the experience of the indeavours of your Family to corrupt others also. I remember the Gunpowder Plot, the Letter which your Brother writ to the Lord Roberts in this place for the same purpose. And his Negotiation with General Brown at Abington. Surely these Principles came from Spain; but you should have told me also that Spanish proverb, To love the Treason, and hate the Traytor, &c.

20. Decemb.

Your assured servant James Ker.

Qualificati-
ons concern-
ing Delin-
quents.

The great success of the Parliament, and the distresses of the Kings party, enforcing them by numbers to come in and submit upon qualifications of Composition somewhat reasonable heretofore, but now the more strict.

That all such Delinquents that were contained in the first qualifications in the Propositions to be sent to his Majesty, and humbled not themselves in obedience to the Parliament before the 25. of March next, should forfeit their whole Estates. And that those who are contained in the second qualification, and came not in as aforesaid, should forfeit the Moity of their Estates, and that this Qualification should extend to none, but those who cordially should submit, and should take the National Covenant appointed by Ordinance of Parliament.

The King had carested the Parliament for a Treaty of Peace, and Cessation also, but they finding the Kings Affairs to pinch with-
out

out hope of his ever being able to make an Offensive War, and as little power to defend. Therefore to give some satisfaction to the world, and to the Kings desires they intend somewhat.

The Parliament have been hammering Propositions, and as the Kings condition changed to the worse, they were the bolder to offer such terms as were never likely to be granted. And first they please themselves with Votes improbable for additional Honours to be forced from the King, and to be placed on their several Members, to them and their Heirs for ever.

Sir *Thomas Fairfax* be made an English Baron, with five thousand pounds Lands *per annum*, and a Committee to consider how this Estate and others following may be settled upon him and others for ever.

His Father *Fairfax* to be an English Baron and an Earl.

The honour of an English Baron on Lieutenant General *Cromwel*, with 2500. l. *per an*.

The Honour of Dukedoms on the Earl of *Northumberland*, *Essex*, *Pembroke*.

The Earl of *Salisbury*, and *Manchester* to be Marquesses.

The Lords *Roberts*, *Say*, *Willoughby* of *Parham*, *Wharton* and *Howard* to be Earls.

Mr. *Denzil Hollis* a Viscount.

Sir *William Waller* a Baron, and 2500. l. *per an*.

Sir *Arthur Hazelrig* such another, which (only) he modestly refused, but not the money.

Sir *William Brereton* 1500. l. *per an*.

Skippon 1000. l. *per an*.

All which Honours and Grants are to be confirmed by his Majesty upon passing the Propositions, and the Revenues and estates to be settled out of Delinquents Lands, after the satisfying of publique debts of the Kingdom, but not before, 1. Sept. 1645.

But how unlikely the Propositions should pass, clogged with these designs against the very hair of the Kings Councillours. And how unlikely any Propositions at all shall be consented unto, if we consider the Kings inclination towards a Peace, by the Contents of his late Letters to Prince *Rupert*, upon occasion of *Ruperts* Letter and Advice to Treat and make Peace with the Parliament from *Cardiffe*, Aug. 1645.

CHARLES REX,

Nephew, this is occasioned by a Letter of yours, which the Duke of Richmond shewed to me last night. And first I assure you I have been, and ever will be very careful to advertise you of my resolutions as soon as they were taken, and if I enjoined silence to that which was no secret,

Anno
1645.

it was not my fault, for I thought it one, and I am sure it ought to have been so. Now as for your Opinion of my Business, and your Counsel thereupon. If I had any other quarrel but the defence of my Religion, Crown, and Friends, you had full reason for your advice: for I confess that, speaking either as a meer Souldier or Statesman, I must say there is no probability but of my ruine: Yet as a Christian, I must tell you, that God will not suffer Rebels and Traitors to prosper, or this Cause to be overthrowne. And whatsoever personal punishment it shall please him to inflict upon me, must not make me repine, much less give over this quarrel. And there is as little Question, that a composition with them at this time, is nothing else but a submission, which by the grace of God I am resolved against, whatsoever it cost me: for I know my Obligation to be both in Conscience and Honour, neither to abandon Gods Cause, nor to injure my Successors, nor forsake my Friends. Indeed I cannot flatter my self with expectation of good success, more then this, to end my daies with Honour and a good Conscience, which obligeth me to continue my endeavours, as not despairing that God may yet in due time avenge his own Cause, though I must avow to all my Friends, that he that will stay with me all this time, must expect and resolve either to dye for a good Cause, or (which is worse) to live as miserable in maintaining it, as the violence of insulting Rebels can make him. Having thus truly and impartially stated my Case unto you, and plainly told you my positive resolutions, which by the grace of God I will not alter, they being neither lightlie, nor suddenlie grounded, I earnestly desire not in any wise to hearken after Treaties, assuring you, as low as I am, I will doe no less then what was offered in my Name at Uxbridge, confessing that it were as great a miracle that they should agree to so much reason, as that I should be within a moneth in the same condition that I was immediatelie before the Battel at Naseby. Therefore for Gods sake let us not flatter our selves with these conceits, and believe me your very imagination, that you are desirous of a Treatie, will but loose me so much the sooner, and therefore as you love me, whatsoever you have already done, applie your discourse hereafter according to my resolution and judgement.

As for the Irish, Ile assure you they shall not cheat me: but it is possible they may cozen themselves. For be assured, what I have refused to the English, I will not grant to the Irish Rebels, never trusting to that kinde of People (of what Nation soever) more then I see by their Actions. And I am sending to Ormond such a dispatch, as I am sure will please you and all honest men, a Copie thereof by the next opportunitie you shall have. Lastly, be confident I would not have put you, nor my self to the trouble of this long Letter, had I not a great estimation of you, and a full confidence of your friendship to

CHARLES REX.

Cardiffe, Aug. 1645.

The Reign of King Charls.

843

Anno
1645.

These are the Kings grounds and reasons, *rebus sic*: not to descend beneath the propositions offered at *Uxbridge*. And herein he was resolved, not trusting to publick counsels in the affairs of Peace. And therefore in General, most opinions of his Friends were for a Treatie, grounding their reasons upon the Kings desperate condition, little hope being left to him by force to end these differences. To the desire of a Treaty, some Councillors in the Princes Army now in the *West*, had advised his Highness to send to his Majesty to that effect. Whereupon the Prince writes to the General *Fairfax*, who with his Forces were quartered about him, to grant his pass for the Lord *Hopton* and the Lord *Culpepper* to go to the King, and mediate with him for a Treaty with the Parliament.

Prince Charles
desires con-
duct for two
Lords to treat
about a peace.

To which after a fortnights consult with his Committee, he returns answer, or rather his advice, *for the Prince to disband his Army* he now commands, which he conceives would be the readiest way for the security of him and his posterity, and of those who attend and adhere to him. Which if he will do, the General would in person *conduct himself to the Parliament*, November 8.

*Fairfax's An-
swer.*

To which Answer, the Lord *Capel* had Commission three weeks after to Reply.

In answer to yours of the eight of the last Moneth, His Highness hath commanded me to let you know, that he did not believe that his overture of engaging himself in the mediation of a blessed peace for his miserable Kingdome (which he did and doth still very earnestly desire to labour in) would have brought him an inhibition to quit his duty and loyalty to his royal Father, by dividing his Interest from that of his Majesties, whereby he should render himself unworthy and incapable of the fruits of that peace he labours for. If his former propositions may be consented unto, he hopes God will so bless his sincere intentions and desires, as to make him a blessed Instrument, to preserve this Kingdome from desolation. But if that be rejected, he shall give the world no cause to believe that he will forfeit that honour and integrity which can onely preserve him in a capacity of doing that service, and shall with patience attend Gods good pleasure, untill his endeavours may be applied with preservation of his innocency. This is all I have in command from His Highness.

The Princes
Reply.

Exon. Decemb. 1.

Your servant,
Arthur Capel.

And no reply hereto; the King then at *Oxford* taking knowledge of these passages, is put to the extremity of seeking it himself; whether of his own inclination, or pressed thereto by his

Anno

1645.

The Kings
Letter to the
Parliament
for a conduct
for persons to
treat.

Council. He sends a Trumpet to the Parliament, with a Letter for safe conduct for certain persons of Honour to be sent with propositions of peace, which came inclosed in a Letter of Sir *Thomas Glenhams*, Governour of *Oxford*, and directed to the Speaker of the House of Peers. Decemb. 5.

C.R.

His Majesty being deeply sensible of the continuation of this bloody and unnatural war, cannot think himself discharged of the duty he owes to God, or the affection and regard he hath to the preservation of his people, without the constant application of his earnest endeavours, to finde some expedient for the speedy ending of these unhappy distractions, if that maybe; he doth therefore desire, that a safe conduct may be forthwith sent for the Duke of Richmond, the Earl of Southampton, John Ashburnham, and Jeffrey Palmer, Esqs; and their attendance, for their journey to Westminster, during their stay there, and to return, when they shall think fit, whom his Majesty intends to send to the Lords and Commons assembled in the Parliament of England at Westminster, and the Commissioners of the Parliament of Scotland, furnished with such propositions as his Majesty is confident will be the Foundation of a happy peace.

Oxford, Decemb. 5. 1645.

For the Speaker of the House of Peers pro tempore.

The Parlia-
ments answer.

To which the Parliament return Answer, signed by the two Speakers, and the *Scotish* Commissioners, in effect thus.

That they were sensible of the sad condition of the three Kingdomes, occasioned by his Majesties separation from them; and that they will use all means possible, for procuring of a safe and well grounded peace, for the settling of his just and legal prerogative, their undoubted priviledges, and the Subjects liberties.

That had his Majesties intentions been the same with his pretences and expressions, a happy peace had been settled long since.

That they cannot agree to his desires for coming of the Lords and Gentlemen, with their attendants and followers into their Quarters, in regard the design may be of dangerous consequence. But that to shew their earnest endeavours and intentions for peace, they were before his Majesties Letters sent in debate of propositions for peace, which they are ready to draw up, and finish with all expedition, to be signed by way of Bill by his Majesty.

Decemb. 10.

But although they had ordered *Tuesdays* and *Saturdays* express, for debate of the Propositions, yet they are not finished; there-
fore

fore the King reminds them with a Message in pursuance of the former, thus.

C. R.

His Majesty cannot but extreemly wonder, that after so many expressions on your part, of a deep and seeming sense of the miseries of this afflicted Kingdom, and of the dangers incident to his Person during the continuance of this unnatural VVars, your many great and so often repeated Protestations, that the raising of these Arms hath been only for the necessary defence of Gods true Religion, his Majesties honour, safety and prosperity, the peace, comfort and security of his people, you should delay a safe Conduct to the persons mentioned in his Majesties Message of the fifth of this instant December, which are to be sent unto you with propositions for a well-grounded peace: A thing so far from having been denied at any time by his Majesty, whensoever you have desired the same, that he believes it hath been seldom (if ever) practised among the most avowed and professed enemies, much lesse from Subjects to their King. But his Majesty is resolved, that no discouragements whatsoever shall make him fail of his part in doing his utmost endeavours to put an end to these Calamities, which if not in time prevented, must prove the ruin of this unhappy Nation: And therefore doth once again desire, that a safe Conduct be forthwith sent for those persons expressed in his former Message, and doth therefore conjure you, as you will answer to Almighty God, in that day when He shall make Inquisition for all the blood that hath and may be yet spilt in this unnatural War; as you tender the preservation and establishment of the true Religion; by all the bonds of Duty and Allegiance to your King, or compassion to your bleeding and unhappy Country, and of charity to your selves, that you dispose your hearts to a true sense, and employ all your faculties in a more serious endeavour, together with his Majesty, to set a speedy end to these wasting Divisions, and then he shall not doubt, but that God will again give the blessing of peace to this distracted Kingdom.

Oxford, the 15. of December, 1645.

For the Speaker of the House of
Peers *pro tempore*.

All this would not do; the King in some trouble finding their neglect, stirs them up another way, offering a personal Treaty to prevent the Inconveniencies of Misunderstandings and the distance of place, for amendments therefore he offers to come home to them and Treat. December, 26.

C. R.

Notwithstanding the strange and unexpected delays (which can be

Anno

1645.

Anno
1645.

be preceded by no former times) to his Majesties two former Messages, his Majesty will lay aside all expostulations, as rather serving to lose time, then to contribut any remedy to the evils, which (for the present) doe afflict this distracted Kingdom; therefore without further preamble, his Majesty thinks it most necessary to send these Propositions this way, which he intended to doe by the persons mentioned in his former Messages, though he well knows the great disadvantage, which overtures of this kind have by the want of being accompanied by well instructed Messengers.

His Majesty conceiving that the former Treaties have hitherto proved ineffectual, chiefly for want of power in those persons that Treated, as likewise because those from whom their power was derived (not possibly having the particular informations of every several debate) could not give so clear a judgement as was requisite in so important a businesse; If therefore his Majesty may have the engagement of the two Houses of Parliament at Westminster, the Commissioners of the Parliament of Scotland, the Major, Aldermen, Common-Council, and Militia of London of the chief Commanders in Sir Thomas Fairfax his Army, as also those in the Scots Army for his Majesties free and safe coming to, and abode in London or Westminster, (with such of his servants now attending him, and their followers, not exceeding in all the number of three hundred) for the space of forty dayes, and after the said time for his free and safe repair to any of his Garisons of Oxford, Worcester, or Newark, (which his Majesty shall nominate at any time before his going from London or Westminster) his Majesty propounds to have a personal Treaty with the two Houses of Parliament at Westminster, and the Commissioners of the Parliament of Scotland, upon all matters which may conduce to the restoring of peace and happiness to these miserable distracted Kingdoms: And to begin with the three Heads which were Treated on at Uxbridg. And for the better clearing of his Majesties earnest and sincere intentions of putting an end to these unnatural distractions, (knowing that point of security may prove the greatest obstacle to this most blessed work) his Majesty therefore declares, that he is willing to commit the great trust of the Militia of this Kingdom, for such time, and with such powers, as are exprest in the Paper delivered by his Majesties Commissioners at Uxbridg, the sixth of February last, to these persons following, viz. the Lord Privy Seal, the Duke of Richmond, the Marquesse of Hertford, the Marquess of Dorchester, the Earl of Dorset, Lord Chamberlain, the Earl of Northumberland, the Earl of Essex, Earl of Southampton, Earl of Pembroke, Earl of Salisbury, Earl of Manchester, Earl of Warwick, Earl of Denbigh, Earl of Chichester, Lord Say, Lord Seymour, Lord Lucas, Lord Lexington, M. Denzil Hollis, M. Perpoint, M. Hen. Bellasis, M. Rich. Spencer, Sir Thomas Fairfax, M. John Ashburnham, Sir Gervas Clifton, Sir Hen. Vane jun. M. Rob. Wallop, M. Thomas Chicheley, Mr. Oliver Cromwel, M. Philip

The Reign of King Charls.

847

Anno

1645.

Philip Skippon, supposing that these are persons against whom there can be no just exception: But if this doth not satisfie, then his Majesty offers to name the one half, and leave the other to the election of the two Houses of Parliament at Westminster, with the Powers and Limitations before mentioned.

Thus his Majesty calls God and the VVorld to witness, of his sincere intentions and real endeavours, for the composing and settling of these miserable Distractions, which he doubts not, but by the blessing of God, will soon be put to a happy Conclusion, if this his Majesties offer be accepted: Otherwise he leaves all the World to judg, who are the continuers of this unnatural war. And therefore he once more conjures you by all the bonds of duty you owe to God and your King, to have so great a compassion on the bleeding and miserable estate of your Conuntry, that you joyn your most serious and hearty endeavours with his Majesty, to put a happy and speedy end to these present miseries.

Given at the Court at Oxford
the 26. of Decem. 1645.

No nor yet neither, the nearer the King comes, the farther they fly. And therefore he sends again in pursuance of the former, for a personal Treaty.

C. R.

Although the late Message sent to his Majesty may justly require an expositulatory Answer, yet his Majesty layes that aside, as not so proper for his present endeavours; leaving all the World to judg, whether his Proposition for a personal Treaty, or the flat denial of a safe Conduct for persons to begin a Treaty, be greater signs of a real intention to peace; and shall now only insist upon his former Message of the 26 of this December. That upon his repair to Westminster, he doubts not but so to joyn his endeavours with his two Houses of Parliament, as to give just satisfaction, not only concerning the business of Ireland, but also for the settling of a way for the payment of the Publick debts, as well to the Scots, and to the City of London, as others. And as already he hath shewn a fair way for the settling of the Militia, so he shall carefully endeavour in all other particulars, that none shall have cause to complain for want of security, whereby just Fealousies may arise to hinder the continuance of the desired peace. And certainly this Proposition of a personal Treaty, could never have entred into his Majesties thoughts, if he had not resolved to make apparent to all the VVorld, that the publick good and peace of this Kingdom, is far dearer to him then the respect of any particular interest. VVherefore none can oppose this motion, without a manifest demonstration, that he particularly envies his Majesty should be the chief Author in so blessed a work, besides the declaring himself a direct opposer of the happy peace of these Nations. To
conclude

Anno

1645.

conclude, whosoever will not be ashamed, that his fair and specious protestations should be brought to a true and publick test; and those who have a real sense, and do truly commiserate the miseries of their bleeding Country, let them speedily and cheerfully embrace his Majesties proposition for his personal Treaty at Westminster, which by the blessing of God, will undoubtedly to these now distracted Kingdoms, restore the happiness of a long-wisht-for, and lasting peace.

Given at the Court at Oxford, the 29. day
of December. 1645.

For the Speaker of the House of Peers, &c.

At a conference hereupon, the House of Commons would not dissent from their resolutions past in that House. That is not to Treat, but to send the Propositions by way of Bill. And voted that the Militia shall remain in the hands of the Parliament, and no otherwise. And this Resolution including all the rest of the Kings Propositions, they thereby medled not (as yet) with that old Maxime of theirs, *for the King to come home to his Parliament*, of which he would often say, *that they never ment it but by limitation, for him to be brought to them a Prisoner*: the effect and end of this Miserable war, but not an end of Miseries.

But the Messenger sent with this last Answer from the Parliament, met with another, dated 30. Decemb. in pursuance of his latter, in effect as before; *Adding withall, that he will consent to any necessary course for the payments of the debts of the Kingdoms, and to the City of London, and to the Kingdom of Scotland, and all desirable satisfaction concerning Ireland*: Using fair and rational motives to the Parliament, *not to refuse the former Offers*; which Letters (as all the former) are debated and evermore committed to the Committee of both Kingdoms, where they used to lodge.

And forthwith to make the matter of the Kings desire of coming to a personal Treaty at London more suspicious and dangerous; every day must be debated by the Commons: *The great Inconvenience and mischief that may come to the City of London, by permitting so great Number of Malignants and others from the Enemies Quarters, that come to compound for their delinquency, and do remain here*. Then comes out an Ordinance for the Committee of Militia with all speed, *to provide for the safety of the City, and to search for Delinquents, and to expel them the Lines of Communication*. As who should say, we having here too many, may not admit of any more from Oxford. And several Votes and Orders presently thereupon, as if the King by his desire of coming with
three

three hundred men, had some design to surprize the City and Parliament also.

It was the 13. of *January* before the Parliament had done debating of the Kings Letters, of the 26. and 27. of *December*; and now they return Answer to all.

May it Please Your Majesty,

We, &c. humbly return this Answer, That therein hath been no delay on our parts, &c. Concerning the Personal Treaty desired by your Majesty, there having been so much Innocent blood of your Subjects shed in this War by your Majesties Commands and Commissions, Irish Rebels brought over into both Kingdoms, and endeavours to bring over more, both of them as also forces from foreign parts; your Majesty being in Arms in these parts, and the Prince in the Head of an Army in the West; divers Towns made Garisons, and kept in hostility by your Majesty against the Parliament of England. There being also forces in Scotland against that Parliament and Kingdom by your Majesties Commissions. The war in Ireland fomented and prolonged by your Majesty, whereby the three Kingdoms are thereby brought almost to utter ruin and destruction. We conceive that untill satisfaction and security be first given to both the Kingdoms, your Majesties coming hither cannot be convenient, nor by us assented unto: Neither can we apprehend it a means conducing to peace, that your Majesty should come to your Parliament for few dayes with any thoughts of leaving it, especially with intentions of returning to Hostility against it. And we do observe, that your Majesty desires the engagement not only of the Parliament, but of the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, Common Council and Militia of the City of London, the Chief Commanders of Sir Thomas Fairfax's Army and those of the Scots Army, which is against the Priviledges and honour of the Parliament, those being joyned with them who are subject and subordinate to their Authority.

That which your Majesty against the freedom of the Parliaments, enforces in both your Letters with many earnest expressions, as if in no other way then that propounded by your Majesty, the peace of the Kingdoms could be established. Your Majesty may please to remember, that in our last Letter we did declare that Propositions from both Kingdoms were speedily to be sent to your Majesty, which we conceive to be the only way for the attaining a happy and well grounded peace; and your Majesties Answer to those Propositions will be an effectual means in giving satisfaction and security to your Kingdoms, will assure a firm Union between the two Kingdoms, as much desired each for other, as for themselves; and settle Religion and secure the peate of the Kingdom of Scotland whereof neither is so much as mentioned in your Majesties Letter.

And in proceeding according to these just and necessary grounds, for

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Anno

1645.

The Parliaments Answer to the Kings former Letters.

Anno
1645.

the putting an end to the bleeding Calamities of these Nations, your Majesty may have the glory to be principal instument in so happy a work; and we how ever mis-interpreted, shall approve our selves to God and the World to be real and sincere, in seeking a safe and well grounded Peace.

January 14.

But the King being earnest for their Answers, sends another Messenger the 15. of *January*, in pursuance of his former Messages of the 26. and 29. of *December*, which met the Parliaments Trumpet with their Answer of the 13. *January*. The Kings Message was thus. *Jan. 15.*

C. R.

But that these are times wherein nothing is strange, it were a thing much to be marvelled at, what should cause this unparallel'd long detention of his Majesties Trumpet, sent with his gracious Message of the twenty sixt of December last: peace being the only subject of it, and his Majesties personal Treaty, the means proposed for it. And it were almost as great a wonder, that his Majesty should be so long from enquiring after it, if the hourly expectation thereof had not in some measure, satisfied his impatience: But lest his Majesty by his long silence, should condemn himself of carelesness in that, which so much concerns the good of all his people, he thinks it high time to enquire after his said Trumpeter: For since all men who pretend any goodness, must desire peace; and that all men know Treaties to be the best and most Christian way to procure it, and there being as little question, that his Majesties personal presence in it, is the likelyest way to bring it to a happy issue, he judges there must be some strange variety of accidents, which causeth this most tedious delay; wherefore his Majesty earnestly desires to have a speedy account of his former Message, the Subject whereof is Peace, and the means his personal presence at Westminster, where the Government of the Church being settled, as it was in the times of the happy and glorious Reigns of Queen Elizabeth and King James; and full liberty for the ease of their Consciences, who will not communicate in that service established by Law; and likewise for the free and publick use of the Directory (prescribed, and by command of the two Houses of Parliament, now practised in some parts of the City of London) to such as shall desire to use the same; and all forces being agreed to be disbanded, his Majesty will then forthwith (as he hath in his Message of the twenty ninth of December last, already offered) joyn with his two Houses of Parliament, in settling some way for the payment of the Publick Debts to his Scots Subjects, the City of London and others: and his Majesty having proposed a fair way for the settling of the Militia, which now by this long delay seems not to be thought sufficient security; his Majesty (to shew how really he will imploy him-
self

self at his coming to Westminster) for making this a lasting peace, and taking away all jealousies (how groundless soever) will endeavour upon debate with his two Houses, so to dispose of it (as likewise of the business of Ireland) as may give to them and both Kingdoms just satisfaction; not doubting also, but to give good contentment to his two Houses of Parliament in the choise of the Lord Admiral, the Officers of State and others, if his two Houses by their ready inclinations to peace shall give him encouragements thereunto. Thus his Majesty having taken occasion by his just impatience so to explain his intentions, that no man can doubt of a happy issue to this succeeding Treaty: If now there shall be so much as a delay of the same, he calls God and the World to witness, who they are that not only hinder, but reject this Kingdoms future happiness, it being so much the stranger, that his Majesties coming to Westminster, (which was the first and greatest pretence for taking up Arms) should be so much as delayed, much lesse not accepted or refused; but his Majesty hopes that God will no longer suffer the malice of wicked men, to hinder the peace of this too much afflicted Kingdom.

Given at the Court at Oxford, the 15. of
January, 1645.

For the Speaker of the House of Peers, &c.

And now it begins to work in the hearts of the people, muttering and murmuring the true state of these transactions, and the Christian pious affection of the King to peace. The Parliament therefore set all their Engines to satisfy the publick: And after the debate of the King's last Letter, they read Letters from their Commissioners in Ireland, together with some other Letters and Papers taken in the Pockets of the Arch-bishop of Trane, who was slain at the overthrow of the Rebels at Sligo in Ireland, discovering all the transactions between the King and them with whom the Bishop was to Treat: offering Toleration of Religion, themselves to choose a Governour of their own, and to be intrusted with several Castles and Forts for their Caution, upon condition to send in to England ten thousand Irish to assist him against his Enemies. And these Papers were forthwith printed and published, together with those Letters taken in the Lord Digbie's Coach at Sherburn in Yorkshire, and all to amuse the people, for to satisfy them thereby they could not.

The King hears of this and digesting it as well as he could, he plies them again with a tarter Message, dated 17. January, thus.

Anno
1645.

C. R.

His Majesty thinks not fit now to Answer those aspersions which are returned as arguments for his not admittance to Westminster for a personal Treaty, because it would enforce a stile not suitable to his end, it being the peace of those miserable Kingdoms: yet thus much he cannot but say to those who have sent him this Answer, that if they had considered what they had done themselves in occasioning the shedding of so much innocent blood, by withdrawing themselves from their duty to him, in a time when he had granted so much to his Subjects, and in violating the known Laws of the Kingdom to draw an exorbitant power to themselves over their fellow Subjects, (to say no more, to do as they have done) they could non have given such a false character of his Majesties actions. VVherefore his Majesty must now remember them, that having some hours before his receiving of their last paper of the 13. of January, sent another Message to them of the 15. wherein by divers particulars he enlargeth himself to shew the reality of his endeavours for peace by his desired personal Treaty (which he still conceives to be the likeliest way to attain to that blessed end) he thinks fit by this Message to call for an Answer to that, and indeed to all the former. For certainly no rational man can think their last paper can be any Answer to his former demands, the scope of it being, that because there is a War, therefore there should be no Treaty for Peace. And is it possible to expect that the Propositions mentioned should be the ground of a lasting Peace, when the persons that send them will not endure to hear their own King speak? But what ever the successe hath been of his Majesties former Messages, or how small soever his hopes are of a better, considering the high strain of those who deal with his Majesty, yet he will neither want Fatherly bowels to his Subjects in general, nor will he forget that God hath appointed him for their King with whom he treats. VVherefore he now demands a speedy Answer to his last and former Messages.

Given at our Court at Oxford, this 17.
of January, 1645.

For the Speaker of the House of Peers, &c.

It is true, that the House of Peers were more attentive to the Kings desires and had often conference with the Commons, but then after their debates, the Propositions were committed to the Committee of the two Kingdoms, and there they lay by the heels until the King again rowzes the Parliament January, 24. for Answer to his former Message concerning their reasons against a personal Treaty, which indeed was his last Refuge.

C. R.

CHARLES R.

Anno

1645.

The procuring Peace to these Kingdoms by Treatie, is so much desired by his Majestie, that no unjust Aspersions whatsoever, or any other Discouragements shall make him desist from doing his endeavour therein, untill he shall see it altogether impossible: and therefore hath thought fitting so far onely to make Replie to that Paper or Answer which he hath received of the thirteenth of this instant January, as may take away those Objections which are made against his Majesties coming to Westminster, expecting still an Answer to his Messages of the fifteenth and seventeenth, which he hopes by this time have begotten better thoughts and resolutions, in the Members of both Houses. And first therefore, whereas in the said last Paper it is objected as an Impediment to his Majesties personal Treatie, that much innocent blood hath been shed in this War, by his Majesties Commissions, &c. He will not now dispute (it being apparent to all the World by whom this blood hath been spilt) but rather press that there should be no more: and (to that end onely) he hath desired a personal Treatie, as judging it the most immediate means to abolish so many horrid confusions in all his Kingdoms. And it is no Argument, to say, That there shall be no such personal Treatie, because there have been Wars, it being a strong inducement to have such a Treatie to put an end to the War. Secondly, that there should be no such personal Treatie, because some of his Irish Subjects have repaired to his assistance in it, seems an Argument altogether as strange as the other, as alwaies urging that there should be no Physick, because the partie is sick: and in this particular it hath been often observed unto them, that those whom they call Irish, who have so expressed their Loyaltie to their Sovereign, were indeed (for the most part) such English Protestants, as had been formerly sent into Ireland by the two Houses, impossibilitated to stay there any longer by the neglect of those that sent them thither, who should there have better provided for them. And for any Foreign Forces, it is too apparent that their Armies have swarmed with them, when his Majestie hath had very few or none. And whereas, for a third Impediment, it is alleged, that the Prince is in the head of an Armie in the West, and that there are divers Garisons still kept in his Majesties obedience, and that there are Forces in Scotland; it must be as much confessed, as that as yet there is no Peace: and therefore it is desired, that by such a personal Treatie all these Impediments may be removed. And it is not here amiss to put them in minde, how long since his Majestie did press a disbanding of all Forces on both sides, the refusing whereof hath been the cause of this Objection. And whereas exception is taken, that there is a time limited in the Proposition for his Majesties personal Treatie, thereupon inferring, that he should again return to hostilitie, his Majestie protesteth that he seeks this Treatie to void future hostilitie, and to procure a lasting Peace; and if it can meet with like inclinations to Peace in those he desires to treat with, he will bring such affections and resolutions in himself, as shall end all these unhappy bloody Differences.

Anno
1645.

As for those Engagements which his Majestie hath desired for his security, whosoever shall call to minde the particular occasions that enforced his Majestie to leave his Citie of London and Westminster, will judg his Demand very reasonable and necessary for his safetie. But he no way conceiveth how the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, Common Council, and Militia of London, were either subject or subordinate to that Authoritie which is alleged, as knowing neither Law nor practice for it: and if the two Armies be, he believes it is more than can be parallel'd by any former times in this Kingdom. Nor can his Majestie understand how his Majesties seeking for a personal securitie can be any breach of privilege; it being likely to be infringed by hindering his Majestie from coming freely to his two Houses. As for the Objection that his Majestie omitted to mention the settling of Religion, and securing the peace of his native Kingdom, his Majestie declares, that he conceives that it was included in his former, and hath been particularly mentioned in his later Message of the fifteenth present. But, for their better satisfaction, he again expresth that it was, and ever shall be, both his meaning and endeavour in this Treatie desired; and it seems to him very clear, that there is no way for a final ending of such Distractions as afflict this Kingdom, but either by Treatie or Conquest, the later of which his Majestie hopes none will have the impudencie or impietie to wish for. And for the former, if his personal assistance in it be not the most likely way, let any reasonable man judg: when by that means not onely all unnecessary Delaies will be removed, but even the greatest Difficulties made easie. And therefore he doth now again earnestly insist upon that Proposition expecting to have a better Answer upon mature consideration. And can it be imagined that any Propositions will be so effectual, being formed before a personal Treatie, as such as are framed and propounded upon a full Debate on both sides? Wherefore his Majestie who is most concerned in the good of his people, and is most desirous to restore peace and happiness to his three Kingdoms, doth again instantly desire an Answer to his said former Messages, to which he hath hitherto received none.

Given at our Court at Oxon, the four and twentieth of January, 1645.

To the Speaker of the House of Peers, &c.

The King, Prince, and Rupert and Maurice were reconciled, and all at Oxford extremely straitned for Provisions, being blocked up, but what Refreshments came at dear Rates: he commands a Fast and Prayers to God, directed to the Vice-chancellour and Heads of Houses in the Universitie of Oxford:

That Divine Service established by Law be read daily Morning and Evening, as now it is in your respective Houses: and also that upon Wednesdays and Fridays to meet four times each Day at Divine Service, and so to continue during these sad Times: and a general Fast each Friday from Food, till five a clock after the Evening Service,

an

Fasting and
Prayer at Ox-
ford.

The Reign of King Charls.

855

and this to be done now and hereafter, according to the good Example of the Primitive Christians.

Edw. Nicholas.

Anno

1645.

Irish Letters intercepted.

But unhappily it fell out, that now again the Parliament intercepted some *Irish* Letters and Papers, in a manner the whole Transactions (Copies) between the King and the *Irish* Rebels. Amongst many, this Commission to *Edward* Lord *Herbert* Earl of *Glamorgan*, to treat with the *Irish* Rebels.

CHARLS R.

Charls by the grace of God, &c. To our trustie, &c. *Edward* Earl of *Glamorgan*. We reposing great and especial trust and confidence in your approved wisdom and fidelitie do by these as firmly (as under our great Seal to all intents and purposes) authorize and give you power to treat and conclude with the confederate Roman Catholicks in our Kingdom of Ireland, if upon necessitie any thing be condescended unto, wherein our Lieutenant cannot so well be seen in, as not fit for us for the present publicly to own: therefore we charge you to proceed according to this our Warrant with all possible secrecie: and whatsoever you shall engage your self upon such valuable considerations as you in your judgment shall deem fit, We promise in the word of a King and Christian, to ratifie and perform the same of that which shall be granted by you, and under your Hand and Seal. The said confederate Catholicks having by their Supplies testified their zeal to our Service. And this shall be in each particular to you a sufficient Warrant. Given at our Court at Oxon the twelfth of May, 20 Car.

The Kings Commission to the Earl of Glamorgan.

This Commission being but a Paper Copy, and so hinted to the King, he was pleased to pass it over as no sufficient ground to put him to the acknowledgment thereof, yet it became him to excuse the effects of *Glamorgan's* Negotiations with the *Irish*, which it seems were so averse from *Ormond's* Instructions as the Kings Lieutenant, that *Glamorgan* was there committed by him and the Council. And how to piece up these passages from censure, he is pleased to frame a Declaration and sends it to the Parliament by Message, Jan. 29.

CHARLS R.

His Majestie having received Information from the Lord Lieutenant and Council in Ireland, That the Earl of *Glamorgan* hath, without his or their directions or privitie, entred into a Treatie with some Commissioners on the Roman Catholick partie there, and also drawn up and agreed unto certain Articles with the said Commissioners, highly derogatorie to his Majesties Honour and Royal Dignitie, and most prejudicial unto the Protestant Religion and Church there in Ireland, whereupon

Message about Ireland and personal Treaty.

Anno
1645.

whereupon the said Earl of Glamorgan is arrested, upon suspicion of high Treason, and imprisoned by the said Lord-Lieutenant and Council, at the instance and by the impeachment of the Lord Digby, who (by reason of his Place and former Imploiment in these affairs) doth best know how contrarie that Proceeding of the said Earl hath been to his Majesties Intentions and Directions, and what great prejudice it might bring to his affairs, if those Proceedings of the Earl of Glamorgan should be any waies understood to have been done by the Directions, liking, or approbation of his Majestie.

His Majestie, having in his former Messages for a personal Treatie offered to give contentment to his two Houses in the business of Ireland; hath now thought fitting, the better to shew his clear Intentions, and to give satisfaction to his said Houses of Parliament, and the rest of his Subjects in all his Kingdoms, to send this Declaration to his said Houses, containing the whole truth of the business, which is,

That the Earl of Glamorgan having made offer unto him to raise Forces in the Kingdom of Ireland, and to conduct them into England for his Majesties Service, had a Commission to that purpose, and to that purpose onely.

That he had no Commission at all to treat of any thing else, without the privitie and directions of the Lord Lieutenant, much less to capitulate any thing concerning Religion, or any proprietie belonging either to Church or Laitie.

That it clearly appears by the Lord Lieutenants Proceedings with the said Earl, that he had no notice at all of what the said Earl had treated and pretended to have capitulated with the Irish, untill by accident it came to his knowledg.

And his Majestie doth protest, That untill such time as he had advertisement, that the person of the said Earl of Glamorgan was arrested and restrained, as is abovesaid, he never heard, nor had any kinde of notice, that the said Earl had entred into any kinde of Treatie or Capitulation with those Irish Commissioners; much less, that he had concluded or signed those Articles so destructive both to Church and State, and so repugnant to his Majesties publick Professions, and known Resolutions.

And for the further vindication of his Majesties Honor and Integrity herein, he doth declare, That he is so far from considering any thing contained in those Papers or Writings framed by the said Earl, and those Commissioners with whom he treated, as he doth absolutely disavow him therein, and hath given commandment to the Lord Lieutenant, and the Council there, to proceed against the said Earl, as one, who either out of falsness, presumption, or follie, hath so hazarded the blemishing of his Majesties Reputation with his good Subjects, and so impertinently framed those Articles of his own head, without the consent, privitie, or directions of his Majestie, or the Lord Lieutenant, or any of his Majesties Council there. But true it is, that for the necessarie preservation of his Majesties

jesties Protestant Subjects in Ireland, whose case was daily represented unto him to be so desperate, his Majestie had given Commission to the Lord Lieutenant to treat and conclude such a Peace there, as might be for the safetie of that Crown, the preservation of the Protestant Religion, and no way derogatorie to his own Honour, and publick Professions.

But to the end, that his Majesties real Intentions in this business of Ireland may be the more clearly understood, and to give more ample satisfaction to both Houses of Parliament, and the Commissioners of the Parliament of Scotland, especially concerning his Majesties not being engaged in any Peace or Agreement there; he doth desire, if the two Houses shall admit of his Majesties Repair to London, for a personal Treatie, (as was formerly proposed) that speedy notice be given thereof to his Majestie, and a Pass or safe Conduct, with a Blank sent for a Messenger to be immediately dispatcht into Ireland, to prevent any accident that may happen to hinder his Majesties Resolution of leaving the managing of the business of Ireland wholly to the two Houses, and to make no Peace there, but with their consent, which, in case it shall please God to bless his Endeavours in the Treatie with success, his Majestie doth hereby engage himself to do.

And for a further explanation of his Majesties Intentions in his former Messages, he doth now declare, that if his personal Repair to London, as aforesaid, shall be admitted, and a Peace thereon shall ensue, he will then leave the nomination of the persons to be intrusted with the Militia, wholly to his two Houses, with such power and limitations as are expressed in the Paper delivered by his Majesties Commissioners at Uxbridg the sixth of February, 1644. for the term of seven years, as hath been desired, to be given immediately after the conclusion of the Peace, the disbanding of all Forces on both sides, and the dismantling of the Garisons erected since these present Troubles, so as at the expiration of the time before mentioned, the power of the Militia shall intirely revert and remain as before.

And for their further securitie, his Majestie (the Peace succeeding) will be content, that pro hac vice, the two Houses shall nominate the Admiral, Officers of State, and Judges to hold their Places during life, or quam diu se bene gesserint, which shall be best liked, to be accountable to none but the King, and the two Houses of Parliament.

As for matter of Religion, his Majestie doth further declare, That by the libertie offered in his Message of the fifteenth present, for the ease of their consciences who will not communicate in the Service already established by Act of Parliament in this Kingdom, he intends that all other Protestants behaving themselves peaceably in and towards the Civil Government, shall have the free exercise of their Religion, according to their own way.

And for the total removing of all Fears and Jealousies, his Majestie is willing to agree, that upon the conclusion of Peace, there shall be a ge-

Anno

1645.

neral Act of Oblivion and free Pardon past by Act of Parliament in both his Kingdoms respectively.

And lest it should be imagined, that in the making these Propositions, his Majesties Kingdom of Scotland, and his Subjects there have been forgotten and neglected, his Majesty declares, That what is here mentioned touching the Militia, and the naming of Officers of State and Judges, shall likewise extend to his Kingdom of Scotland.

And now his Majesty having so fully and clearly expressed his Intentions and Desires of making a happy and well-grounded Peace, if any person shall decline that happiness by opposing of so apparent a way of attaining it, he will sufficiently demonstrate to all the World his Intention and Design can be no other, than the total Subversion and Change of the ancient and happy Government of this Kingdom under which the English Nation hath so long flourished.

Given at our Court at Oxon, the twenty fourth of January, 1645.

To the Speaker of the House of Peers, &c.

Arch-Bishop
of York his
letter to the
Lord Ashley.

This did not satisfie, for upon the reading of this Declaration or Message in the House of Commons they produce other Letters and Papers, taken at the Defeat of the Lord Ashley, amongst which they finde Letters of the Arch-bishop of York to the Lord Ashley, and the Lord Digby's Letter from Ireland to the Arch-bishop, concerning this business, out of which and Glamorgan's own to the King hereafter, they concluded much matter.

To the Right Honourable the Lord Ashley.

Most Noble Lord,

Your Lordships Letter of the twelfth of January I received late at night the nine and twentieth, I have communicated to the Lord Byron the Marquess of Ormond his Letter of the twelfth of December, and by this time, not sooner, the Lord Byron's Answer is at Dublin, which I sent by his Lordships Chaplain: it implied some Fears of holding out Chester this long, &c. Colonel Butler tells me even now, that the men and the shipping are still ready in Ireland, though retarded hitherto by reason of this Distraction, which since Tuesday last is so composed that the Earl of Glamorgan is out upon Bail of six or eight Noblemen, whereof the Marq. of Glenricard is one, &c. from the Lord Lieutenant. I have received no Answer in writing as yet, (though mine to him is many since the first of January) nor from the Lord Digby any more to the purpose than this inclosed.

There is no relying on these Irish Forces for this Service, though if they come, they shall be carefully transported to such Rendezvous as I shall hear is most fitting for the passage of your Lordships Armie, and to that end your Lordship shall be punctually informed of their landing and condition.

Conway,

Your Lordships, &c.

Jan. 25. 1645.

John Eborac.

The Lord Digby's Letter inclosed.

Anno
1645.

May it please your Grace,

I give you many thanks for your obliging Letter by Mr. Moor, I have likewise sent yours to the Marquess of Ormond, and I am glad to finde there that you do nott ake the Allarm at my Lord Glamorgan's Commitment so hot, as upon it to despair of the Relief of Chester, which though it hath been somewhat retarded by it, yet I make little question now but it will go on speedily and effectually; and of this I desire you to certifie my Lord Byron.

Digby's letter.

Dublin,

Jan. 21. 1645.

Your Graces, &c.

G. Digby.

And then to discipher the Mystery, this of the Earl of Glamorgan's to the King was read also in the House.

For his Sacred Majestie.

May it please your Majestie,

I am now at Waterford, providing Shipping immediately to transport six thousand Foot, and four thousand more are by May next to follow. I hope these will yet come opportunely to the Relief of Chester. What hath been the occasions of so long Delay, and yet suffers not your Majesties Service herein to proceed with that advantage it might do, I conceive it not so fit to commit to Paper: but I shortly send my Brother, who shall fully inform your Majestie with all particulars, and thereby rectifie your opinion, and give you true knowledg who are your faithfull Servants. I hope long ere this that Captain Bacon hath arrived with you since mine Enlargement; and therefore I need onely tell your Majestie, that my further Services intended for you, will I hope without further crosses be suffered to go on, though strange is the industrie used by many seeming Friends to hinder me therein; but I am confident it shall not lie in their power, your Majestie remaining still constant (as I doubt not but you will) to your favourable opinion and right interpretation of my poor Endeavours, which if they may take place, will procure you to be a glorious and happie Prince; I having no other ends, but to approve my self

*Glamorgans
letter to the
King out of
Ireland.*

*Your Sacred Majesties most dutifull, and most obedient
Subject, and passionate devoted Servant,*

Waterford, Febr. 23. 1645.

Glamorgan.

But in the mean time, ere this last Letter of Glamorgan's was discovered, the King had sent another Message, Febr. 26.

Anno

1645.

CHARLS R.

His Majestie needs to make no Excuse, though he sent no more Messages unto you: for he very well knows he ought not to do it, if he either stood upon punctilio's of Honour, or his own private interest; the one being already call'd in question by his often sending, and the other assuredly prejudg'd if a Peace be concluded from that he hath already offered, he having therein departed with many his undoubted Rights. But nothing being equally dear unto him, to the preservation of his People, his Majestie passeth by many Scruples, Neglects, and Delaies, and once more desires you to give him a speedie Answer to his last Message, for his Majestie believes it doth very well become him (after this very long Delay) at last to utter his impatience since the Goods and Bloud of his Subjects tries so much for Peace.

Given at our Court at Oxford the six and twentieth Day of February, 1645.

For the Speaker of the House of Peers pro tempore, to be communicated, &c.

The King hears of their Votes and Debates, daily canvassing the Heads of Propositions, and to remove these Remora's that stuck in their way, he clears them by another Message, and presses for his coming to London.

CHARLS R.

Notwithstanding the unexpected silence in stead of answer to his Majesties many and gracious Messages to both Houses, whereby it may appear, that they desire to obtain their ends by force, rather than by Treatie, which may justly discourage his Majestie from any more Overtures of that kinde, yet his Majestie conceives he shall be much wanting in his Dutie to God, and in what he oweth to the safetie of his People, if he should not intend to prevent the great Inconveniencies that may otherwise hinder a safe and well-grounded Peace. His Majestie therefore now proposeth, that, so he may have the Faith of both Houses of Parliament, for the preservation of his Honour, Person, and Estate; and that Libertie be given to all those who do and have adhered to his Majestie to go to their own houses, and there to live peaceably enjoying their Estates, all Sequestrations being taken off, without being compelled to take any Oath not enjoyned by the undoubted Laws of the Kingdom, or being put to any other molestation whatsoever, he will immediately disband all his Forces, and dismantle all his Garisons, and being accompanied with his Royal, not his Martial Attendance, return to his two Houses of Parliament, and there reside with them. And for the better securitie of all his Majesties Subjects, he proposeth that he with his said two Houses immediately upon his coming to Westminster will pass an Act of Oblivion and free Pardon, and where his Majestie will further do whatsoever they will advise him for the good and Peace of this Kingdom. And as
for

for the Kingdom of Scotland his Majestie hath made no mention of it here, in regard of the great loss of time which must now be spent in expecting an Answer from thence, but declares that immediately upon his coming to Westminster, he will applie himself to give them all satisfaction touching that Kingdom. If his Majestie could possibly doubt the Success of this Offer, he could use many Arguments to perswade them to it, but shall onely insist upon that great one of giving an instant Peace to these afflicted Kingdoms.

Oxford, March 23. 1645.

For the Speaker of the House of Peers, &c.

But not prevailing, we shall end this years Proposals, hoping by the next to finde the Parliament herein better disposed.

The Garison of *Westchester* for the King was of great consequence, and therefore commanded by a Noble Person the Lord *Byron*, the Port and Passage for *Ireland*, the Countrey Contribution was of such a Circuit and sufficiencie, that the Parliament now somewhat settled in successes, resolved in the beginning of *August* last to besiege it. But ere their Forces undertook it, they drew considerable strength into the Shire, Quartering thereabout, and Associating with other of their Garisons; The work begins, enduring many a brunt from *Chester*, who were well appointed and vexed their Enemies with several repulses to resolve upon a design, thus.

Westchester besieged and surrendered.

Col. *Fones* who commanded the Horse for the Parl. (in a Leaguer near hand at *Beeston*) drew off with Col. *Louthian* at midnight, who commanded the Foot, and both making a Party of 1300. Horse and Foot, came the next morning at 4. a clock before *Chester* on the East-side: dividing their Forces into four parts to storm in 4. places, and being so early and undiscovered, Captain *Ginbert* got upon the Out-works at *Forrest-street* end, *Finch* on the left hand, *Holt* and *Davis* at two other places. They were opposed by as gallant resolute Commanders, but came too late, for the Enemy was got in and paid dear for their purchase. The *Forrest-street* and Lanes thereto was taken, with the possession of the Mayors House, Sword and Mace, and the Sheriffs Wand, and these sent to the Parliament for signal of thus much success, *Sept. 23*. These Suburbs they possess against the Sal-lies of the Town, & daily incounters of either side, within and without the Town. The Kings Forces thereabout endeavouring with all possible waies to relieve this so useful Garison. But then the Enemy enlarges, & by degrees almost block up the West-side of *Chester*, *Oct. 2*.

The distress comes close, which troubles the King at *Oxford*, who gives order to draw out from several Garisons of *Hereford*, *Ludlow*, *Bridge-North*, and *Worcester*, such considerable Forces as made up 1700. Horse, and 700. Foot commanded by a Noble Knight Sir

William

Anno
1645.

William Vaughan, and got into a Body near *Denbigh* Castle twenty miles off of *Chester*, when the *Besiegers* hear of this and go to Council, whether to rest their near approach, or to fight them far off. They resolve, draw out 1400. Horse, and 1000. Foot, (odds of their Enemies) and yet left their Siege works well manned at *Chester*, and meet the *Cavaliers* in their March, sending their Forlorn by Captain *Otter*, the Body commanded by *Mitton*, *Fones*, and *Louthian*, against men of resolution and gallantry, but overmastered because overpowred, and with other advantages to boot, defeated the *Cavaliers*, kild some, and took Horse and Foot more then will be imagined, and this was 1. of *November*.

A second design of Relief was nobly attempted by the Lord *Aston*, who in his way was met with near *Stur-bridge*, Horse to Horse, each a Regiment. *Aston* too forward was wounded and taken prisoner, he scaped no better, others payed dear, on both sides loss, whereof neither bragged, and this was ten days after the other defeat.

Thus abroad, and more at home, for *Byron* was a brave man, discreet and valiant, but could not doe much more then he did within doores, for wearied a long time with Sallies outward, was now overpowred and overpressed that he was forced to keep in, and feed upon nothing, even to nothing, in great distress when Horse-flesh failed.

Sir *william Brereton* and Col. *Mitton* now command the Leaguer heretofore knowing the resolution of gallant Governours, supposed it to no purpose to summon *Byron*, that never used to yield: yet now each Opposite fall to treat, but the Overtures high, neither of them would condescend, *November* 28. for *Byron* had intelligence of the Kings earnest desire, and unfortunate endeavours for his Relief: and the Parliament debating and voting for a Committee on purpose to order force upon force to joyn with *Brereton*, for the gaining of this Garison, blocking up and guarding all ways and passages about the County to hinder Relief, *December* 9. And therefore the Townsmen murmur first, then mutiny, which *Byron* appeases with promises, after a weeks expectation of Relief, if none comes to treat upon Surrender; and as yet none comes, nor can, and therefore *Brereton* ingeniously writes to him.

For the Lord *Byron* and the Mayor of *Chester*.

S I R,

Experience tells you on what Foundations your hopes of Relief were groundd, but that you may see my tender care of the preservation of the Lives and Estates of the Inhabitants, once more I summon you to deliver this Garison into my hands for the use of the King and Parliament, with expecting your speedy Answer.

Chester Suburbs,
Jan. 17.

Your Servant,
Will. Brereton.

Anno

1645.

But Byron was busie, and did not answer; Brereton sends the second time again.

S I R,

I perceive my Desire to preserve the Citie encourageth a great obstinacie, as though you expected as good Conditions, when you can hold out no longer, as if you had treated the last Summons, which proceeded not from any fear of disturbance, (for I believe your self is hopeles of Relief) but to prevent further miserie, and the ruine of that Citie, which will be remediless. I expect your Answer by three a clock this Day.

Jan. 12.

Your Servant,
Will. Brereton.

To which Byron answers.

We are not convinced by experience of the groundless Foundation of our hopes of Relief, neither is our Condition such as to precipitate us to a prejudicial Treatie; however, if within twelve Days we be not assured of Relief by a Gentleman and Citizen whom we shall send for that purpose with a Trumpet of ours, and a Pass from you, we shall then be contented to enter into a Treatie for Surrender upon honourable and orderly condition.

Chester,

Jan. 12.

Charls Walley Mayor.

Your Servant,

John Byron.

And instantly replied unto the same Day.

The Writing sent by the Drummer is not satisfactory to the Summons, neither will I assent to your Desires in any part of it. If you return not a positive Answer before ten a clock to morrow morning, expect no further Treatie.

Will. Brereton.

This was sharp and sudden, but Byron stirs not, having sent out a Messenger, whose return he expected. That if Relief came not by the end of this Moneth *January*, at the furthest, he could hold out no longer. This Messenger is intercepted on his way, which Brereton sends to the Parliament, having private order if possible to spare the storming and plunder of that City, which Brereton hoped to govern hereafter, and he being that Countreyman was not willing to ruine the chief Town.

The time is come and they treat, ten Days spent with several Transactions, in hope of Relief, for which strong preparations were made, whereof the Besiegers had frequent advertisement, that Sir *Jacob Ashley* and Colonel *Vaughan* had united, and lay hovering

Anno.
1645.

vering about *Bridg-North*, their Intention to have joyned with the *Welch* Forces under the Lord *St. Paul*, and some *Irish* that came over in *December* last, and those other lately landed at *Blewmorris*, who were part of the Lord *Digby's* Regiment, (as the intercepted Letters mentioned) to prevent which Conjunction *Brereton* sends three Regiments of Horse, the *Warwickshire*, the *Reformato's* Regiment, and part of the *Staffordshire* Horse and Foot, and also of the *Cheshire* Dragoons, together with some of Colonel *Mitton's* Horse and Foot, which Party was commanded by *Mitton*, who marched to *Ruthen*, the four and twentieth of this Moneth *January*, intending to fall upon the Cavaliers Quarters, who made their way and marched to *Denbigh*, and so to *Conway*; but *Mitton* came in good time after; for *Ruthen* Castle was so ill provided, that he hath hope to master it, however the Conjunction of the Cavaliers is frustrate, which probably occasioned the Cavaliers Retreat quite away: so as now the Besieged hopeles sent out their Commissioners *Jan. 30.* to treat with the Assailants.

The first Day nothing was concluded.

The next Day the Besiegers importuned to lengthen the Treaty for three Days longer, which being denied they conclude the first of *February*.

Between *John* Lord *Byron* Field-Marshal, General of *North-Wales* and Governour of *Chester*, and Sir *William Brereton* Knight and Baronet, Commander in chief of all the Forces of *Cheshire*.

The Lord *Byron*, and all Noblemen, Commanders, and Officers, and Souldiers, in all their Apparel whatsoever.

The Lord *Byron* with Horse and Arms, and ten Men alike accomplished to attend him.

His Lady and Servants with Coaches, and in each four Horses, with such other Ladies and Gentlewomen as he thinks fit, and with his Books, Evidences, and Writings in his possession, and all of them with not above forty pounds in Money, and twenty pounds in Plate.

The rest of the Noblemen and their Ladies answerable with Honour and Arms, and not above thirty pounds in Money.

Every Knight and Colonel alike with ten pounds in Money, and so in a respective condition and quality of every Officer to the common Souldier, who was to march away with twenty Shillings.

In a word, throughout their degrees, Men and Women answerable, and as reasonable for the Citizens. So that I shall conclude for the honour of Sir *William Brereton*, although he knew the Distress of the Garison, yet he was so noble, and so much a Gentleman and a Souldier, that in earnest I finde his Concessions worthy of honourable Record, which I mention for his due merits; and I wish I could say so much for others on any side.

And

And Sir William Brereton is now gone to besiege *Lichfield*.

It was about the four and twentieth of *February* that the Commons discharged the Wardship of the Heirs male of Sir *Christopher Wray* a Member of the Commons, according to their former Ordinance, that the Heirs of all such as died in this War in the Service of the Parliament should have their Wardships discharged by Ordinance of both Houses.

Upon reading of which Ordinance this Day the House took occasion to debate the Legality, or Illegality of Wardships in general, and ordered, *That the Court of Wards it self and all Wardships, Austre les Mains, Primer Seisins, and all other Charges incident to the said Office should be from this present Day taken away, and all Tenancy by Homage, and all Fines, Licenses, Pardons of Alienation, &c. should be likewise taken away; and all Tenures by Knights Service, either of his Majestie or others, or by Knights Service or Soccage in capite of his Majestie, be turned into free and common Soccage.*

There had been by Sentence of the *Star-chamber* condign punishment inflicted on Dr. *Bastwick*, Mr. *Burton*, and Mr. *Pryn* for certain scandalous Books imprinted and published by themselves against the King, Queen and State, *Anno 1637*. And afterwards Mr. *Fohn Lilburn* and Mr. *Wharton* were complained of in *Star-chamber* by Sir *Fohn Banks* Attourney General, for imprinting and publishing those and such other Books to the defaming of the King and State; and were thereupon impeached in the *Star-chamber*, and their persons attached; but they refused to put in their Answers; and it being taken for granted, they were sentenced in *Star-chamber*: *Lilburn* to be whipt at a Carts tail from the *Fleet* to *Westminster* Pallace yard, and there to stand in the Pillory for two hours, for his contempt and disobedience to the Court.

It was proved that *Lilburn* had by the way above five hundred Lashes with a three-stringed Whip-coard, and upon each Cord three Knots; that he stood in the Pillory two hours, and there dispersing some scandalous Books, and talking to the People against the State, he was gagged to stop his prating.

For which Misdemeanour there, he was again sentenced the eighteenth of *April*, 1638. to be laid in Irons in the *Fleet* untill he be conform.

Afterwards when Complaints had freedom to urge the Illegality of former Judgments and Sentences of Courts of Judicature, *Lilburn* petitions the House of Lords for satisfaction of his Sufferings against his Judges. And the thirteenth of *February*, 1645. his Case was pleaded, and this Order made.

Anno

1645.

Court of
Wards and
Liveries voted
down.

Lilburn petitions
for justice.

Anno

1645.

Die Veneris, Feb. 13. 1645.

Whereas the cause of John Lilburn Gent. came this Day to a Hearing at the Bar by his Counsel, being transmitted from the House of Commons, concerning a Sentence pronounced against him in the Star-Chamber, Feb. 13. Anno 13. Car. Reg. and after an Examination of the whole Proceedings, and a due Consideration of the said Sentence, It is this Day adjudged, ordered, and determined by the Lords in Parliament assembled; That the said Sentence, and all Proceedings thereupon, shall forthwith be for ever totally vacuated, obliterated, and taken off the File in all Courts where they are yet remaining, as illegal, and most unjust, against the Libertie of the Subject, and Law of the Land, and Magna Charta, and unfit to continue upon Record. And that the said Lilburn shall be for ever absolutely freed, and totally discharged from the said Sentence, and all Proceedings thereupon, as fully and amply, as though never any such thing had been. And that all Estreat and Process in the Court of Exchequer, for levying of any Fine, (if any such be) shall be wholly cancelled and made void, any thing to the contrary in any wise notwithstanding.

John Brown Cler. Parliament.

The Observations may be these.

1. Imprisonment, a man buried alive, is made *Corpus immobile legis*, the immoveable subject of the Law: for active *Theses* was condemned onely to sit still; there is an end when Life is taken away, but in this no end. *Nondum tibi redii in gratiam*, to put a man out of his pain was accounted a favour by the *Romans*.

2. Close Imprisonment was never used to the Primitive *Christians* by any Tyrants, for then that heavy Charge in Scripture, *I was in Prison and ye visited me not*, might be answered: but a close Imprisonment may presume a Famishment, and so Death. The *Romans* had four Punishments, *Lapidatio, Combustio, Decollatio, and Strangulatio*; but never Famishing to Death. This man might have been so, as it was sworn.

3. Three years Imprisonment, till the Parliament released him, and might otherwise have been for ever.

Whipping was painfull and shamefull, flagellation for Slaves. In the eleventh of *Elizabeth*, one *Cartwright* brought a Slave from *Russia*, and would scourge him, for which he was questioned, and it was resolved, *That England was too pure an Air for Slaves to breath in*. And indeed it was often resolved, even in *Star-chamber*, that no Gentleman was to be whipt for any offence whatsoever. And his Whipping was too severa.

For the distance from the *Fleet* to *Westminster* is above a Mile, that he had five hundred Blows, (one swears a great many more) with a treble-corded Whip, at least twenty Knots upon it.

Amongst

Amongst the *Romans* no Malefactor had above fourty Stripes, and with three Thongs, and *St. Paul* received but nine and thirty Stripes, which was but thirteen Blows. And it is worth observation, that not long since at *Orleans* in *France* a Priest was sentenced to be whipt for Fornication with a poor Maid, telling her that *St. Francis* would come and lie with her such a Night, at which time he feigned himself to be *St. Francis*, and was taken in Bed with her. The Kings Advocates pressed the Judges, that he might receive fourteen Blows with a three-corded Whip, but the Judges would not sentence him to more than thirteen Blows, because *Ampliandi sunt favores*. But if our Arithmetick be right, (not to sport with his pain) *Lilburn* had by this Numeration three times five hundred Stripes in five hundred Blows. And besides the Thongs, there were twenty Knots upon them, which if you multiply into the addition of Stripes, make up thousands.

The Pillory, this Punishment was first invented for Mountebanks and Cheats, that having gotten upon Banks and Forms to abuse the People, were exalted in the same kinde to be an open shame to the Multitude.

Gagging, truly we shall reade of that Punishment Judicature, 'tis barbarous, beastly, for Man differs from Beasts both *Ratione & Oratione*. We know, Perforation in Cases of Blasphemy, but not in other matters.

So that to sum up his Sufferings, by Imprisonment he was made a dead Trunk, by Whipping a Rogue, by Pillory a Cheater, and by Gagging a Beast. They had better have hanged him out right, for prevention of any more hurt hereafter, which for his Demerits have been inflicted upon him. A man of an undanted troublesome spirit; a man so turbulent, that as *Judg Fenkins* said, *If the World were emptied of all but John Lilburn, Lilburn would quarrel with John, and John with Lilburn.*

Now for satisfaction to those Sufferers, to be had from their Judges, most or all Parliament Members, yet the Judges in general were fined hundreds of pounds, to be paid them in general, but every one excusing, Is it I? little or none was paid, untill that afterwards one of their Widows revived the Suit, and petitioned for the Remain of the Fine, which was ready to be voted upon old *Sir Henry Vane*, there being never another honest man of all the Judges left alive in the House of Commons for satisfaction, which he would fain have excused for his proportionable part; but a wise Member stood up, and told them all, *It was a blessed time now when a single Counsellour of State, after twenty years opinion should be sentenced by a Parliament to give satisfaction for a mis-judgment, acted by a Bodie of Council so many years since: a leading Case for each Privie Counsellour that was present, if either of them should be hereafter questioned for judgment given in these our last Daies.* And so it proceeded no further.

Anno
1645.

Dartmouth be-
sieged and
surrendred to
the Parlia-
ment.

We are weary of the War, the Reader tired, the writer tending to an end of this Year, we shall Conclude with two or three remarkable Surrenders of several Garisons to *Fairfax* in the West.

The Town of *Dartmouth* in *Dorsetshire*, was governed by Sir *Hugh Pollard* a *Devonshire* Knight, a strong and convenient Port in the West, Garisoned to the purpose for the Kings service since the beginning of this war, but when many other of Garisons were gone and lost, Sir *Thomas Fairfax* in the West takes a resolution to gain it, and first sends sufficient Forces to straiten their Quarters thereabout.

And after the besiegers for the King against *Plimouth* had quitted their Trenches and gone, not able to withstand *Fairfax* then at *Totnes*. He now at leasure hastens from thence to *Dartmouth*, and sends before two Regiments of Foot to march to *Diclam*, and two more to *Stokefleming* being on the West side of *Dart River*, and having summoned the Town, he resolved upon storming it the 17. of *January* in three places. The first Post on the West gate by Colonel *Hamond*, on the North, by Colonel *Pride*, and on *Trutstal Church* and works, by Colonel *Fortescue*. The Evening come the Assailants fall on, to whom Colonel *Lambert's* Regiment was a Reserve, and to Allarm the Town elsewhere. *Hamond* in hot service enters the West gate against four Guns planted there, and two others upon the *Mill-pool* upon his Flank, but he went on and was bravely repulsed, till at last he got one Fort after another, viz. *Mount-flaggon*, the West gate, *Paradise-fort*, and beat ther off the Main Guard and so possessed the Town by the West gate to little *Dartmouth*. *Pride* did his part on the North side to the Draw Bridge, and by the way he meets with *Hamond* and his Men, and so by degrees each Assailants together gained all but the great Fort on the East side called *Kingsworth* Fort, and the Castle with the Fort which lay over at the Mouth of the Harbour called *Gallant Bower*, out of which the Governour, and the Earl of *Newport*, and others got out, and the Governour doing his duty in other places was shot into the Thigh, upon which he retreated to the Castle. Some others of the Assailants Allarumed *Kingsworth*, first commanded by Sir *Henry Cary* with his Regiment, having in it 12. Guns; a very strong Fort with 4. Bulwarks, and made a gallant resistance, and slew many, and gave not over until overpowered; he marched off upon honourable conditions, for, all was lost but the Castle and *Gallants Bower*: *Fairfax* the next day Summons the Castle, and after long disputes and costly purchase, the Governour there surrenders upon good Quarter: Colonel *Scamor* and Mr. *Denham* being Hostages and the whole Garison delivered up with 103. peices of Ordnance, 500. Prisoners.

This being done, the General *Fairfax* by his Letters acknowledged

ledgeth it a sweet Mercy of God; and the hearts of all under his command with integrity to serve the Parliament: the successe of whose affairs (he sayes) depends upon the ordering of a gracious Providence, which will carry them on through the greatest difficulties, until God hath finished his own work.

The Governour, and the Earl of *Newport*, Colonel *Seamour* and Twenty Captaines of note Prisoners, in all Eight hundred and odd. And for this good service the Parliament order him to be put in possession of 2500. *per. an.* as it was formerly voted. And he marches away from *Dartmouth* to the effectual blocking up, and after taking in of *Exeter*.

The 25. of *January*, he and the Lord General march to *Pouth-rane* Fort within three miles of *Exeter*, lately surrendered: sends their summons to Sir *John Barkley* Governour of *Exeter* with conditions to himself, his Officers, Citizens and Souldiers, *January*. seventeenth.

Exeter summoned.

To which the Goverour made a short and bold reply:

That his trust was delivered to him from his Majesty, which he would discharge to his power: That they have no reason to distrust a blessing from God in delivering that Garrison, who is able to deliver them, and may be so pleased without a Miracle, the Prince having so considerable force at so near a distance to them, that if all actions of their lives were as Innocent as their hands, of the blood that hath and shall be spilt in defence of their righteous cause, they shall in all events rest in perfect Peace of minde, and will not despare, &c.

Fairfax replies with some ingenuity, but as yet not prevails, and therefore makes two bridges over the River *Ex*, blocks up the City on all sides, and now within Musket-shot. He leaves the siege to Sir *Hardrese Waller*, and marches himself to the North-west of *Devonshire*, *Burnstable*, and so into *Cornwal*; for prince *Charles* was in person raising the Trained-bands in *Cornwal*, having committed his Army to the Lord *Hopton*, to the end if the successe failed he might transport himself to *Scilly*, which he did afterwards.

But by the way *Fairfax* falls upon the Princes Forces at *Torrington*, who drew out into the closes where they skirmished with great courage, till each retired: the Lord General *Cromwel* rides to the Barricadoes and gives fire with six Dragoons to try what the engaged would do, which they soon found to their cost, answering them with a very sharp volley and killed many: The Forelorn of *Fairfax* thus engaged, the Reserve came up to the Reliefe and was beaten untill the whole Army advanced, and about Eight at night the Battle began near the Town, to which at last they retreated and being followed the Horse got in after, and received a charge so resolutely

Hopton defeated at *Torrington*.

Anno

1645.

folutely that they were like to give over. But the Army seconding their losses with fresh men, the Town was wholly gained, but the Magazine in the Church by a train was fired, the Church blown up, and more mischief to the purchasers then the sword had done before; Eighty barrels of powder did the work, most terrible to the Assailants, that dreamed not of such an Accident. Upon the firing, the Cavaliers gave a charge also in the amaze of their Enemy, and commanded by Sir *John Digby* did the execution resolutely and bid farewell, at Eleven at night; and marched away into *Cornwal*.

These were old Souldiers of *Gorings* and *Greenvilles*, and now scattered abroad by this encounter. *Hopton* was shot in the Thigh, and *Digby* in the Head, some Prisoners and Horse taken of such as were flaine: But the rest kept rendezvouz at *Stratton*, the Prince at *Lamiston*, and *Fairfax* follows.

Lamiston
quitted.

The 25. of *February* he sends a party of 1000. Horse, and 400. Dragoons, before he came to *Lamiston*, commanded by Colonel *Basset* a gallant Gentleman, fell upon this forelorn-hope, and after a hot skirmish and the whole Army coming near hand, he quitted the Town. And the Prince hears of this and the forces marching towards *Pendennis* Castle, he quits the place and ships himself with the Lord *Capel*, Lord *Culpepper* and Sir *Edward Hyde*, March the first to the Isle of *Scilly*.

The Lord *Hopton* with some small forces at *Truro* in *Cornwal*, the General sends him summons.

Hopton agrees
to disband.

Sir, Through Gods goodnes to his people, and his just hand against their Enemies forces, being reduced to such condition as to my sense, the hand of God continuing with us, they are not like to have subsistence or shelter long to escape thence: nor if they could, have they whither to goe for better. To prevent the shedding of more blood, I have sent you this summons for your self and them to lay down Arms upon those conditions enclosed, which are Christian-like, Noble and Honourable to be accepted. March, 5.

Some time was taken up in this Treaty and concluded.

That the Lord *Hopton* shall disband his Army in the West, the General *Fairfax* excepting.

His Lordship to have fifty of his own Horse and fifty of *Fairfax* for his Convoy to *Oxford*, all strangers to have Passes beyond Seas, and to carry with them what is their own, without Horses and Arms.

All *English* Officers to go home to their Habitations, or if they will beyond Seas.

Each Colonel to have his Horse and two Men and Horses to wait on them.

Each

Each Captain one Man and Horfe.

The Troopers Twenty shillings a piece, and to goe where they pleased. *March, 13.*

But *Hopton* hearing of the ill effects of the Propositions for peace, takes shipping with divers other of his Officers and sailed into *France*, where he remained many years after.

And the West being cleared, *Fairfax* returns back again to the Siege of *Bristol*, where we leave him to take breath.

And in this time also the Kings party spared not to weaken his Enemies: Towns are retaken; some surpris'd, encounters answer'd, defeats redoubled, death and devastation, that I dread to write of all; It sufficeth that mostly we have named the Fields and Fights, for I have almost done, whilst I devote my self to his Majesties pious Meditations upon this subject.

The various Successes (sayes the King) of this unhappy war, have at least, afforded me variety of good meditations: sometimes God was pleased to try me with victory by worsting my Enemies, that I might know how with moderation and thanks to own, and use his power, who is only the true Lord of Hosts & able when he pleases to repress the confidence of those that fought against me, with so great advantages for power and number.

*Eikon Bas.
pa. 17. 2.*

From small beginnings on my part he let me see that I was not wholly forsaken by my peoples love, or his protection.

Other times God was pleased to exercise my patience, and teach me not to trust in the arm of flesh, but in the living God.

My sins sometimes prevailed against the justice of my cause: and those that were with me wanted not matter and occasion for his just chastisement both of them, and me: Nor were mine Enemies lesse punished by that prosperity, which hardened them to continue that injustice by open hostility, which was begun by most riotous and unparliamentary Tumults.

There is no doubt but personal and private sins may oft-times over-balance the justice of Publiick engagements; nor doth God account everie gallant man (in the worlds esteem) a fit instrument to assert in the way of War a righteous Cause: The more men are prone to arrogate to their own skil, valour and strength, the lesse doth God ordinarily work by them for his own glory.

I am sure the event or success can never state the Justice of any Cause, nor the peace of mens consciences, nor the eternal fate of their Soules.

Those with me had (I think) clearly and undoubtedly, for their Justification, the Word of God, and the Laws of the Land, together with their own Oathes; all requiring obedience to my just Commands; but to none other under Heaven without me, or against me, in the point of raising Arms.

[Those

Anno.

1645.

Those on the other side are forced to flie to the shifts of some pretended Fears, and wild fundamentals of State (as they call them) which actually overthrow the present fabrick both of Church and State; being such imaginary Reasons for self-defence as are most impertinent for those men to allege, who being my Subjects, were manifestly the first assaulters of me and the Laws: First by unsuppressed Tumults, after by listed Forces. The same Allegations they use, will fit any Faction that hath but power and confidence enough to second with the Sword all their demands against the present Laws and Governours; which can never be such as some side or other will not finde fault with, so as to urge what they call a Reformation of them to a Rebellion against them; some Parasitick Preachers have dared to call those Martyrs, who died fighting against me, the Laws, their Oaths, and the Religion Established.

But sober Christians know, that glorious title can with truth be applied only to those, who sincerely preferred Gods truth, and their duty in all these particulars before their lives, and all that was dear to them in this world; who having no advantageous designs by any Innovation, were religiously sensible of those Ties to God, the Church, and my self, which lay upon their Souls, both for obedience and just assistance.

God could, and I doubt not but he did through his mercy, crown many of them with eternal life, whose lives were lost in so just a Cause; the destruction of their bodies being sanctified, as a means to save their soules.

Their wounds and temporal ruin serving as a gracious opportunitie for their eternal health and happiness; while the evident approach of death did through Gods grace effectually dispose their hearts to such Humility, Faith and Repentance, which together with the Rectitude of their present engagement, would fully prepare them for a better life then that, which their enemies brutish and disloyal fiercenesse could deprive them of; or without Repentance, hope to enjoy.

They have often indeed had the better against my side in the Field, but never I believe at the Bar of Gods Tribunal, or their own Consciences; where they are more afraid to encounter those many pregnant Reasons, both from Law, Allegiance and all true Christians grounds, which conflict with, and accuse them in their own thoughts, then they oft were, in a desperate bravery, to fight against those Forces, which sometimes God gave me.

Whose condition conquered, and dying, I make no question, but is infinitely more to be chosen by a sober man (that duely values his duty, his soul and eternity, beyond the enjoyments of this present life) then the most triumphant glory, wherein their and my enemies survive; who can hardly avoid to be daily tormented by that horrid guilt, where-with their suspicious, or now convicted Consciences do pursue them; especially since they and all the world have seen, how false and un-in-

tended

tended those pretentions were, which they first set forth as the only plausible (though not justifiable) grounds of raising a War, and continuing it thus long against me and the Laws established; in whose safety and preservation all honest men think the welfare of their Country doth consist.

For, and with, all which, it is far more honourable and comfortable to suffer, then to prosper in their ruin and subversion.

I have often praied, that all on my side might join true pietie with the sense of their Loyalty; and be as faithful to God and their own souls, as they were to me. That the defects of the one might not blast the endeavours of the other.

Yet I cannot think that any shews, or truth of pietie on the other side were sufficient to dispencc with, or expiate the defects of their Duty and Loyaltie to me, which have so pregnant convictions on mens Consciences that even profaner men are moved by the sense of them to venture their lives for me.

I never had any victorie which was without my sorrow, because it was on mine own Subjects, who like Absolom, died many of them in their sin: And yet I never suffered any Defeat, which made me despair of Gods mercy and defence.

I never desired such victories, as might serve to conquer, but only restore the Laws and Liberties of my People, which I saw were extreemly oppressed together with my Rights, by those men, who were impatient of any just restraint.

When Providence gave me, or denied me Victorie, my desire was neither to boast of my power, nor to charge God foolishlie; who I believed at last would make all things work together for my good.

I wished no greater advantages by the War, then to bring my enemies to moderation, and my friends to peace.

I was affraid of the temptation of an absolute conquest, and never praied more for Victorie over others, then over my self. When the first was denied, the second was granted me, which God saw best for me.

The different events were but the methods of divine Justice, by contrarie windes to winnow us: That by punishing our sins, he might purge them from us; and by deferring peace, he might prepare us more to prize, and better to use so great a blessing.

My often Messages for Peace shewed that I delighted not in War; as my former concessions sufficiently testified, how willingly I would have prevented it; and my total unpreparednesse for it, how little I intended it.

The conscience of my Innocencie forbad me to fear a War, but the love of my Kingdoms commanded me (if possible) to avoid it.

I am guiltie in this War of nothing but this, That I gave such advantages to some Men, by confirming their power, which they knew not

Anno

1645.

to use with that modestie and gratitude, which became their Loialtie and my confidence.

Had I yielded less, I had been opposed less; had I denied more, I had been more obeyed.

'Tis now too late to review the occasions of the War; I wish only a happie conclusion of so unhappie beginnings: The inevitable fate of our sins was (no doubt) such, as would no longer suffer the Divine Justice to be quiet: We, having conquered his patience, are condemned by mutual conquerings, to destroy one another: for, the most prosperous successes on either side impair the welfare of the whole.

Those Victories are still miserable, that leave our sins unsubdued; flushing our pride, and animating to continue Injuries.

Peace it self is not desirable, till Repentance hath prepared us for it.

When we fight more against our selves, and less against God, we shall cease fighting against one another; I pray God these may all meet in our hearts, and so dispose us to an happy conclusion of these Civil Wars; that I may know better to obey God, and govern my People; and they may learn better to obey both God, and me.

Nor do I desire any man should be further subject to me, then all of us may be subject to God.

With this Paper all good men no doubt joyned hearts and hands, for a blessing upon the intended Treaty of Peace, which we refer to the next year, being weary of this that now takes end.

Continuation of the Military Actions for the King in Scotland under Conduct of the Marquesse Montrose this year 1645.

We left the last year at the Victorious Battle by Montrose against the Earl of Arguile at Campbells in the High-lands; they being by this defeat loosened from the tyranny of Arguile, began to offer themselves more willingly to the Kings service.

Montrose refresheth his men here for a few dayes, and measuring again Logh-Aber Hills, and Westward to Logh-Nesse, and by the way viewing Harrick, Arnes and Marne, came to the River Spey and passes to Elgin, the chiefeest Town of Minray beyond the Spey, but the Enemy there fled at his aproach, and he takes Elkin by surrender (in February) where the Lord Gordon Eldest Son to the Marquesse Huntley, came openly with some choice friends and submitted to Montrose as the Kings Vicegerent, who used him as an intire loyal friend. Then he draws off his Army to raise the Counties of Ramgh and Aberdine, and so with addition of men he now marched 2000. Foot and 200. Horse, and passing the River Dee he came to Marne encamping neer Fettercarne.

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At *Brechen* he meets Sir *John Hurrey*, General of the Covenanters Horse and the forces there, who drawing out 600. Horse to take view of *Montrose's* Army, who therefore made shew but of 200. Horse, well lined with nimble Musketiers. the Enemy draws up and charges, but perceiving the Foot, he retreats and brought off his men in the Rear most stoutly, and fled twenty four miles to *Dundee*, so far pursued with slaughter and then return to *Fethercarne*, and the next day to *Brechin*; and marches the convenient way by *Gravesbane* towards the River *Tay*, and so for the *Forth*. This design the Enemy knew, and thither comes *Hurrey* with his Horse and one *Baily* of great account, fetcht from *England* to be General here with a powerful Army, yet *Montrose* offers them Battel, but the others fell off, so he went to the Castle *Innecarity* and *Eliot*, and so into the Plain and by a Trumpet challenges *Baily* to fight, but was refused, for the River *Ile* parted them. Then at *Dunkildon* where he escaped utter ruin, for *Lewis Gordon* (another Son to *Huntley*) sometimes an Enemy was reconciled by his Brothers means: he by true or counterfeit Letters from his father, the old fox, was tempted and carried away with him almost all the *Gordons*, basely deserting his brother and *Montrose* ready to engage against the Enemy. And so diverted the intended journey to *Tay*, and marched towards *Brechen*, sending his weakest men under the Hills to meet him there, but by the way he Summons *Dundee*, and storms it in three places, beat them from their Sconces, possessed their Ordnance, and turned them upon the Town, beat open their Gates and gets the Church and Market-place, and fire the Town in several places. When his Scouts bring tydings of *Baily* and *Hurrey* a mile off. *Montrose* in all speed Rallies his plundering Souldiers, wearied with twenty miles march and now more spent by fighting: to fight he was not able, to Retreat he must be overtaken. In wonderful difficulties he resolves to Retreat.

Immediately he sends out four hundred Foot before him, with convenient speed, two hundred the most active to follow them, and he with his Horse brings up the Rear, trooping in open Order, if need were to have room for light Musketiers. The Enemy divide in two parts and so pursues them: and now their Van closes up to the Retreaters, and were welcomed by these Musketiers that Lined *Montrose's* Horse, and soon abated their pursuit; and Skirmishing stoutly with their Horse untill night parted the fray; and because that their wayes were belaid by the Enemy, they amuze them by turning and winding off, face a bout, and march South-west, passing by them thus beguiled by night, and the next morning turning North-ward, passed over *South-Eske*, near *Coneston* Castle, thence to *Brechen* to fetch those men which were left with the Carriages: But they hearing of this distresse were got

His expedition
on to *Dundee*.

Anno
1645.

Into the Mountains. The Enemy came after them so near that they continually Skirmish untill he came to *Gleneske*. This was that so much admired Expedition of *Dundee*, renowned indeed, encountering all extremities with patience, for sixty miles march fighting without meat or sleep for three dayes and two nights to any purpose of refreshment. Incredible, but from him that assures this Narrative of his own knowledg and sufferings.

And now being safe, he bides his Souldiers sleep whilst his unwearied Noble Soul sits a wake, which resolves of his Warlike affairs. He sends the Lord *Gordon* with those of his, continuing loyal into his County, to win upon his revolted Brother and his Fugitives, and to recruit new forces; which he performed with faithfulness and courage. And *Montrose* with five hundred Foot, and fifty Horse (all that he left for himself) marcht through *Angus* into *Perth-shire*, so to distract the Enemy till he was Recruited. For *Hurrey* was gone into the North with six hundred old Foot, and two hundred Horse to suppress the Lord *Gordon*, and *Bailey* himself staies with an Army at *Perth*. *Montrose* was twelve miles off at a Village called *Kreif* secure, and he safe too conceives, when *Bailey* sets out over night with all his forces discovered by Scouts, time enough to finde their adversaries in order fit to retire, following the course of the River *Erne*, and made good the Fords thereof, and himself the Rear guard repulsing his Enemy to their return, and he Quartered at *Laugh-Erne*, the next day to *Balwidir*, where met him the Earl of *Alboine* with others that escaped out of *Carlisle*, 18 of *April*. Thence to *Logh-Catrines*, where comes newes that *Hurrey* was upon engaging with *Gordon* that Gallant young Lord. *Montrose* makes speed to oppose *Hurrey* and passes by *Balwidir* and a Lake twenty four miles long (the head of *Tay*) then through *Athole* and *Angus*, over *Gransbane* and through *Glenmak-vale*, he comes to the midst of *Marre* and joynes with *Gordon*, who had gotten one thousand Foot, and two hundred Horse, marching to *Spey* to finde the Enemy; and was so near as six miles off ere *Hurrey* thought him past *Garshame*, having over-run the report of himself. But *Hurrey* would not be forced to fight, and so passeth over the *Spey* speeding towards *Inverness* the appointed Rendezvouz: whither *Montrose* followes not far off, for he was there also the next day and Encamped at a Village *Aldern*. There was now ajoynd to *Hurrey*, the Earls of *Seaford* and *Sunderland*, the whole Sept of the *Frasers*, the most of *Murries* Men, and *Cathnes* with some out of the Town Garrison, and all together draw up with three thousand five hundred Foot, and four hundred Horse, against *Montrose's* fifteen hundred Foot, and two hundred Horse and not possible to Retreat: *Bailey* was coming up with his Forces. And ere his Enemy should joyn, the best he could do was to chuse his ground; draws up his Forces in a Valley under a Town on the

Aldern Bat-
tel.

top

top of a Hill, and Hills behind and above it, shadowing his Forces from sight; Before the Town he places a few choice Foot, with his Ordnance sheltered with Ditches. The right Wing is committed to *Mac-donel* with four hundred Foot, fortified with Banks, Ditches, Shrubs, and great Stones, and orders him to preserve himself entire, as a Reserve safe from the Enemies Force of Horse and Foot, and commits also to his charge that notable Standard of the Kings which he alwaies had born before him, expecting that upon the sight of that, the Enemy would order their best men against that Wing, when he on the left Flank would force upon them. And drawing the rest of his men to the other side, he commends the Horse to the Lord *Gordon*, and takes charge of the Foot himself. Those first Forces under the Town seemed his main battle, when God knows he had none, nor reserves at all.

The Enemy came on as he imagined, their Van upon those before the Town on the right Flank, and as their Souldiers spend drew on fresh. He therefore meant to fall upon them with his left Flank all at once, when one whispered to him that *Mac-donel* on the right Flank was put to flight. He of quick apprehension called aloud, *My Lord Gordon what doe we doe, Mac-donel hath routed the Enemy, and is upon execution, shall we loyter, and he have all the honour of the day*, with that commands to charge home, upon *Hurries* Horse which began to run, left their Flanks which they were to maintain open to disadvantage; yet their Foot stood the shock stoutly, but being pressed home, they threw away their Arms and fled, but *Montrose* remembring *Mac-donel* drew off thither to the right Flank: where he found him, though valiant as any man, but with more heart then head-piece, had advanced out of his fastness, and was overpowered and routed, and had he not drawn into a neighbours close, he and his had been lost, for himself was the last that drew off, covering his head with a large Target which he alwaies fought with. Those that came up close upon him were Pikemen, who stuck their points into his Target, and which he as fast cut off with his Sword, and when *Montrose* came in their Horse fled, but their Foot fought to the last man and were all slain.

Nor had *Hurtey* himself escaped, but that *Aboin* with the Enemies Colours which he had taken in the flight, came in flourishing with them as in a brave, which *Montrose* supposed the Enemies recruit, and made much disorder.

The Enemy lost many stout men, *Campbel Laver* a Colonel, Sir *John* and Sir *Gideon Murray*, and sundry taken Prisoners.

Young *Napier* of *Marcheston* fought valiantly, and came to *Montrose* his Uncle without his Fathers know ledge at *Edenburgh*, whom the Christian Covenanters drag'd to the Goale, an old good man of seventy years, with his wife the daughter of the Earl of *Mane*, Sir *Stirling Keer* his Brother, his two sisters, the one Wife to *Sterling*,

Anno
1645.

ling, the other a Virgin, and all upon this score cast into the Dungeon, till it pleased God *Montrose* and *Napier* relieved them out, this Battle was fought at *Aldern* 4 of May 1645.

Montrose marches on to *Elgine*, and over the *Spey* to *Keeth* to *Frendrach*, and so to *Strath-boggy*. Here *Baily* meets him, not yet fitted to fight against fresh men: and therefore in the night he passeth to *Balvoine*, and then to *Strath-done* and *Strath-spey* to *Bodenoth*, the enemy followning with Skirmishes and beating up his Quarters, so that *Montroses* men were over-wearied, but were rid of the other now, who went to *Inverness*.

The Earl of *Lindsey* (prime Leader of the Covenanters next to *Arguile*, who wanted care and courage) took upon him the sole Command of their Army, and was marched into *Angus* a Reserve to *Bailey*, or to hinder *Montrose* passage over *Forth*, fearing to have the War nearer *Edenburgh*; Therefore *Montrose* seeks him out from *Badenoth*, he marches through the Plain of *Marre* over *Gransbain*, and came to the River *Airley*, and *Lindsey* seven miles off at a Castle *Newtil*, and ready to be assaulted, the Northern men run home again, being inveagled by old *Huntley* that hated *Montrose* his glorious successes, and so *Lindsey* escaped a scouring, for *Montrose* was resolved to have done the work, or to have died there.

In some discontent he resolves afresh to follow Colonel *Nath. Gordon* whom he had sent before. *Bailey* and *Hurrey* were returned from *Inverness*, and quartered beside *Dee*, and *Montrose* was come to the County *Crammarre*. And by the way he sends *Mac-donel* to the farthest part of the *Highlands* to fetch such Forces as were there raised, and sends away the Lord *Gordon* to *Nath. Gordon* for those men which he had lifted. *Lindsey* joynes with *Baily*, and so now was too hard for *Montrose*, who therefore got to *Kingarf* Castle for safety. Then *Lindsey* with the best of his men leaves *Bailey*, returns through *Merne* into *Angus*, ranges up and down *Athole*. *Baily* goes to *Bogi* the fair Castle of *Huntley* and to ruine his Countrey, which *Montrose* means to defend, and by his Scouts he findes that *Bailies* Foot stood on a Hill two miles off, and his Horse guarded a Pass in the midst of the two Armies, against whom he sends some horse and nimble Firelocks, which were entertained with light Skirmishes a far off, and so retire to their Pass man'd with Musketers, which *Montrose* endeavoured to remove with his Foot, but night parted that design, and the next morning he sends a Trumpet to *Baily* to come forth of his Pass and fight, but he would not, and so *Montrose* to draw him off marches to *Druminere* Castle, being pursued by *Baily* to *Ailford* Hill which *Montrose* possesseth, behind him a moorish place to prevent Horse, before him a steep Hill. *Baily* was an experienced Souldier, and was drawn to Battle against his will by the Lord *Balcurne* a Colonel of Horse.

The

The Lord *Gordon* had the right Wing and assisted by *Nath. Gordon*: the left to the Lord *Aboin*, joyned with *Rollock*: the main Battle to *Glengar* and *Drummond of Ball*, and to them he added *Geo. Graham* Mr. of the Camp: the Reserve hid behinde the Hill to *Napier*. The number of Foot were equal, each 2000. but *Baily* had six hundred Horse, the other but two hundred. *Montrose* drawes down to the Vale, the Lord *Gordon* gives the Charge and was gallantly received, but being closed and to handy blows, *Nathaniel* calls to the Firelocks to *fling down their guns, and with their Swords pierce the Horses or ham-string them*, which they did, and instantly *Montrose* draws on the Reserve from behind the Hill, at whose unexpected sight the Enemy fly. *Aboin* kept off, attempting by light Skirmishes in small Parties upon them, who seeing their own men on the left Wing to be routed and put to flight, retreated handsomely with little losse, their Foot were stout men, refusing Quarter, were all cut off. And here falls the Lord *Gordon* who in too much gallantry the Battle being won, would needs presse after the thickest by the flying Enemy, and with a shot falls down dead.

Montrose not many, two Gentlemen *Culchol* and *Milton*, and some common Souldiers, but the Lord *Gordon* answered for a Million, mightily missed in the Military Affairs after: this Battle was fought 2. July 1645.

And presently *Montrose* marches through *Angus* where he meets *Patrick Graham* with his men, *Athole* men, and *Mac donel* with fresh *Highlanders*, a great power with *Maclein* the chief of his sept, with 700. of his own friends, also the chief of the *Mac-ranolds* with 500. men, the *Mac-gregories*, and *Mac-nabies* with good numbers. And *Glengar* with 500. more, out of the Plains of *Maure* many more, and a hundred out of *Badenoth*, all stout able men.

With these *Montrose* resolves to make his way to the heart of the Kingdom, to come to the Parliament at *St. Johnstown*, & so marches and comes to encampe in *Methfin* Forrest near the Town, and soon frightened the Parliament who never dreamt he durst come so near, amazing them upon the walls, with a sight of Packfaddle draught, and poor Jades all mounted in shew of goodly Troops, when he had not 200. Horse, and thus all gaze. He expecting Forces from the North, and they from *Fife* and other places, which suddenly were come, and so provoke to fight, but *Montrose* was not fitted, and so marches away to *Dukheldon*.

Aboin and Colonel *Gordon* are come with two hundred Horse and as many Firelocks, whom they had mounted and made Dragoons, amongst whom came the Earl of *Airlie* and Sir *David* his Son with eighty Horse of the most noble Family of *Oglebies*, and so *Montrose* marches to *Strath Erne*.

Anno.
1645.

Kilsithe famous Battel.

Fife County is the most populous, rich, and full of Towns in all Scotland, the Inhabitants not Martial. Husbandmen and Traders, but of new Fangled religious Opinions, *tot, quot, sententia*. It is almost an Island, the South bordering with the *Scotish Firth*, the North with *Tay*, the East with the Sea. No entrance by Land but by the West, in which strait both Armies now are lodged, but they would not fight, and so *Montrose* marches to *Kinross*, and then to *Sterling*, and encamps in that fatal field *Kilsithe*, the Enemy comes three miles off, *Baily* being their head, with whom he must fight at disadvantage, or stay to be undone by the Earl of *Lanerick* Duke *Hamiltons* brother, *Cassils*, *Eglinton*, and *Glennearne* who were raising men in great numbers.

In this field were some Cotages (and his Forces four thousand five hundred Foot and five hundred Horse) where he lodgeth some men, and the Enemies first work was to beat them, but were worsted and driven back, encouraging the next to fall on without direction up the Hill, engaging themselves (one thousand) not to be got off. He saies to *Airly*, My Lord, *yonder men of ours are in distress, it is most proper for you that the error committed by unadvised young men, may be corrected by your Lordships grave and discreet valour*. And on he goes, guarded with a Troop of Horse by *Ogleby* of *Baldby* upon the face of the Enemy, who giving the charge, were disputed with very sharply for a good while, but facing about, fell upon their own Foot, and (hotly pursued) routed and trod them down.

Then with a shout all fell upon the Horse first, who not enduring a long Charge fled, and the Foot (discouraged) followed and were pursued with execution fourteen miles, not a hundred came off. All their Ordnance, Arms, and Baggage to Conquerors, who lost many of the *Oglebies*, and some common Souldiers, the Enemies Horse carried the swiftest to *Sterling*, others to the *Frith*, saved themselves by Vessels, as *Arguile* now the third time got into a Cock-boat and so into a Ship. The chiefe prisoners were Sir *William Morray* of *Blebe*, *James Arnol* brother to the Lord *Burghly*, two Colonels *Dice* and *Wallis*, and many more men of worth, this famous Victory at *Kilsithe* was 15. Septem. 1645. and not lesse then six thousand of the Enemy slain, and this famous Battle thus to be lost, they lodge upon *Bailies* down-right treachery.

So now the Northern parts are secured on his back, the way opened to him in the South, the power of the Covenanters suppressed, their chief Leaders driven out of the Kingdom, and no considerable Party in Armes, yet in the West there were some stirring, for the Earl of *Cassells*, and *Eglinton* were raising four thousand men. Wherefore *Montrose* marches into *Cludsdale*, and so to *Glasgow* the principal City, receiving the same with acclamations

tions of joy, executing legally some chief Incendiaries there, and remove to *Bothwell* where he received the personal addressees of some of the Nobility, and of others by their Deputies willingly submitting, the chief being the Marquess of *Dowglas*, the Earls of *Linnmuck*, *Anwandale*, and *Herefield*, the Lords of *Seton*, *Drummond*, *Fleming*, *Marterty*, *Carnegye*, and *Johnston*, *Hamelton* of *Orbeston*, *Charte* of *Heinsfield*, *Towers* of *Innerlegh*, *Stuart* of *Resyth*, *Dalyel* a brother of the Earl of *Carnwarth*, Knights and many more.

Then he sends *Napier* and Colonel *Gordon* with a party of Horse to *Edenburgh* to Summon that City to settle it in peace, and to release all prisoners of Loyalty, or to threaten them with fire & sword. And near the City they make a stand, the City Assembles, and send Delegates together with the chief of the prisoners to intercede. *Lodowick*, Earl of *Crawford* of the Family of *Lindsies*, and a gallant German experienced Souldier, imprisoned by the malice of the Earl of *Lindsey*, who was to succeed to his Honors.

James Lord *Ogleby* Son to the Earl of *Arlye*, singularly beloved of *Montrose*, cursing themselves and posterity if ever they should again revolt from their Loyalty, or be unmindful of *Montrose's* mercy. *Napier* having by the way of his March set at liberty his dear Father, his Wife, his Brother in Law *Keer*, and his Sisters at *Linnuck*, being removed thither from *Edenburgh* Castle, and so all together to *Montrose*.

The Delegates of *Edenburgh* with humble submission beseech *Montrose* to accept the surrender of their City, promising Faith and Loyalty to their King for ever after. That the infection of Plague now reigning there, had wasted their men, but they were ready to pay contribution, heartily acknowledging their Treasonable Actions against their gracious King, by the cunning contrivance of a prevailing party engaging them in this Rebellion.

Montrose accepted their submission [with the rendering of *Edenburgh* Castle to the King and his Officers, to renounce all future correspondence with the Rebels] the prisoners were all released, but as to all the other Protestations, they fall to their wonted treachery and Rebellion.

He sends *Mac-donel* and *Drummond* of *Ball* into the Western Coasts to disperse *Cassels* and *Eglinton*, with other of the Nobility there, who fly into *Ireland* and lurk in by places. All the Towns, *Aire*, *Irwin*, and the County submit, and the people come presently to his side.

Then the South parts submit, and therein the chieftest, Earls of *Hume*, *Roxborough* and *Traquair*, men the most obliged to the Kings high Grace and Favour, raising them from private Gentlemen to

Anno
1645.

Honours, Wealth, and Powers. But it was boldness in the Earl of *Lanerick* Duke *Hamilton's* Brother, who had deceitfully practised under hand all the Treacheries and Treasons of this War against their Sovereign. Now he openly returns answer, *That he would have nothing to do with that side, never pretending friendship where he meant not to perform.* This man acted above board, but the others treacherously, they inviting *David Lesley* out of *England* with the *Scottish* Horse, and so to deliver up *Montrose* to ruine.

Montrose had suspicion of all this, but could not prevent each mischief, for having lain long incamped at *Bothwell*, and no Enemy in Arms, most of the *Highlanders* laden with Spoil ran away, and returned home, the very Commanders desired *Furloughs* for some time to settle their Families, and to return with many more Men within fourty Days; to such as he could not hold he willingly gave leave; and appoints *Mac-Donel* their Countreyman and Kinsman (ambitious) to be their Guide, and to conduct them back again; with him went three thousand stout Men, and an hundred and twenty *Irish* for his Life-guard, whom *Montrose* never saw after.

But we shall meet the next year, and so much for this,

Foreign Affairs.

It is most strange to these Times, but Posterity can never comprehend how the *Swedes* come to this greatness, and to make War in so many parts of *Europe*, and from whence they got so many Men: that Sovereignty indeed is large, but very desert and dispeopled, so that we may speak it a truth, there never came from thence sixty thousand Men, as one of their own *Grandeas* assures us; one reason was, that all the Protestants in *Europe* leagued with them like Ivy to the Tree, as believing the Ruine of the *Swedes* included that of all the *Lutherans*. The other, that in their Fortune all the rest had interest, principally in regard of Plunder; for it is most certain, that in Count *Horn's* Army were many Women in Mens Apparel, acting like *Amazons* and brave Souldiers, with so much courage did prosperity inflame them, and had Success thereto with wonder.

- After the *Swedes* had patcht up a Peace with the *Dane*, wherein other States had interest, they return to their Game against the Imperialist with various Success. In brief a Battel was given, of long time ambiguous. General *Goetz* slain in the beginning, and *John de Werdt* for the Emperour made so close an Impression, that he forced the *Swedes* to retire in confusion: the Imperialists thinks the Day their own, cast themselves as their Custome is upon the Baggage, where General *Torsten's* Lady was; he for some time suffered the Plunder, but to save his Wife, fell upon them with his Reserve, and put them to flight, surprizing them loaden with Booty, charged them off their Horses, routed them, and followed fighting for above four *Dutch* Leagues.

This

This was such a Defeat to the Imperial party, that it left *Bohemia* a Prey, opened a passage into *Moravia* and the Emperours hereditary Lands as far as the River *Danube*.

We may reckon the Number by the Prisoners of Note, four Generals, *Hatzfeld*; *Mercy*, *Bray*, *Zaradeskie*; and seven brave Colonels, three thousand slain, and four thousand Prisoners. This was the beginning of this year 1645.

The Emperour retires to *Prague*, and exposes his Empire to the conquering *Swede*, made the Siege be raised before *Olmitz*, and brought the Enemy to the Gates of *Vienna*; prodigious felicity to a Nation scarce known in the fourteenth Age, now so puissant as by the help of her Allies, to stumble that formidable House of *Austria*, made up of so many other. And I am amazed to hear of the *Swede* at one and the same time at *Vienna*, *Copenhagen*, and *Bremen*, every where successfull.

But since we mention the pride of *Mars*, let us not forget the furious Fight of the *French* and *Bavarians* near *Friburgh*.

The magnanimous Duke of *Anguien* being joyn'd with the brave Marshal *Turenne*, attempted the Storm of a Fort, but were beaten to retire by the *Bavarians*. The next day the Defendants sallied out with some help, and assaulted the other with so much fury as we tremble to report; for the Sky wept, and the Clouds darkening the Air, in the afternoon, ashamed to see such cruelty, and made them retire.

The last Battle was so horrible bloody, that as one says, *They had a Design to die all*, no defence on either side, a detestable slaughter, a Massacre for a Fort and a morsel of ground, and neither gained; thus we do to each other. *O great God, thou marchest softly, but how hard and heavie are thy Blows of Revenge?*

The *French* that were left alive, and reinforced towards the *Rheyn* seized with incredible Success *Philipsburgh*, and afterwards *Spiers* and *Mentz*, carrying the terrour into the very heart of the Empire.

The Eagles Wings thus impeded could not fly far; the defection of *Portugal*, and so many lost Battels in *Catalonia*, the *Spaniard* had neither power nor will to succour his obedient Provinces, and *Flanders*, as having Work enough at home, so it was supposed, that the next Field-fight the *French* and *Hollander* would master all there; the People to prevent a total Ruine were ready to revolt to the conquering party. The Ecclesiasticks and Nobility for the *French*, as Catholics, but the Commualty were for the *Dutch*, as loving Trade, next to Salvation. Peace was necessary, for which they held up their hand, the Treaties too slow, the Preaching of the Priests made them submit to all Extremities of War, rather than to the Reformates; and so they treat at *Munster*, a Work begun, but ne-

Anno
1646.

ver perfected: and therefore the War goes on, the Duke of *Orleans* is now declared Lieutenant General of his Brothers Armies, sends three brave Marshals, *Meilleray*, *Gassion*, and *Rantzow*, towards *Flanders*, sat down before *Graveling*, and seize all the Forts about it, and their colleague the *Hollander* sends their Admiral *Trump*, who shuts up the Haven, and in two Moneths take this Town. Nothing is impregnable where Mens Lives are not spared, for the *French* lost seven thousand. And whilest *Don de Melo* opposed the Prince from passing the River into *Flanders*, gave the *Hollander* advantage to come over and take the *Sass* of *Gaunt*; and these two being thus lost, the Countrey lay open to an entire Conquest. And *Orleans* follows the career, takes *Bomburgh*, *Linch*, *Lens*, *Bethune*, *St. Venant*, *Lillers*, *Armentiers*, *Mening*, *Mardike*, and many more, puts the rest into Contribution, and all this but a Summers Work.

Their Victories in *Italie* were as much or more, take *Piombino* and *Portofongo*, and defeat the *Spaniard* at the Passage *Mora*.

Count *Harcourt* not behinde hand with any, gets glory and Victories also in *Catalonia*.

This year was theirs, Fortune smiles upon the *French*, *Flanders* almost conquered, yet the Subject remains firm in their fidelity, the glory of the true *Spaniard*, amongst so many Troubles to be constant to their Trust and Allegiance, which kept them from sinking, and the next year to rise again, beginning with the Surprise of *Mardike*, with the Lives but of ten Men to retake it, which cost the *French* above five thousand, when they tore it from the *Spaniard*.

Anno
1646.

The Prince of
Wales invited
to the Parlia-
ment.

The Prince of *Wales* (as we lately mentioned) with some Commanders of his Army, and other Attendants, quitted the West parts of *England*, and were by Shipping arrived at the Islands of *Scillie*, under the Kings power. And the Parliament (whether in policy or reluctancy of his sad condition) invites him in a loving and tender way (as they say) to come in to the Parliament, and to reside in such places where they conceive most convenient, with such Attendants and Counsellours onely as shall be by them appointed.

And the House of Commons being very thin, they vote all the absent Members that are with the King to be disabled for ever sitting in Parliament. And in their rooms (and others vacant by death) the Speaker to be impowred to give Warrant to the Clerk of the Crown for new Elections in their places, which course served the turn for that time, till it turned into other Orders, as the settlement of State increased.

But the Parliament had no Answer from the Prince till the eight and twentieth of *April*, by Letter sent with a Trumper, intimating that he was (by this time) in the Isle of *Garnsey*, near the Coast

Coast of *France*, desiring them that a Pass might be granted for the Lord *Capel* to go to the King to *Oxford*, to make some Overtures to him in order to Peace; and that the Arch-bishop of *Armagh* may have leave to come to the Prince. But nothing was done herein.

Anno
1646.

The King, Duke of *York*, Prince *Rupert* and *Maurice* are still at *Oxford* closely surrounded by the Parliaments Forces, and the other not well resolving what course to take, all their Horse being about *Faringdon*, in expectation of the Lord *Ashley* with his Foot to joyn in a Body, if they be not prevented by Colonel *Fleetwood* and *Rainsborough*, straiting and allarming *Oxford* very often: *Dennington* Castle, *Oxford*, and *Newark* besieged, and not likely to hold out; all the West reduced to the Parliament; no further Expectation of Aid from *Ireland*, or any foreign Friend; the Lord *Ashley* was onely in a Body, but closely pursued by Sir *William Brereton* and Colonel *Morgan* Governour of *Glocester*, and in the end not able to avoid the Quarrel, they came to fight the one and twentieth of *March*, where *Ashley* was totally defeated near *Stow* in the *Wold* upon the edge of *Glocestershire*, himself taken Prisoner, fifteen hundred Horse and Foot, with his Baggage, Ammunition, and all, and therefore he told them that took him, *Their Work was done, they might go play*. Meaning, that the King had lost all.

The King at
Oxford in distress.

Lord *Ashley*
defeated totally.

And it seems so, by the hasty Vote of the Parliament to the Kings Letter, which Message was in effect:

That he offers to come to his two Houses, upon their Assurance for the safety of his Person, and to advise with them for the good and safety of the Kingdom; Provided, that all those who have adhered to his Majesty may have liberty to return in peace to their own home, to live in quiet, without the Obligation of the National Oath or Covenant; and Sequestration to be taken off from their Estates. And that then his Majesty will disband all his Forces, dismantle his Garisons, pass an Act of Oblivion and free Pardon to all, and give ample satisfaction to the Kingdom of Scotland. March 23.

The King desires to come
to his Parliament.

But it is now too late, and therefore they answer not at all: unless he be willing to take notice of this Ordinance:

He is answered
negatively.

That in case the King shall contrary to the advise of Parliament already given to him, come, or attempt to come within the Lines of Communication, that then the Committee of the Militia of London shall have power, and are hereby enjoyned to raise such Force as they shall think fit, to prevent any Tumult that may arise by his coming, and to suppress any that shall happen, and to apprehend and secure any such as shall come with him, to prevent resort unto him, and to secure his person from danger. Nay more.

That

Anno
1646.

Cavaliers to
depart the
City.

That all persons whatsoever that have born Arms against the Parliament are to depart the City by the sixth of April, upon the penalty as followeth, viz. The Lords and Commons taking notice of the great concourse and resort of Papist Officers and Souldiers of Fortune, (and such as have been in Arms against the Parliament of England) from the Enemies Garisons and Quarters unto the Citie of London and Westminster, and other parts within the Lines of Communication, That such depart, &c. before the sixth of April next, or to be declared against as Spies, and to be proceeded against according to the Rules of War, unless with licence of the Committee of Goldsmiths Hall, and of the Militia of London; and the Sub-committees are hereby to keep strict Guards and Watches, to make frequent Searches. Provided, that this Act shall not extend to such as came in to the Parliament before the first of June last. And that no Peer have licence but by the House of Lords. And this Order to continue for a moneth after the sixth of April, and no longer. March 30.

Then for fear that the King should come notwithstanding all their fore-warnings, Letters are devised from several places of Intelligence, That the King is resolved to come suddenly to London. And with some Designs also hinted, as might seem most dangerous to the Parliament and Kingdom. Therefore the Parliament order, That Letters shall be suddenly sent to the Prince, (as in answer to former received from him) as also to the King, that Commissioners will forthwith be sent to his Majesty with Propositions of Peace.

And now we have almost done fighting in the Field, some Garisons onely stand out, but others are daily surrendred. And for these and such like Victories we have such City-feastings, Bonfires, and Bell-rings, as that we were imagined to be all mad, which the Pay-masters of all (the Aldermen and the rest) expressed in the highest manner that could be, as being the effects of joy, union, sweet harmony, heavenly blessings, and the like, as indeed we want words also to express their conceits.

Court Martial

Then was there established a Court Martial in London, with Articles published against such Inhabitants as were but tending to the malignancy of Cavalieri, as that it was almost impossible for a conscionable Subject but to be liable to their punishment.

and their Articles.

And withall comes out another Ordinance, viz.

That no persons whatsoever shall repair to the King, Queen, Prince, or Lords malignant, or to either of them, or to any Commander or Officer of theirs, or shall hold Intelligence with them, or shall plot, contrive, or endeavour with the Enemy, contrary to the Rules of War:

not

Anno
1646.

not to relieve any person that have taken up Arms against the Parliament, not to assemble or mutinie. And against such as have taken up Arms against the Parliament, and have taken the Covenant, no Officer shall desert his Trust, none that hath been in Arms against the Parliament, or assisted the Enemy shall come to London or Westminster without a Pass, and shall not also within eight and fourty hours tender himself to the Parliament. All these aforesaid shall die the death without mercie. And this Ordinance to last for three moneths. April 3.

Misery of the
Cavalier.

What should the Kings party, his Souldiers and Friends do; that had delivered up themselves and Garisons upon Articles and Quarter, but to return home, which indeed in effect was (for all or the most) to come to *London*, for means, for inquiry, for subsistence, and for courses to sell Lands, raise Moneys, to seek Relief, and to compound, multitudes of such are come, and must suddenly be gone again; others on their way to the City, and ignorant of the Ordinances fell unwittingly under the Penalties, and so are daily taken, seized, and hurried into Prisons or Goals, and are utterly ruined ere they know for what. This makes them repent their hasty Surrenders of Garisons, rather to have been there slain in honour by the Sword, than after all to be undone at home. And to colour the cruelty, it was surmized, that probably these had some horrible Design against the Parliament, City, and Kingdom; which was referred to other Committees to do and order the Cavaliers, to dispose and command them as they should think fit. A mischief to the Sufferers beyond all their former miseries, thus to submit to a City Committee made up (they said) of Tradesmen and Tailours.

These Tidings reach to the knowledg of the King and his Council at *Oxford*, who disorderly seek in private their own safety, leaving the King to shift for himself.

But to make their own Jealousies of some colour and Punishments answerable thereto. It is devised, that the King notwithstanding the Refusal of his coming, he is yet resolved to come; some fix upon the Day, others suppose it uncertain; some say he comes disguised: and others affirm positively that he is come, and is to be seen at the Lord Mayors, whether the City Wives went to visit my Lady Mistress Mayorefs, with a Design specially to kiss the King.

In earnest, it was so strongly conceited, that the Parliament were put to it thereupon to consider what to do, and order,

That in case the King comes to any Guard of the City, he shall be instantly conducted to St. James's House with a Guard, to prevent Resort to him, and there to tarry till fresh and greater Forces come thither, and to remain till further order; that all who shall come to him are instantly to be imprisoned, unless by direction of Parliament, that none shall

Anno
1646.

The Brass
Tomb of
Windsor sold.

shall resort to that House. And to effect all this the Guards are to be trebled and strengthened accordingly.

And yet as busie as they are with these matters of State, yet they had time and necessity it seems to vote the Sale of the Brass Monument in the Chappel of *Windsor* Cathedral to be sold, and if the value exceed not six hundred pounds, then that Money to be paid unto the Governour Colonel *Ven*, who was so cunning, and had so much kindness afforded him by the Committee, as to have it sold for no more; and so he had that Money, besides other Sums shared by the by, of which the Parliament were deceived. This Monument which the Committee call *Brass defaced*, was that curious, costly, elaborate Tomb, erected at the immense charge of Cardinal *Wolfey*, intended for the memory of King *Henry* the eighth. And so served the Cardinal's Design also for his own memory, as the re-edifying of *St. Paul's* Church in *London* continues the Monument of *Land* the Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*. The other was a piece of rarity, and sold for a Song to a *Dutch* man, that made of it much more for the weight of Brass.

Garisons sur-
rendred.

There had been some necessary occasion at the Garison of *Dennington* Castle for the King, as usual in most Garisons besieged, to fire the Out-houses; and after the Surrender thereof upon Articles, and the Governour gone home, he was there seized, arrested, till he gave satisfaction for the Damage to the Neighbour Inhabitants for that Fire. And thereupon an Ordinance was framed,

That all Articles of Surrenders should insert the Damgages by wilfull firing. Which was strange to the Governours of Garisons; and afterwards upon the like account increased to Inconveniencies intolerable to all such Commanders of the Kings party, who were likely now to pay for all, which yet made them endure hardship enough ere their Surrender; for against this Ordinance there was no limitation or power in the Parliaments Commanders.

Exeter sur-
rendred.

And therefore it was that the City and Garison of *Exeter* (amongst others) for the King, had endured a hard Siege by the Forces of *Fairfax*, left there some time since to block them up, whilst himself marched into the West-countrey and *Cornwall*, and having reduced those parts he now returns with his Army to the Siege before *Exeter*, with his Lieutenant General *Cromwel*, contemporary in all the great Actions of the West; and now saluted with Volleys of Well-come, instantly they call a Council, and resolve upon Refusal of their Summons forthwith after to storm; to which the Governour answers.

That yesterday he received the Summons, and at his Council of War it was agreed on, that Commissioners might meet on either side to treat on Friday next, April 3. Which

Which Treaty lasted a long time, *having to do* (the Souldier said) *with long-tongu'd Lawyers*, always in enmity with the Sword, which lengthened the Treaty ten Days, and the Surrender not yielded but upon honourable terms, wherein the General *Fairfax* and *Cromwell* never offered less than noble Conditions.

Anno
1646.

To march out with Arms, Colours flying, Drums beating, and with Bullet, &c. to Oxford, the Cornish into their Countie.

And so the Governour Sir *Fohn Berkley* marched out with two thousand persons, whereof seven hundred *Cornish*.

The Princess *Henretta Maria* the Kings youngest childe went out thence, and is disposed of by the Parliament at *St. James's* with the rest of the Kings Children for the present, till she was conveyed away afterwards by her Governess into *France*.

Barnstable Town in *Devonshire* was surrendered *April 7.* and the Fort a *Sevennight* after: so that this Moneth have been delivered up to the Parliament *Ruthen Castle, Exeter, Barnstable, St. Michael's Mount, Dunston Castle, Woodstock* Garison, and others, Mischiefs to the King, which puts him upon desperate Resolutions for safety of his person closely besieged in *Oxford*.

Garisons rendered up to the Parliament.

And the General having done his Work Westward returns to *Newburie* the nineteenth of *April*.

But now comes strange News of an Ecclesiastick Apostate, Doctor *Williams* Arch-bishop of *York*, he being quite out of hope (in this low condition of the King) longer to uphold himself in his high place of Episcopal Prelacie, and desirous at last to make his peace with the Parliament, hath betaken himself to his house at *Purin* near *Conway* in *Wales*, put a Garison therein, and fortified the same, protesting against the Kings party, and disswading the County from Contribution to the King. And hath written to Colonel *Mitton* (of the Parliaments party) to assist him against the the Lord *Byron*, who understanding of his Revolt, had sent a party from *Conway* to besiege him: soon after this *Metropolitan* became an utter Enemy against the King, and no doubt his own conscience, changing his Canonical Habit for a Coat of Mail, with that bold, open, malepert, petulant impudence, as for the less dishonour to the Function I forbear to mention, leaving him (whilest he lived) neglected of the Orthodox Ministers, and a scorn even to his own Abettors.

Williams
Arch-bishop
of *York* turned
Souldier
against the
King.

And now is *Dudley Castle* surrendered to Sir *VWilliam Brereton*, *May 13.* by Colonel *Levison* the Governour for the King upon very reasonable Conditions.

Dudley Castle
surrendered.

Anno

1646.

Oxford City
besieged the
second time.

The General *Fairfax* comes to the Leaguer before *Oxford*, (the King being removed from thence in disguise the seven and twentieth of *Aprill*) now the second time besieged, for indeed the General having done so much in the West, returns hither and began the siege afresh, that he might have the honour to carry this Royal Garison, which after close begirting and noble Sallies received, the King gon, and most of his Garisons thereabout surrendred, no relief to be hoped for. This City comes to a Treaty at *Heding* the seventeenth of *May*,

The Commissioners for the Treaty were these, whom we mention for their memory, Sir *John Mounson* Knight and Baronet, Sir *John Heyden*, Sir *Thomas Gardner*, Sir *George Binion*, Sir *Richard Willis*, Sir *Stephen Hawkins*, Colonel *Gosnol*, Colonel *Tillier*, Doctor *Zouch*, *Thomas Christy*, *John Dutton*, *Jeffrey Palmer*, *Robert Mead* Esq; For the Parliament were Lieutenant General *Hamond*, Colonel *Ireton*, *Lambert*, *Rich*, General Scoutmaster *Walson*, Majors, *Desborough* and *Harison*, Mr. *Herbert* and Mr. *Waller*.

Instructions
to treat.

But the Treaty went on slowly; The Commissioners for the King were bounded by Instructions of the Lords, and others of the Kings Privy Council, and Sir *Thomas Glenham* Governour of the Garison of *Oxon*, [*Authorising the said Commissioners for the Garison to Treat for us, and in our names with Sir Thomas Fairfax, Lieutenant General of the forces now before Oxford, or such as he shall appoint: and to this end you are authorized and required to compound and deliver such Articles and demands, as now are or hereafter shall be given you, for a full consent thereunto, and to Treat from time to time, upon such directions as shall be thought fitting, upon the several Reports that ye shall make unto us, &c.*

Richard Lane, Cust. Sigill, *Cottington*, *Hartford*, *Dorset*, *Chester*, *Southampton*, *Seymor*, *E. Nicholas*, *Glenham* Governour.

Oxford sur-
rendred upon
Articles.

Never was Garison so long maintained so resolutely, and so mightily opposed, as this of *Oxford* during all the Treaty, which did not exclude the power of Arms; and the Articles not concluded untill the 25. of *June*: the Surrender thus. A guard of several Regiments were placed from the East Port on both sides the way to *VVbately*, (the way to march out) in a very bitter and violent storm of an hour, to the number of three thousand five hundred ordinary persons; the Noblemen and Gentlemen had leave for some dayes to stay for Passes; the whole number of the Garison, supposed seven thousand Souldiers and Scholers in pay, Thirty eight Pieces of Ordnance ready mounted, the Works strong and large, perillous to storm. The Conditions were Noble and in Print; but being slenderly performed afterwards by others (not the Souldiers) I leave it to the Cavalier to complain. The Nobility,

The Reign of King Charls.

891

Anno
1646.

Nobility, were the Earls of *Dorset*, *Hertford*, *Southampton*. The Lords, *Cottingham*, *Lane*, *Dunsmore*, Secretary *Nicholas* and others, who have sent Letters to the King of the Surrender. Prince *Rupert* and Prince *Maurice* had conditions to transport themselves beyond Seas. The Duke of *York* is to be conducted to the Parliament, and so to *St. Jameses* to the rest of the Royal Children. And the Prince Elector already at *London*, had leave from the Parliament (to his shame for being here) to visite his Brothers Prince *Rupert* and *Maurice*, which he did, received their salutation with scorne.

Prince Ele-
ctor visits his
Brothers.

Two daies after came up from the General, the Seals of State which were delivered to him upon surrender of *Oxford*. The Great Seal of *England* carried from *Westminster* to the King, An. 1642. The Privy Seal, Signet, King-Bench, Exchequer, Court of Wards, Admiralty, and Navy, and the Sword: All which Seales were voted to be broken in peices, but the Sword to be kept safe in the Wardrobe. And were so done by a Smith in the House of Lords, in presence of the Commons, and the broken silver given in reward to the Speakers of either House.

The Kings
Seal of State
broken.

And now the Parliament consider of a Term, or Title to be given to the Commissioners intrusted with their Great Seal, and are to be called Conservators of the Common Wealth of *England*.

The Duke of *York* included with Articles of *Oxford*, and brought up to the Parliament the twenty eight of *July*, in some shew of honour to the view of the People, but no sooner at *St. James's* with the rest of the Royal Children and under Government of the Earl of *Northumberland* and his Lady, but all his Servants are turned away and others, strangers put in their places, where he stayed not long but got away into *France* some years hereafter.

The Duke of
York brought
to London.

In the like manner thyongest, Princess *Henretta-Maria*, was now conveyed away from *Oatlands* by her Governess the Lady *Dalkeith*, who complains of the necessity that enforced her. Take her own words to the Gentlewomen in that Family, twenty fourth *July*, 1646.

Princess Hen-
retta conveyed
into France.

Gentlewomen,

You are witness with what patience I have expected the pleasure of the Parliament: Impossible to finde any Justice to her Highnesse, or favour to my self or any of you: I was no longer able to keep her, but am forced to take this upon me. You shall do well to repair to the King all of you, which is the same service as to her Highnesse, and enjoy the honour of serving him. It will be a great mark of your faithfulnessse to her Highnesse for to conceal her absence as long as you can, as if I had removed her to a better Air. All her Apparel and such peices of

XXXXX 2

Plate

Anno.
1646.

Plate belonging to her, you may receive for your selves, and believe me to be,

Yours A. Dalkieth.

So then the Eldest Son, and the Youngest Daughter, are with the Queen in *France*: The two Dukes of *York* and *Glocester*, with the Princess *Elizabeth*, at *St. James's*: The Prince in the West with his Army.

Sir Richard
Onslow com-
plains of *Withers*.

Mr. *Withers* the Poet had write a Pamphlet, *Fasticiarius Justificatus* against Sir Richard Onslow a *Surrey* Knight, wherein he is accused, but this Man being a Member, poor *Withers* had the worst, though he endeavoured to prove the Charge against the other.

Newark Siege,
and surrender
of it.

Colonel *Poines* and *Rossiter*, had a minde to *Newark* long since the last year, but were not able to Manage the Siege with their slender forces, and therefore the *Scots* were very much entreated, before they would vouchsafe to descend so far Southward. At last they were hired with the sum of thirty thousand pounds, and came in *December*, 1645. and then began the Siege. And to entertain them with a Sally, a fortnight after they fell upon *Peat's* Quarters, beat them, and carried in many Prisoners. Two dayes after another encounter upon Colonel *Thornies* Troop, and returned with Prisoners. But now the *Scots* are lodged on the North side of *Newark*, with two thousand Horse, and three thousand Foot, to make good *Nuschams*-bridg, and the General *Leven* there in person, upon some discontent left the Leaguer and went back to *Newcastle*. *Poines* lay on the South side in this manner; the *Lincolnshire* forces (four Troops of Horse, and six hundred Foot) about *Belvoir*: *Rossiter* and *Le-hunt*, at *Blechington*, and *Claypool* with the *Leicester* and *Ely* Foot, five hundred, lay at *Benington*; *Nottingham* and *Derby* forces six hundred at *Stoake*: The Parliaments Commissioners met with the *Scots* General at *Nottingham*, who demanded two thousand five hundred and eighty pounds weekly for his Army at *Newark*, consisting in all near ten thousand Horse and Foot. He was offered ten thousand pounds part of their thirty thousand pounds, faithfully promised, but none as yet paid: and so deep was the distaste, that the *Scottish* Commissioners from *London* were faine to march thither, to even this difference. In the mean time, not a day passed but some action happened: The besieged fall upon *Poines* Quarters at *Stoake*, beat his Horse, and near surprised the Foot, till *Rossiter* hearing Allarum, came in, and endeavoured to come between the Salley & their home, but were prevented and beaten to purpose; many killed, others hurt, and return with forty Prisoners. But now the Siege grows hot, and the Assailants are resolved to Storme, and first to Summon, which was done *April* the first, and a stout and witty Answer returned by *Bellasis* the

First sum-
mons.

Gover-

Anno
1646.

Governour, and thenext day such another Sally upon *Paines's* Quarters, with notabl Succeſſe upon him, many ſlain, above fourty drowned, Captain *Fepſon* and *Murrey*, ſlain by the winde of a Bullet, and yet *Paines* gaines much upon the *Queens* Fort, and turned the River *Trent* quite from the Town on the North ſide. The *Scots* have taken *Sady* Fort, and now batter the Caſtle, raiſe a Fort at *Balderton* on th South, another on the Weſt, another great Fort upon *Beacon-hill*, the other River *Sinite* turned away from the Town. A Sconce iſraiſed in *Balderton-lane* for ſix peices to play within leſſe then Muket ſhot, and their Morter peices into the Town. And therefore they ſend the ſecond Summons the twentieth of *April*, and iad Anſwer three dayes after; That they were willing to Treat to irrender upon honourable conditions, and the Treaty to begin the fourth of *May*, twelve on either ſide, which concluded:

Second ſummons.

That the Garifon withill the Ordnance, Arms and Ammunition, ſhould be Surrendred the inth of May, to the Commiſſioners for the Parliament. The Goveour (Bellafis) Officers, Gentlemen, Clergie, to march away wth their Horses and Swords into any Garifon of the Kings not beſieged, or to their own Houſes: the Souldiers with ſtaves in their hands ad their own goods: And all of them to have three Moneths time to iake their Peace with the Parliament, or that failing, to be allowed pſes to go beyond Seas.

The *Scottiſh* Army caw off four miles. Then alſo came News that *Banbury* Caſtle wa Surrendered, and theſe Articles concluded the eighth of *May*.

Banbury Caſtle ſurrendered

All Officers to march away with Horses and Swords, the Common Souldiers without Arms, with their goods, and half their monies by full accompt, and their paſſes as the former) and to deliver the Caſtle with all Arms, Ammunition nd Colours.

The King at this time had ſome good Garifons in South *Wales*, the Lord *Byron* Goverour of *Carnarvan* Town and Caſtle, had endured a gallant ſiege but hearing of the Kings ſufferings and no hope of relief, he dliivered it up to the Parliament upon very honourable conditions worthy of a noble perſon, and all others intruſted with him, the welſth of *June*.

and *Carnarvan*.

But let us be more prticular in the conſtant loyalty of the good old Marqueſ of *Worceſter*, now eighty four years of age, beſieged in his Caſtle of *Raglan*, above ſix moneths, who now hearing of his ſon the Lord *Glamogan*, to be landed with conſiderable *Irish* forces, ſends to the Paliament Committee at *Chepſtow* this bold Letter.

Raglan Caſtle beſieged.

Having

Anno
1646.

Having notice that you are not ignorant of my Sons landing with the Irish Forces, I am so much a Father, and tender of the whole Countries ruine, that if their coming to this place hastened by the occasion of your Answer, You and not I will be the occasion of the Countries curse. You have taken from me my Rents and Livelihood, for which if you give undelaid reparations, I shall be glad to live quiet neighbour amongst you. If otherwise, you will force me to what mrown nature hath no liking of, and yet justifiable by the word of God, and Law of nature. I expect your Answer by this Messenger, as you give occasion,

Ragland May 29.

H. Worcester.

In Answer to which, the Committee return a slight construction of his serious offer, and to his requital f newes of his Son and his Irish Rebels, they are pleased to return hm better intelligence for his Lordships information, with his Majsties and the Scots Declaration, and mean no more to trouble hm with Letters or Answers,

Your Lordships friends and servants

Roger Willms, &c. Committee men.

For now comes Colonel Morgan with considerable Forces, when the Castle was even fore spent, and summons his Lordship, with the assurance that all the Kings Garisons are ordered forthwith by the Kings Command to surrender to the Parliament,

3. June.

Tho. Morgan.

To whom the old Marques returns. *That he never offended the Parliament, and knows no reason to render his House and Goods to Sir Tho. Fairfax, which is none of the Kings to give or dispose, being his own inheritance, and never forfeited. But the Forces here are the Kings, which he may please to dispose, and therefore desires time to send to his Majestie to have his Command therein, for loth should I be to live an hour to falsifie my trust. If otherwise, I am f believe that God is of more strength then all humane Force: but yo shall not finde him obstinate that is*

June 3. 1646.

Your friend and servant Worcester.

Morgan replies, *He may not assent for sending to the King, being in vain, for his Majestie being now with om friends the Scots, who have already proclaimed, That no person whatsoever formerly in Arms against the Parliament, shall not be dmitted to any conference with him. I post away your first Answer to the Parliament, and by six a clock to morrow morning I expect your Answer to*

June 3.

Your humble servant Tho. Morgan.

1646.

But this return from the Marques, concludes

That he keeps no Forces in defiance of the Prliament, but in defence

of

The Reign of King Charls.

895

Anno
1646.

of himself from the insolencies of the common Souldiers on both sides : and seeing you refuse to grant me my civil request , we must here (with the last man) sell our lives as dear as we can, not out of obstinacie, or ill affection , but meerely to preserve that Honour which I desire should attend me to the death, and God assist them that are in the right,

4. June.

Your friend Worcester.

This Resolution brought thither, the General himself, with addition of Forces, and all things in readines for the Storm, which truly we finde the General alwaies unwillingly to enforce , but rather to spare the effusion of blood , and therefore he nobly, and like himself Summons the Marquess.

My Lord,

Being come into these parts with such a power, as I may not doubt but with the same (in Gods name) shortly to reduce this Garison. I have in order thereto, thought good to send your Lordship this Summons, to deliver up to me for the Parliaments use (no more for the King) this Garison, which as it only obstructs the Kingdoms universal Peace, the condition may beget such terms , as by delay and vain hopes, cannot hereafter be expected : I remain, my Lord

Your Lordships most humble servant

Aug. 7.

Tho. Fairfax.

The Answer is suddain.

SIR,

Although my infirmities might justly claim priviledge in so suddain an Answer to deliver up my House, and the only House now in my possession to cover my head. I dare say, that if you did understand the condition I am in, you will not think it a reasonable demand. I am loath to be the Author of mine own ruine on both sides ; and therefore desire to send to his Majesty for his pleasure what he will have done with this Garison. As concerning my House, I will presume he will command nothing, neither know I, how either by Law or Conscience I should be forced out of it,

Your Excellencies humble servant

Aug. 7.

Worcester.

The General is pleased to Reply.

Touching your sending to his Majesty : It is that which hath been denied to most Garisons in England, further than an account to the King of the thing done upon the surrender, which I do also surely grant to your Lordship. And for that destruction , Your House, if it had not been formed into a Garison , it should not have suffered a Summons, and were it disgarrisoned , neither you, nor your house should receive disquiet from me.

Anno
1646.

me. Hereby I discharge my self of all extremities, &c. upon your refusal, and remain

Yours, &c. T. Fairfax.

Many Messages passed between them, ere that the *Marques* would Treat, being in very great doubt (he said) whether the Parliament would confirm what the General should grant, which being assured, they fell to Treat the 13. of *Aug.* and a Cessation of Arms from ten a clock till 3. during which the Besiegers had permission to come up to their Stockadoes, little regarding to have their works of defence viewed they were so strong, sufficient to scare them from attempt. And therefore the *Marques* propounds the highest conditions as ever were demanded, and had soon an Answer, that they deserved no Answer, but that his person must submit to the Parliaments mercy, which was agreed upon amongst other Articles, the nineteenth of *August*.

That all the Ordnance and Ammunition to be delivered up to the General.

*That the Officers, Gentlemen, and Souldiers, with all other persons there shall march out with their Horses and Arms, Colours flying, Drums beating, Trumpets sounding, Matches lighted at both ends, Bullets in mouth, each Souldier twelve charges of Powder, Match and Bullet proportionable, Bag and Baggage to any place within ten miles of any Garrison where the *Marquesse* shall mention. But in respect his Majesty hath no Garrison nor Army in England, their Armes shall be delivered up to such as the General shall appoint.*

The Officers and Gentlemen have three moneths time for endeavouring their peace and composition with the Parliament, if they will stay in England; or to have Passes for beyond sea. The sick to stay in the Castle, or to be removed whither they please. No person herein comprized, shall be questioned for any act done in relation to War, since the Commencement, but be as free as any other persons whatsoever.

Nobly done to hold out the last Garrison for the King in *England* or *Wales*. And a thanksgiving-day was appointed by Parliament for the surrendring thereof, and of others lately delivered up in this order. *Worcester, Wallingford, Ruthen, Pendennis, and Ragland* the last. Those of quality that marched out, were the *Marques*, the Lord *Charles*, Son to the *Marques*, the Countess of *Glamorgan*, Sir *Philip Jones* and his Lady, Doctor *Baily*, Commissary *Guilliams*, four Colonels, twenty two Captains, sixteen Lieutenants, six Cornets, four Ensignes, four Quartermasters, fifty two Esquires and Gentlemen. In all with the common Souldiers seven hundred.

But before that *Oxford* was surrendred, the King had made his disguised

The King
escapes out of
Oxford.

disguised escape from thence, whose story we now mention, and call back the remembrance of a moneth or two: for then came newes indeed, Letter after Letter to the Parliament from Colonel *Rainsbrough*, That the King was gone in disguise out of Oxford with Jack Ashburnham and only one more, on Munday 27. April, but which way is uncertain.

Various and strange conceits amazed the Members, some that he was gone to *Wales*, others, to *Montrose* in *Scotland*, but the most, that he is come to *London*, concealed: forthwith the Commons Debate, Vote a Committee to consider of an Order, and to draw it up in this form.

That what person soever shall harbour and conceal, or know of the harbouring or concealing of the Kings person, and shall not reveale it immediately to the Speakers of both Houses, shall be proceeded against as a Traitor to the Common-wealth, forfeit his whole Estate, and dye without mercy.

Then was the Ordinance for the Cavaliers to be casheered out of the Lines of Communication continued for a moneth longer, and now a new Ordinance to remove twenty miles further, and the Militia of *London* have power to search and punish so far.

Then comes Post that the King is gone Northward to *Norfolk*, or to the Isle of *Ely*, or to *Lynn*. And to amaze the Parliament the more, two great Packets are intercepted by the General, the one directed to the Kings most excellent Majesty, the other for his Highnesse Prince Charles, which being conceived of mighty concernment, were posted up to the Parliament, and the House prepared to be full, and so they were opened. Which were no more nor no less, then the Bills of Mortality bound up in a bundle, of the whole years burials in *London*, &c. usually sent heretofore to the King.

Wagers were laid at *London* and at *Oxford* likewise, who could riddle him into some certain place, but (in earnest) of all places, or any place, rather then where he is. It amazes all men to hear of him in the Scots Army before *Newark*, thus to trust his Person with this perfidious Scot (as they were stiled.)

But it is now apparant that the King had this design of quitting *Oxford* some time since, as appears by his Letters to *Ormond*, dated April the third, and his resolution there to hazard his Person to the Scots Army, and the reason being upon contract and former assurance from the Scots, Not only for his Majesty (but for all others that doe or shall adhere to him) to be safe in their Persons, Honours, and Consciences in the Scottish Army, who shall really, and effectually joyn with the King, and with such as will come in unto him and joyn with them for the Kings preservation, and shall imploy their Armies and Forces to assist the King to the procuring of a happy and well grounded Peace, for the good of him and his Kingdoms in

And arrives
at the Scots
Army before
Newark.

Anno

1646.

The Kings
Letter to Or-
mond, of his
intention to
go to the
Scots Army.

the recovery of his just Rights, &c. But take the whole Letter at length.

CHARLES REX,

Right Trusty, &c. We having used all possible and honourable means, by sending many gracious Messages to the two Houses of Parliament, wherein we have offered them all they have heretofore desired, and desire from them nothing but what they themselves (since these unhappy wars) have offered to procure, our personal Treaty with them, for a safe and well grounded Peace: and having instead of a dutiful and peaceable return to our said Messages, received either no Answer at all, or such as argues nothing will satisfie them but the ruine, not only of us, our Posterity and Friends but even of Monarchy it self. And having lately received very good security, that we, and all that doe or shall adhere to us, shall be safe in our Persons, Honours, and Consciences in the Scottish Army, and that they shall really and effectually joyn with us, and with such as will come in unto us and joyn with them for our preservation, and shall imploy their Armies and Forces to assist us to the procuring of a happy and well grounded Peace, for the good of us and our Kingdoms, in the recovery of our just Rights, we have resolved to put our selves to the hazard of passing into the Scots Army now lying before Newark. And if it shall please God that we come safe thither, we are resolved to use our best endeavour with their assistance, and with the conjunction of the Forces under the Marquess of Montrose, and such of our well affected Subjects of England as shall rise for us, to procure, it may be, an honourable and speedy Peace with those who hitherto refused to give ear to any means tending thereunto. Of which our Resolution we held it necessary to give you this Advertisement, as well to satisfie you and all our Council and Loyal Subjects with you (to whom we will that you communicate these our Letters) yet failing in our earnest and sincere endeavours by Treaty to put an end to the miseries of these Kingdoms. We esteemed our self obliged to leave no probable expedient unattempted to preserve our Crown and Friends, from the usurpation and tyranny of those whose Actions declare so manifestly their designs to overthrow those Lawes, and happy established Government of this Kingdom. And now we have made known to you our resolution, we recommend to your especial care the disposing and managing of our Affairs on that side, as that you shall conceive most for our Honour and Service, being confident the course we have taken, (though with some hazard of our Person) will have a good influence on that our Kingdom, and defer (if not altogether prevent) the Rebels transporting of Forces from them into that Kingdom. And we desire you to satisfie all our well affected Subjects on that side, of our Princely care of them, whereof they shall receive the effect as soon as God shall enable us. We desire you to use some means to let us and our Council at Oxford, hear frequently from you, and of your Actions and Condition there.

And

The Reign of King Charls.

901

Anno
1646.

in a happy peace. Religion being the chiefest Point, he advises them to take the Opinions of the Assembly of Divines at Westminster; The Militia he will settle it as was offered at Uxbridge, into the hands of such persons as the Parliament shall name for seven years, and afterwards to be named by the King and Parliament: and the like for Scotland: and for Ireland; He will doe what possibly he is able: desiring such of their Propositions as are ready, to be sent to him, being resolved to comply with them in any thing; He wishes both Kingdoms to be careful to maintain Him, and his Honour, and his just and lawful Rights. He will take a course for satisfying of Publick Debts, disband all Armies: that so, each hinderance being removed, he may return to them with mutual comfort. And in a Postscript. To shew his real intentions to peace, is willing that his Forces in and about Oxford be disbanded, the Fortifications dismantled, they receiving Honourable Conditions, which being granted, he will give the like order to all the rest of his Garisons. Southwel 8. of May 1646.

And two dayes after being come to Newcastle, He writes his Letters to the States of the Kingdom of Scotland to the same effect. And that the truth of these his intentions might be made known to all, He desires a Proclamation might be there Printed and published, together with this Letter, that it is his Voluntary and Cordial resolution proceeding from the deep sence of the bleeding condition of his Kingdoms. And that he intends to joyn with his Parliament in settling Religion in purity, and the Subjects in safety, so expecting their counsel and advice, &c.

Newcastle, May 10. 1646.

And to satisfie all men, He writes the same in effect to his City of London, giving them the account of the former Letters from himself, that his return to his Parliament, might also be to their good likeing, May 19.

In the mean time came Letters from the Commissioners before Newark of the surrender of that Town: and that the Scottish Army was drawn off, and retreated about four miles, and the King with them in their Army.

Then the House of Commons Vote for the demanding of his Majesties Person, which took up a weeks time and not agreed.

For Letters were read. That the Scottish Army and the King were marched further North towards their old Quarters, and the King sodainly expected at Newcastle, and a House there prepared for him.

But the Commons conclude. They conceive it reasonable, that in

Votes to dispose of the King.

Anno.
1646.

in England his Majesty be disposed by none but the Parliament of England. That the Scottish Armie in England is an Army of the Parliaments, and in Pay to them, and so theirs: besides, his Majestie is in open Hostility with the Parliament, and hath Towns and Forces abroad against the Parliament, and yet he is with the Scottish Army without the approbation of the Parliament, &c. That the King is, or ought to be near his Parliament, whereby they may have recourse to him for the better correspondencie between both, and the obtaining the concurrence of his Majestie to such things as are most necessary for the Kingdom, in the doing whereof, it cannot but be of great prejudice and obstruction to have his Majesty some hundred of miles from his Parliament. Likewise, that by Covenant we are sworn to preserve the Rights and Priviledges of Parliament, but to detain the King from his Parliament is altogether inconsistent with the Covenant, but the Lords take time to consider hereof.

The King at leasure also to consider his unhappy condition, and now at Newcale the 13. of May, in his Soliloquie complains of his misfortune, and extremities which have forced him to seek relief any where, specially of the Scots.

Eikon Bas.
chap. 21.

Although God hath given me three Kingdoms, yet in these he hath not now left me any place where I may with safety and honour rest my head: Shewing me that himself is the safest Refuge, and the strongest Tower of defence, in which I may put my trust.

In these extremities I look not to man so much, as to God; he will not have it thus; that I may wholly cast my self, and my now distressed Affairs upon his mercie, who hath both the hearts and hands of all men in his dispose.

What providence denies to force, it may grant to prudence: necessitie is now my Counsellor, and commands me to studie my safetie by a disguised withdrawing from my chieftest strength, and adventuring upon their Loyaltie, who first began my troubles. Haply God may make them a means honourably to compose them.

This my confidence of them, may disarm and overcome them: my rendering my person to them may engage their affections to me, who have oft professed, They fought not against me, but for me.

I must now resolve the Riddle of their Loyaltie; and give them opportunity to let the world see, they mean not what they doe, but what they say.

Yet must God be my chieftest Guard; and my conscience both my Councellor and my Comforter: though I put my Bodie into their hands, yet I shall reserve my Soule to God, and my self: nor shall any necessities compel me to desert mine Honour, or swerve from my judgement.

What they sought to take by force, shall now be given them in such a waie of unusual confidence of them, as may make them ashamed not to be really such, as they ought, and professed to be.

God sees it not enough to deprive me of all Militarie power to defend my self; but to put me upon using their power, who seem to fight against me, yet ought in dutie to defend me.

So various are all humane affairs, and so necessitous may the state of Princes be, that their greatest danger may be in their supposed safetie, and their safetie in their supposed danger.

I must now leave those that have adhered to me, and apply to those that have opposed me; this method of Peace may be more prosperous then that of War, both to stop the effusion of blood, and to close those wounds already made: and in it I am no less solicitous for my friends safetie, then mine own; chusing to venture my self upon further hazards, rather then expose their resolute Loyaltie to all extremities.

It is some skill in plaie to know when a game is lost; better fairlie to give over then to contest in vain.

I must now studie to re-inforce my judgement, and fortifie my minde with Reason and Religion; that I may not seem to offer up my Souls libertie, or make my Conscience their Captive; who ought at first to have used Arguments, not Arms, to have perswaded my consent to their new demands.

I thank God, no success darkens, or disguises Truth to me; and I shall no less conform my words to my inward dictates now, then if they had been, as the words of a King ought to be among Loyal Subjects, full of power.

Reason is the divinest power. I shall never think my self weakned while I may make full and free use of that. No eclipse of outward fortune shall rob me of that light; what God hath denied of outward strength, his grace, I hope, will supplie with inward resolutions; not morosely to denie, what is fit to be granted; but not to grant anie thing, which Reason and Religion bid me denie.

I shall never think my self less then my self while I am able thus to preserve the integritie of my conscience, the only jewel now left me, which is worth keeping.

But the Parliament in doubt how to be used by this advantage, which the Scots had of the Kings person, they send again Letters to the Prince of Wales to invite him to come into the Parliaments Quarters, with offer of all due respect befitting his Highness, which Letter was sent to Colonel Russel their Governour of Garnsey, to convey to the Prince who was now at Ferssey, increasing in power by addition of some of Hoptons scattered Forces out of Cornwall, and some landed out of Ireland, having also possessed himself of all the Vessels in Ferssey, and others hired of the French for securing that Island, and as occasion may happen, to be able to attempt upon Garnsey, to which place the Parliament had sent six Ships and Ammunition.

The Prince
invited again
to the Parlia-
ment.

Anno

1646.

The King enters into
Newcastle.

The King is carested at *Newcastle* with Bone-fires and Bel-ringing, Drums and Trumpets, with peals of Ordnance, and Volleys of Shot, but guarded with three hundred of the *Scotish* Horse, those near him bare-headed, and lodged at General *Levens* Quarters, who proclaims, *That no Papists or Delinquents shall come near his presence.*

And another Proclamation, *That although his Majesties person was present, yet all men whatsoever should yield obedience to the Ordinance of Parliament.*

Leven.

18. May.

And the Committee of Estate in *Scotland* proclaim there, *That no person whatsoever depart that Kingdom by Sea or by Land, without warrant to continue till the first of June next.*

The *Scotish* Army are now (they imagine) Masters of all, by their power of the Kings person, and leavie intolerable Taxes and Assessements upon all the Northern Counties, which very courfully resent them, and complain to the Parliament at *Westminster*, not without some rising of the people, standing upon their Guard: and all the *Scotish* Horse formerly sent into *Scotland*, are returned into *Yorkshire*: which makes the House of Commons to debate, and Vote, *That this Kingdom had no further need of the Armie of our brethren the Scots in this Kingdom, and that the summe of one hundred thousand pounds should be advanced and paid to that Armie as followeth, viz. 50000. l. thereof after their surrendring of Newcastle, Carlisle, and other the English Garisons possessed by them in England, and the other 50000. l. after they are advanced into Scotland, and order shall be taken for payment of their Arrears.*

The Scots
Army voted
to be gone.

The King
and Henderson
argue
about Church
matters.

And forthwith Mr. *Alexander Henderson* the Scots Apostolick Minister, and one of their Commissioners is sent from *Westminster* to *Newcastle* to dispute with the King, and to convince him to the Covenant, where after several discourses and meetings, the King is pleased to descend so low as to argue reasons by writings, which continued several encounters by Papers, till the 16. of *July* concerning Church matters by *Authoritie of the Fathers, and practice of the Church*, which *Henderson* would avoid, by the Text of Scriptures, and from thence, his own Opinion should guide him beyond all *Universal consent or practice of the Primitive Church*, which were erroneous. But the King concludes, that to him it is incredible, that any Custom of the *Catholick Church* to be erroneous, which was not contradicted by Orthodox Learned men in the times of their first practice as is easily perceived, that these *Defections* were, (some of them may be justly called *Rebellions*) which *Henderson* mentions. And lastly, that albeit he nere esteem'd any *Authoritie* equall to the

Scriptures

Scriptures, yet he thinks the unanimous consent of the *Fathers*, and the universal practice of the *Primitive Church*, to be the best and *Authentical Interpreters of Gods word*, and consequently the fittest Judges between *Him* and *Henderson*, until better may be found, as for example (he sayes) I think Mr. *Henderson* the best Preacher in *Newcastle*, yet I believe you may erre, and possibly a better Preacher may come, but till then, I must retain my opinion,

July 16.

C. R.

These Disputes are in Print, which shewes his Majesties temper, and knowledge, to treat so long with a peevish Presbyter.

Amongst many that hazarded themselves to approach the Kings presence, was that aforesaid Master *Hudson* a Minister, and a faithful constant assistant to the Kings desires, the only person that ordered his disguise and iourney to the *Scots Army*, this man is taken and in custody of the Deputy Mayor of *Newcastle*, and by Order of Parliament to be brought up to their Bar, and *Ashburnham* also.

Mr. *Hudson* conveyed the King from *Oxford*.

But *Ashburnham* was gone ere the Messenger got thither, some say to *Montrose*, and General *Leven* makes answer for him, that the *Scots* conceive not, that *Ashburnham*s bringing the King into their Army, makes him an Incendiary, and that *Hudson* is forth coming, who soon after got away, but was taken at *Sandwich* going over beyond Seas.

This gives the Parliament a taste of the *Scots* intentions, which could not be well relished, therefore Engins are set on work, Petitions and Complaints are received, examined, and proved against the Plundering, Cruelties, and Misdemeanours of the *Scots Army* in the Northern parts, and that instead of 80000. l. a moneth Assessment, they have charged 9000. l. a moneth.

The Citie of London also pour forth Petition upon Petition as they are directed, with Congratulatory Exordiums and Prefaces for their invincible resolutions, care and pains for the safety, liberty and property of the People, bound up, in and under the blessed Parliament. That Justice and Judgement run down in a stream, and Mercy and Truth take place. And implore their further Protection, not to be enslaved under the power of any, upon what colourable pretence soever, nor to share with the Parliament, nor to prescribe unto them in the Government or power of this Nation, to whose great trust it hath ever been to order their own matters by their own great Council without the confluence of any other. And to be encouraged hereto, they offer the Hand, Hearts, Lives, Estates of the whole City, and Millions more shall still be with them to stand by, and support them against whomsoever shall with open face, or secret Conspiracies oppose them.

The City congratulatory Petitions to the Parliament.

Anno.
1646.

The Kings
former letters
to Ormond of
April the thir-
teenth disco-
vered.

Here are the *Scots* laid aside, we can now do our own Work without the further help of our dear Brethren.

But the *Scots* Army set out their Declaration in excuse, and desire to stand upon the truth of their Justification, which wrought much upon their Faction. And the Parliament as forward to oppose them, by a Declaration in Answer to the other, and to vindicate the people.

And now comes an Expressesone of the Parliaments Commissioners in *Ireland*, with Copies of several Letters, the one from the King to *Ormond*, dated from *Oxon* the third of *April* 1646. afore mentioned, as also that which *Ormond* intimates to *Monroe* of the one and twentieth of *May*. Which Letters were the very same in print, and published by *Ormond* at *Dublin*, and brought over by Sir *Robert King* one of the Parliaments Commissioners in *Ireland*, and were as yet laid under Deck for advantage against the King hereafter.

In this time the King caresses the Parliament with Messages, as before for his personal Treaty at *London*. And because he would give earnest of his serious Intentions, he gives Warrant for surrendering all his Garisons.

C. R.

Having resolved to comply with the designs of our Parliament, in every thing that may be for the good of our Subjects, and leave no means unattempted for removing of differences between us, therefore we have thought, the more to evidence the reality of our intention of settling a happy peace, to require you upon honourable conditions to quit the Towns, Castles, and forts intrusted to you by us, and to disband all the forces under your several Commands. Given at Newcastle, the tenth of June 1646.

To our trusty and well beloved Sir Thomas Glenham, Sir Thomas Tisley, Colonel Washington, Colonel Blague, Governours of our Cities and Towns of Oxford, Worcester, Litchfield and Wallingford, and to all other Commanders of any other Towns, Castles or Forts within the Kingdom of England, or Dominion of Wales.

Scots Armies
letter to the
Parliament.

The *Scots* now in some Jealousie how mightily the King complies with his Parliament, and that they should not be able perhaps to effect their designs by force, they now endeavour therefore by fraud; and cunningly insinuate to the Parliament: That their Conscience bears them witnesse, of their constant endeavours to preserve the Union of both Kingdoms; yet never more than since the Kings coming to their Army, by effecting such Messages from his Majesty, as might be a sure ground of peace to his people, and happinesse to himself: And although we have not as yet prevailed over his Principles deeply rooted into him, as to obtain the utmost of our desires, which we hope in short time

time to effect. And we hope that accordingly the Parliament will be pleased to send their Propositions of peace to him, upon whose Answer we shall clearly know how to proceed in the intended Pacification, and to satisfie the Parliament in disbanding our Armies, delivering up the Garisons possessed by us, and retiring home, for the good of both Kingdoms.

Anno
1646.

Newcastle June 10. Signed by Leven and all the Scots Commissioners, and directed to the Parliament.

And herewith is presented to the Parliament, the Co py of a paper delivered to the King, from the Committee of Estates of Scotland, concerning the Prince of Wales: That the Prince goe not beyond Sea but to reside within the Kingdom of England with Honour and safety, for preventing the danger to his Person, Religion and Inconveniencies besides, in this time of affairs.

Then was a Letter intercepted from the King, to the Prince, read in the Parliament, thus.

The Kings
letter to the
Prince.

Charles, This is rather to tell you where I am, and that I am well, than at this time to direct you in any thing, having writ fully to your Mother, what I would have you to do, whom I Command you to Obey in every thing except Religion; concerning which I am confident she will not trouble you; and see you goe no whither without her, or my particular direction: Let me hear often from you, so God bleesse you.

Your Loving Father C. REX.

Postscript: *If Jack Ashburnham come where you are, command him to wait on you as he was wont, untill I shall send for him. If your Mother and you be together, if she will, he must wait on her.*

Then was Hudson Examined, who saith: That the King was there in company, coasted the Country from Oxford, and came to Henley, Brainford and Harrow on the Hill, where he was almost perswaded to come to London; from thence he went to St. Albans, and then to Harborough in Leicestershire, where he expected the French Agent with some Horse to meet him & to conduct him to the Scots; but the Agent failing of his promise to Hudson, the King went to Stanford, thence to Norfolk, and at Downham he rested from Thursday till Munday, till Hudson returned from the Agent; upon whose return, the King passed into the Army. But how ever they handled Hudson he escaped out of prison at London, 28. November after, and is retaken again the midst of December in the North, and his Examination sent up, viz. That escaping out of Newgate, he went to Ratcliffe disguised, and there took Boat, and landing without the Works went to Bow, where his Man met him with Horses, thence to Lyn, & so to Newcastle, to Montil, the French Agent who

Hudson examined, his
confessions.

1646.

carried him to the King, and had conference with him two hours, who bad him return to his friends for a moneth, by that time he should have occasion to dispose of him, bad him beware, of the Scots, who would commit him, and returning to *Lincolnshire*, was taken prisoner again.

The King now in durance, and out of all hope to be able to Manage his affairs in *Ireland*, and for *Ormond* to proceed there, according to former directions, and being labored by the *English* and *Scots* at *Newcastle* not to Treat with the Rebels of *Ireland* any more. The King writes to the Marquesse.

C. R.

Right trusty, &c. Having a long time with much grief looked upon the sad Condition our Kingdom of *Ireland* hath been in these divers years through the wicked and desperate Rebellion there, and the bloody effects that have ensued thereupon, for the settling whereof we would have wholly applied our selves, if the difference betwixt us and our Subjects here had not diverted and withdrawn us: And not having been able by force (for that respect) to reduce them; we were necessitated for the present safety of our Protestant Subjects there, to give you power and Authority to Treat with them, upon such Pious, Honourable and Safe grounds, as the good of that our Kingdom did require. But for many Reasons too long for a Letter, We think fit to require you to proceed no further with the Rebels, nor to engage us upon any conditions with them after sight hereof. And having formerly found such real proofs of your ready Obedience to our commands, we doubt not of your care in this, wherein our service and the good of our Protestant Subjects in *Ireland*, is so much concerned. *Newcastle June the eleventh. 1646.*

But the affairs of *Ireland* (not intermixing with others) are purposely put together at the end of this year, to which we refer the Reader.

The State of
the Propositions
of Peace.

The Commissioners of *Scotland* had oftentimes since the twentieth of *June, 1645.* pressed the sending of the former Propositions, presented at *Oxford*, and debated at *Uxbridge*. And the Parliament upon the sixth of *August, 1645.* declared that Propositions shall speedily be sent with some alteration. And upon the last of *February* following, the Scots Commissioners received some new Propositions from the Houses. And upon the sixteenth *March* they deliver in their Answer; observing, that all the Omissions, Additions, or Alterations made in them, are in those things which concern the joint interest and union of both Kingdoms. Upon the twenty sixth of *March* the Parliament appointed a Committee, to debate those differences which are chiefly as follow; concerning

Religion.

The Reign of King Charls.

909

Anno
1646.

Religion. The Parliament in general desire the King to assent to what they have or shall agree; concerning Reformation and Uniformity, as the Kingdoms shall agree.

The Commissioners would know the particulars, that after so long consult of the Assembly, they may know what to assent unto. But it was answered, *The Parliament had not resolved, nor would the Commissioners consent.*

Militia. The Commissioners desire the same that was sent to *Uxbridge*, but the Parliament will have the *Militia* of each Kingdom settled by it self; the Commissioners would have such a conjunction at least, as both may joyn together for the publick of both; but the Parliament will not be limited, and not onely the King, but his posterity and the Crown excluded. The Commissioners as they will not have it in the King alone, so they hold it unsafe to alter the Fundamental Laws, and the Crown utterly excluded; but after some time the *Militia* may be in both King and Parliament, according to the Declarations to be in King and Parliament together.

Ireland. The Parliament say, that the Transactions made at *Edinburgh*, *Novemb. 28. 1643.* are no Treaties. The Commissioners aver that it is a Treaty. Articles drawn up, which the Parliament confirm the ninth of *March*, and eleventh of *April, 1643.* calling it a Treaty; and *Scotland* performs their part, makes their Army stay, and advance to the charge of an hundred thousand pounds *Sterling* at the desire of *England*, being then so low, and now the Parliament make question to perform to *Scotland*,

1. That Peace and War,
2. The Education of the Kings Children,
3. Disbanding the Armies,
4. The Act of Oblivion, may not be made in either, without consent of both Kingdoms.

But the Committee of Parliament declared, *They had no power to alter any thing, though they were convinced in reason.*

Whereupon the Commissioners gave in a Paper to the Parliament concerning the Propositions of Peace, *viz.*

To have Religion settled according to the Covenant.

That the Propositions formerly agreed upon by the two Kingdoms may be sent to the King.

That upon the eight and twentieth of February last they received some of the Propositions, and were assured, that they were all, except such as concerned Delinquents and the City, which were speedily to be delivered to us.

And

Anno
1646.

And now we desire these particulars, considering that the Preface, Title and Conclusion of the Propositions may be the same.

To the four first Propositions they agree in a manner.

To the fifth and sixth, they desire to see what the Parliament have agreed upon concerning Religion, and then they will give Answer.

To the 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12. Propositions they agree.

To the thirteenth they say, That the Treaty at *Edinburgh*, November 28. 1643. which was comprehended in the twelfth Proposition agreed upon between both Kingdoms is excluded by these words in the thirteenth Proposition, [*And whereunto they are obliged by the aforesaid Treaties*] for the Kingdoms were not obliged by any of the former Treaties, to make a subsequent Treaty; and therefore they desire the said Treaty of November 28. 1643. together with the Ordinances of the 9 of March and 11. of April, ratifying the same, may be expressed in the Proposition, for which they offer the Reasons following, *which we refer to the time and place heretofore mentioned the eight and twentieth of Novemb. 1643. and for brevity we now omit.*

To the fourteenth Proposition, they desire that all the Articles concerning Religion in *England* may be extended to *Ireland*, according to the Covenant.

To the fifteenth, sixteenth, seventeenth, they agree.

The eighteenth Proposition, they say, doth differ from that which was formerly, for the former Propositions did settle a power in Commissioners of both Kingdoms for resisting Invasions, and suppressing all Forces in either Kingdoms to the disturbance of the Peace: but this new Proposition rather argues a diffidence of that mutual confidence which was laid and grounded by the former Proposition.

And they conceive it necessary so to settle the *Militia* as the King (although he were willing) be not able to involve them again into a miserable War: so they think it is not their intentions to divest the King, his Posterity and Crown hereafter of all interest in the matter of the *Militia*; for although they should be never so willing to follow the advise of their Parliaments, yet they shall hereby be made incapable, and not be admitted to joyn with their Parliaments for resisting their Enemies, and protecting their Subjects, and (*as may be collected from the Debate at Uxbridge*) may be interpreted to be a fundamental alteration of the Government, contrary to the Resolution and Declarations of both Kingdoms, and (not agreeable to the Covenant) may be made use of by the Adversary to bring the common cause into contempt; both parts were provided for in the other Proposition; not to be in the power of the King, yet that the Commissioners to be empowered for

for the execution of the *Militia*, were to have it from King and Parliament, and the time to be limited for seven years, and afterwards to be settled by the King and Parliament, but by this new Proposition the whole power is to be settled in the Parliament forever.

Nor in this new Proposition (being a mutation and alteration from the former) there is no mention of any mean to be used, or course to be taken, for conserving the peace between both Kingdoms, and betwixt the King, and either of them, but all passed in silence. And so they desire that the former Propositions may be sent, as they were proposed at *Uxbridg*.

To the nineteenth, twentieth, twenty one, they agree.

The Propositions concerning the Kings Children, making Peace or War, Disbanding the Armies, Act of Oblivion. In all these there is omitted these words, [*by consent of both Kingdoms.*]

And upon the whole matter they advise to send onely (for the present) Propositions concerning *Religion, Militia, and Ireland*, as they were proposed at *Uxbridg*. If not, but all, then with the former amendments.

And these were dated *March 16. 1646.*

Ten days after they gave in another Paper.

The Commissioners had waited a long time in silence for the settling of Church-government according to the Covenant, not being willing to judg of the Model of Church-government in *England* to be uniform with *Scotland*, by previous and particular Ordinances of Parliament being but parts of the Building, but expected the last Ordinance to supply the defect of the former, and by rearing up the whole Body give satisfaction to all. And had caressed the Parliament with their humble thanks for removing the Book of *Common Prayer*, and abolishing Episcopacy; yet and yet again still, somewhat or rather the most was wanting, of greatest consequence, which now by the effects their eys are wide open to see, *Heresies and Sects are so multiplied, and Schism so much prevails, that the Church (after so many Miseries of a bloudy and long-lasting War) will be in worse case than the former was.* From which it was pretended for a great happiness to be delivered.

And in a Treaty of the tenth of *March, 1641.* the *Scotish* Commissioners had pressed unity and uniformity in matters of Religion in the three Kingdoms, unto which the Parliament gave a hopefull Answer.

Thereafter *Anno 1643.* the general Assembly in *Scotland* renewed the same, and received thanks for the Motives then further urged

Anno
1646.

urged therein. In fine, the mutual Desires were concluded with a solemn League and Covenant, and that translated in other Tongues, as a Rule and Direction to other Reformed Churches. All which considered, the Commissioners did tell the Parliament, *That it would be a sin and shame to England, that all sorts of Blasphemies, Heresies, and Sects now multiplied, and liberty of conscience now pleaded for, should have place; nay, that unity and uniformity so much preached, should now be slighted, and the Covenant it self wrested and perverted to speak any thing; and the Churches further from uniformity and unity than ever before. And they pray God, that the Ruine of Religion, and the consequence thereof do not forthwith follow.*

There had been an Ordinance of Parliament *March 14. 1645.* and Directions thereupon *August 19.* then next following, and now of late, some Questions debated in the House of Commons, and propounded to the Assembly of Divines at *Westminster*, touching the point of *Fus Divinum*, as aforesaid, the last of *April*, in which the Commissioners of *Scotland* thought themselves concerned, as being intrusted by the Church of *Scotland*, first concerning

The subordination of the Assemblies of the Church to the Parliament, making no question but the Parliament to be *superior* to all Assemblies of the Church in place, Dignity, Honour, and earthly power.

That civil powers are the Vicegerents of God on earth; Ministers onely Servants and Ambassadors; the Magistrate is *Custos utriusque Tabula*, and to compell the Ministers to perform their Duties, and to account to the civil powers.

But yet somewhat troubled the Commissioners, or rather Mr. *Alexander Henderson* :

First, the expression of Subordination may be altered, lest it should suppose that the relation of one Church-assembly to another, and of the Assemblies to the Parliament, and of appeals of one to another, are of the same kinde, and in the same line, as if the civil power were not onely about matters of the Church and Religion, but were formally Ecclesiastical, & to be exercised Ecclesiastically, because some may interpret it such a Supremacy in the Church, as sometimes was in the Pope, and hath been (as they pretend) retained in substance in this Kingdom, which they account to be the Fountain of the late *High Commission*, and Foundation of other corruptions; and because it is (pretended) against the Doctrine of the Reformed Churches, which are next to the Scripture, proposed (they pretend) in the Covenant, as the Example of Reformation.

Secondly, the provincial Commissioners for judging of Scandal, there

Anno
1646.

there being no Warrant for such a mixture in Church-government from *Christ*, who hath appointed his own Spiritual Officers, to whom he hath committed the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven, and to whom the Reformed Churches conceive the judging of Offences, and qualification of Communicants doth as properly belong, as Preaching of the Word, and Administration of the Sacraments. Nor can it be supposed, that some few civil men having no calling from God, can be more able to judge of matters of this nature, than the Assembly of the Church separated for the work of the Gospel. The same Churches, and particularly the Church of *Scotland*, which all this time hath been in expectation of great purity and perfection of Reformation in the Church of *England*, were in jealousies and fears, that this may be the laying of a new Foundation of an *High Commission Court* or *Episcopacie*, and so for a new partition-wall to divide the Church of *England* and *Scotland* into Schism and Separation.

Thirdly, concerning the Meeting of the *National Assemblie*, it was acknowledged, that the supreme Magistrate may call a *National Assemblie*, and the Church is to obey his call: but then the Commissioners would have it withall acknowledged, that this power of the Magistrate is accumulative or positive, but it is not a privative or destructive power: and therefore they would that the liberty of the Church from *Christ* be not restrained, the safety of the Church being here the supreme Law. And so they moved the Parliament to appoint fixed times for the Meeting of the *National Assemblies*, otherwise what will become of the ill administration of *Provincial Synods*, and of *Appeals* from them to the *National Assemblies*.

These considerations were discoursed and considered by them, as being bound (they say) to endeavour the Reformation of the Discipline and Government of the Church of *England* and *Ireland*, according to the Word of God and the Example of the best Reformed Churches.

And with these and the like Discourses, Considerations and Exceptions was the Propositions of long time hammering and modelling into some kinde of Agreement, without which the Commissioners themselves concluded, and however we finde by the sequel all their Labours and our Sufferings were in vain, the long consultations of the Divines of both Kingdoms fruitless, and the Commissioners in a Labyrinth what to answer to the Church and Kingdom of *Scotland*, returned home afterwards as wise as they were when they came hither of these Arrands.

So then we see that the Propositions of Peace have been seemingly

Anno

1646.

Prosecution of
the Propositions
of Peace.

ingly a long time in preparation, and several Debates thereupon, evermore referring to the knowledg and consent of the Commissioners of *Scotland* here, who must be allowed convenient time to send to the *Assemblee* and *Parliament* of *Scotland*, and to stay for their Return of Answer; but now that the *Parliament* of *England* were so prosperous, not having hardly an Enemy left, unless that of the *Scots* Army, began to neglect their former dependence and concordance with *Scotland*, which their Commissioners here, well observing, and that their Papers of reasonable Exceptions to some points of the Propositions would not take with the *Parliament*, the Commissioners caused them to be printed, published, and justified, they contained four papers of consequence.

1. Their Answer upon the whole Propositions of Peace.
2. Reasons touching the *Militia*.
3. The Citations of several passages out of the Declaration of the Houses of *Parliament*, concerning the *Militia*, and *Uniformitie* in Religion.
4. Reasons why the Result of the Committee of both Kingdoms at *Edinburgh* (Novemb. 28. 1643.) is a Treaty.

These were the Heads, but the matter was accounted exactly satisfactory and reasonable to all indifferent apprehensions, truly stating the several cases comprehended in these papers. Which so troubled the Houses, that out comes the Declaration (*concerning the Scottish Papers*) by the Commons onely, for they were now entered, and could do things without the House of Lords.

The Declaration
against
the *Scots* Pa-
pers.

We the Commons, &c. remembering that in the beginning of this War divers Protestations, Declarations, Suggestions, &c. were spread abroad by the King, whereby the sincere Intentions of the *Parliament* for the publick good were mis-represented, and so no need of a present War, which is otherwise apparant by discoverie of the Enemies secrets, and Gods immediate Blessings and Successes upon the *Parliaments* affairs: and which Mistakes for some time had blemished the justice of this cause; that if the Enemy had prevailed, how dangerous the consequence would have been is now apparant.

And now notwithstanding Gods blessing on all our Endeavours, Forces and Armies, &c. there are still the same spirits, though under Disguise, putting false constructions upon what hath already passed the *Parliament*, as upon the thing under present Debate, begetting a belief, That we now desire to swerve from our first grounds, aims, and principles in the undertaking this War, to recede from the solemn League and Covenant, and Treaties between us and *Scotland*, and that we would prolong these uncomfortable Troubles and bleeding Distracti-
dom,

dom, to leave all Government of the Church loose and unsettled, and our selves to exercise the same arbitrary power over the persons and estates of the Subjects, which this present Parliament thought fit to abolish, by taking away the Star-chamber, High Commission, and other arbitrary Courts, and the exorbitant power of the Council Table.

All which, &c. though our former actions are the best Demonstrations of our faithfulness to the publick, yet if mis-believed, may involve us into new Imbroilments. We do declare, our Endeavours are to settle Religion according to the Covenant, to maintain the fundamental Rights of the Kingdom, the Liberties of the Subject, to desire a well-grounded peace in the three Kingdoms, &c. In effect,

Concerning Church government, we having so fully declared for a Presbyterial Government, having spent so much pains, taken up so much time for settling of it, passed most of the particulars brought to us from the Assemblie of Divines, (called onely by us to advise of such things as shall be required of them by the Parliament) and having published several Ordinances for putting the same in execution; because we cannot consent to the granting of an arbitrary and unlimited power and jurisdiction to near ten thousand Judicatories to be erected within this Kingdom, and this demanded in a way inconsistent with the Fundamentals of Government, excluding the power of Parliaments in the exercise of that Jurisdiction, nor have we yet resolved how a due regard may be had, that tender consciences which differ not in any Fundamentals in Religion may be so provided for as may stand with the Word of God and the peace of the Kingdom. And let it be observed, that we have had the more reason not to part with the power out of our hands, since all by-past Ages manifest, that the Reformation and purity of Religion, and the preservation and protection of the people, hath been by Parliament, and the exercise of this power: our Endeavours being to settle the Reformation in these Kingdoms of England and Ireland in Doctrine, Worship, Discipline, and Government, according to the Word of God, and the Example of the best Reformed Churches, and according to our Covenant.

Concerning a peace, which is the right end of a just VVar, to that purpose both Houses of Parliament have framed several Propositions to be sent to the King, such as they hold necessary for the present and future safety of this Kingdom, some of which are transmitted to our Brethren of Scotland, where they now remain, whose consent we doubt not to obtain, since the Parliament of England is and ought to be sole and proper Judge for the good of this Kingdom: wherein we are so far from altering the fundamental constitution and Government of this Kingdom by King, Lords, and Commons, that we onely have desired, that by the consent of the King such powers may be settled in the two Houses, to prevent a second and more destructive VVar, not judging it wise or safe for the pretended power of the Militia in the King to have any autho-

Anno
1646.

ritie in the same, for the future introducing an arbitrary Government over this Nation, and protecting Delinquents by force from the justice of Parliaments, the chiefest grounds of the Parliaments taking up Arms in this Cause.

We do declare, we will not interrupt the ordinary course of Justice, nor intermeddle in cases of private interest. And as the Parliament have already for the benefit of the people taken away the Court of Wards and Liveries, and all Tenures in capite, and by Knights Service; so we will take special care for the peoples ease in Levies of Monneys, and in reducing Garisons.

Lastly, whereas both Nations have entered into a solemn League and Covenant, and Treaties between us concluded, which we shall and have duly performed, that nothing be done to the prejudice of either of them, presuming that the good people of England will not receive prejudicate opinions by any forced constructions of that Covenant, which is only to be expounded by them, by whose authority it was established in this Kingdom. April 18.

But in great regret the Parliament order, that the Preface to the Pamphlet intituled, [*The Scots Commissioners Papers, and the stating of the Question about the Propositions of Peace*] was this day burnt by the Hangman. April 21.

Propositions
sent to the
King.

At length of time, the eleventh of July the tedious Propositions are finished and sent to the King by the Committee, Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery, and the Earl of Suffolk, Mr. Goodwin, Sir John Hippeley, Mr. Robinson, and Sir Walter Earl.

The Propositions in general are these.

1. That his Majesty would pass an Act for the Nulling of all Oaths, Declarations, and Proclamations against the Parliament of England or Scotland, their Ordinances or their Adherents.
2. The King to swear and sign the Covenant, and an Act for the three Kingdoms to swear unto.
3. An Act to take away Bishops and their Dependents.
4. To confirm by Act the Assembly of Divines at Westminster.
5. To settle Religion as the Parliament shall agree.
6. In unity and uniformity with Scotland, as shall be agreed upon by both Parliaments.
7. An Act to be confirmed against Papists.
8. Their Children to be educated in the Protestant Religion.
9. And for Levies against their Estates.
10. Against saying of Mass in this Kingdom.
11. And in Scotland, (if they think fit.)
12. For observation of the Lords Day, against Pluralities, Non-Residents, and for Regulating the Universities.

13. That

The Reign of King Charls.

917

Anno
1646.

13. *That the Militia of England, Ireland, and Wales, by Sea and Land be in the hands of the Parliament for twenty years, and the like for Scotland, and to raise Moneys for the same, and to suppress all Forces raised in that time without their authority, against all foreign Invasion. Provided that the City of London may enjoy their Privileges to raise and employ their Forces as formerly.*

14. *That all Honours and Titles conferred on any since the Great Seal was conveyed from the Parliament May 21. 1642. be made null, and that those that shall be hereafter made Peers by the King shall not sit in Parliament without consent of both Houses.*

15. *That an Act be passed to confirm all the Treaties between England and Scotland, and a Committee of both Houses to be nominated Conservators of the Peace between both Kingdoms.*

16. *An Act for establishing the Declaration of both Kingdoms of the thirtieth of January, 1643. with the qualifications as follow.*

The first Qualification.

That these persons shall expect no pardon. In a word all the persons of Honour and Quality that have taken up Arms for the King in England or Scotland, (which because the Treaty took no effect is but frivolous to insert.)

And all such others as being processed by the Estates for Treason shall be condemned before the Act of Oblivion be passed.

Then follows the second Qualification.

All Papists and Popish Recusants, who have been, now are, or shall be actually in Arms, or assisting against the Parliaments of either Kingdoms, and by name the Marquess of Winton, Earl of Worcester, Lord Herbert, Lord Brudnel, Lord Arundel of Warder, Earl Castlehaven, and seven Knights and Gentlemen.

The third Qualification.

All persons that have assisted in the Rebellion of Ireland, except such as are come in to the Parliament of England.

The fourth Qualification.

Herein are named above fifty Knights and Gentlemen that were at Oxford, and it follows, All such of the Scottish Nation as have concurred in the Votes at Oxford against the Kingdom of Scotland, and all that have assisted in Arms against Scotland.

Then follows three Branches of this Qualification.

The fifth Qualification.

That all Judges, Officers, and Practicers of the Law, that have deserted the Parliament, be incapable of Office or Practice in the Law: the like of the Clergie.

With

Anno.
1646.

With other Qualifications and Branches depending, too tedious to insert, and esteemed of all indifferent persons most improper for the King to consent unto.

And now comes the juggling *French* Agent *Montril* from the Queen in *France*, with Letters to the King to make peace with his Parliament by any conditions reasonable.

And that the Prince of *Wales* is arrived at *Paris* without the Kings knowledg, whom he designed to have come to him to *Newcastle*.

The Parliament had written to the King, to give Warrant to his Lieutenant General *Ormond* in *Ireland* for disbanding his Forces, and receive this Answer.

CHARLS R.

The Kings
Message to the
Parliament.

That as none can be more deeply affected than his Majestie with the calamities of his Kingdom of Ireland, so he will apply all future Remedies. And as to the delivering of the City and Castle of Dublin, Drogheda, and all other Garisons in Ireland held for his Majesty, into the hands of the Parliament of England, He is most willing that all these places may be so disposed, as they may best be secured from the Rebels, and most for the safety of his good Subjects, doth again earnestly press the Propositions so long expected, expecting that they will contain the readiest means, not onely of preserving those places, which are already in his power, but likewise of reducing the rest of that Kingdom possessed by the Rebels to his obedience; all which will be settled upon the conclusion of a happy Peace, which he will heartily endeavour.

Newcastle, July 11.

Which Message met the Commissioners on the way with the Propositions to the King.

French Amb-
bassadour Ex-
traordinary
hath Audience.

The *French* Ambassadour Extraordinary had his first Audience of the 17. of *July*, in effect, That he had a command from the Queen Regent and King of *France*, to endeavour a composure of the Differences between the King and Parliament, but understanding that Propositions are gone to his Majesty, he hath no more to say to the Parliament, but to take his leave, and to desire their Pass for him to the King, and to the States of *Scotland*; and had this Answer.

Parliaments
Answer.

That the Parliament receive with thankfulness the good Intentions of the King of *France* to these Kingdoms, for ending of the Differences they had done their Endeavours, and will so continue to do. But they could not agree that any Foreign State interpose in

in the present remaining Differences, nor that his Majesty of France in particular by his present Extraordinary Ambassadour. And are very willing the Ambassadour have a Pass, and be used with all respect and civility.

But the Ambassadour staid so long for this ceremony that he was gone towards the King without it.

The three and twentieth of July the Propositions were presented to the King, and the Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery being the best Man, though the least able, told the King, *That he knew well how unfit a Spokesman he was, and desired that Mr. Goodwin might speak for them.*

Propositions
presented to
the King.

The King instantly asked, *If they had any power to treat?*

They answered, *No.*

Then said he, *Saving the honour of the business, an honest Trumpeter might have done as much. I hope you expect not a present Answer to this high concernment.*

They told him, *Their time was limited to ten Days.*

And the French Ambassadour Balue and Montril the Agent had Audience the next day, and very private with the King.

We may easily believe how the King was beset with Petitions, and Prayers (hand over head) to consent to all these Propositions by the English and Scots about him. And how the Commissioners resented it, appears in a Letter to the Speaker of the Commons.

We are sorry we cannot acquaint you with so good success as we desired, having this Morning his Majesties Answer Negative, with a Paper containing Offers to come to London and treat, which we thought not fit to send, because we know not the Parliaments pleasure, whether or no they will take notice thereof, as being no Answer to the Propositions. We have taken leave and hasten home.

August 2.

1646.

Earl, Hepsley,

Goodwin, Robinson.

It is likely they were sorry, and said so; but see what the King says for himself, and concerning them, dated a day before theirs, and sent to the Houses, a quick and sudden Answer to their tedious Propositions.

C. R.

The Propositions tendered to his Majestie by the Commissioners, &c. (to which the Houses of Parliament have taken twice so manie moneths for deliberation, as they have assigned daies for his Majesties Answer) do import so great alterations in Government, both in Church and Kingdom, as it is very difficult to return a particular and positive Answer

The Kings
Answer to the
Propositions.

Anno
1646.

swer before a full debate, wherein these Propositions, and the necessarie explanations, true Sense and Reasons thereof be rightly weighed and understood, and that his Majestie upon a full view of the whole Propositions may know what is left, as well as what is taken away and changed. In all which he findes (upon discourse with the said Commissioners) that they are so bound up from anie capacitie, either to give Reasons for the Demands they bring, or to give ear to such desires as his Majestie is to propound, as it is impossible for him to give such a present judgement of, and Answer to these Propositions, whereby He can answer to God that a safe and well-grounded peace will ensue (which is evident to all the world can never be, unless the just power of the Crown, as well as the freedom and proprietie of the Subject, with the just libertie and Priviledges of the Parliament be likewise settled) To which end his Majestie desires and proposeth to come to London, or anie of his houses thereabouts upon the publick Faith, and securitie of the two Houses of Parliament, and the Scots Commissioners, that he shall be there with Freedom, Honour, and Safetie, where by his personal presence he may not onely raise a mutual confidence betwixt him and his people, but also have those doubts cleared, and those difficulties explained unto him, which he now conceives to be destructive to his just Regal power, if he shall give a full consent to these Propositions as they now stand.

As likewise, that he may make known to them, such his reasonable demands as he is most assured will be very much conducible to that peace, which all good men desire and pray for, by the setting of Religion, the just priviledges of Parliament, with the freedom and proprietie of the Subject; and his Majestie assures them, that as he can never condescend unto what is absolutely destructive to that just power, which by the Laws of God and the Land He is born unto; So he will cheerfully grant, and give his assent unto all such Bills, at the desire of his two Houses, or reasonable demands for Scotland, which shall be reallie for the good and peace of his people, not having regard to his own particular (much less of any bodies else) in respect of the happiness of these Kingdoms. Wherefore his Majestie conjures them as Christians, as Subjects, and as men who desire to leave a good name behind them, that they will so receive and make use of this Answer, that all issues of blood may be stopped, and these unhappy distractions peaceably settled.

Newcastle, August 1. 1646.

POSTSCRIPT.

Upon assurance of a happy agreement, his Majesty will immediately send for the Prince his Son, absolutely expecting his perfect Obedience to return into this Kingdom.

This Answer so suddain and so home to the business, may deserve some observation: where were his Malignant Councillors, as they were called? Not one of them, nor any other Servant, or friend

Friend to advise or assist him. *Lanerick the Scot*, and *Hamilton* the Traytor admitted or allowed to be, this man of his Bed-chamber, and the other his Secretary, who was wholly for the *Scots*, and evermore pressing the King to accept and agree to all the Propositions.

Only the King was rid of one troublesome Guest *Mr. Henderson*, who had been disputed into so much reason and understanding, that being convinced by the King, he fell into some distemper at *Newcastle*, and therefore was sent home to *Scotland*, where he died perfectly reconciled to the Kings affairs, and an Apostate from the *Scots Army* and their proceedings.

Who now weary of the Work, their Commissioners represented to the Parliament at *Westminster* their sad resentment of the Kings refusal of the *Propositions*, and as for themselves, having subdued the common Enemy, they desire now to return home, provided to have consideration of their Losses, Hazards, Charge, and Damage, part in present money, and security for the rest, before they will stir from hence.

For the brave Marquess of *Montrose*, wonderful successful in his Majesties Affairs of *Scotland*, was (by the subtilty of the *Scots* at *Newcastle*) commanded by the King to lay down his Arms, and to render all the Garisons to the General Estates of *Scotland*, now suddenly to be convened at *Edenburgh*. Thither all the Nation flock for direction how to govern themselves, having liberty enough now to be their own carvers.

Newes comes from *Ireland* that the Marquess of *Ormond* hath concluded a peace with the *Irish Rebels*, notwithstanding the late Letters to him from the King, *Not to hold any Treatie with them*, 11. of *June*, and his other Letter commanding the surrendering of *Dublin*, and other Garisons to the Parliament of *England*, and their Forces there.

On the Kings part for the Treaty were *Ormond*, *Glamorgan*, and *Digby*.

For the other, the Lord *Mountgaret*, *Muskerry*, and the new Arch-bishop of *Tume*, *Patrick Darsie*, and others, but those the principal, 1. *Aug.* 1646.

The peace was concluded by Proclamation thus.

ORMOND,

Whereas Articles of Peace are made and agreed between us James Lord Marquess of Ormond, &c. his Majesties Commissioners to Treat and conclude a Peace with his Majesties Roman Catholick Subjects in Ireland, by vertue of his Majesties Commission under the great Seal of England, dated at Buckingham 24. June, 1644. in behalf of his Majestie of the one part; and Donogh Lord Viscount Muskerry,

Anno
1646.

The *Scots Army* intend to return home.

Ormond in *Ireland* makes a peace with the Rebels.

Peace in *Ireland* Proclaimed there.

Anno
1646.

and others Authorized by his Majesties said Roman Catholick Subjects the 6. of March 1645. or the other part. We the said Lord Lieutenant and Council, do by this Proclamation publish the same, and command all his Majesties Subjects in Ireland to obey the same in all parts thereof. And as his Majestie hath been induced to this Peace, out of a deep sense of the miseries of this Kingdom, and out of a hope that it might prevent the future effusion of his Subjects blood, redeem them out of all the miseries and calamities under which they now suffer, restore them to all quietness and happiness under his Majesties most Gracious and quiet Government, deliver the Kingdom in general from those Slaughters, Deprecations, Rapines and Spoiles which alwaies accompanie a War, encourage the Subjects and others, with comfort to betake themselves to Trade, Traffique, and Commerce, Manufacture, and all other things, which uninterrupted may increase the wealth and strength of the Kingdom: beget in all his Majesties Subjects of this Kingdom a perfect unitie amongst themselves, after the too long continued Division amongst them. So his Majestie assures himself that all his Subjects of this his Kingdom, (duly considering the great and unestimable benefits which they may finde in this Peace) will with all duty render obedience thereunto.

Given at Dublin 30. July 1646. Rich. Bolton Chancellor, Roscomon, Dillan, Lambert, Louthier, Willoughby, Forth, Dublin, Cloine, Chichester, Titchburn, Lucas, Ware.

The Scots offer to be gon with the rest of their demands.

It is true that the Scots offer to be gon upon a reasonable account, for their expences here, we cannot forget how chargeable they have been heretofore: and now a petty summe would send them packing. The reckoning came in a Letter of the Scots Commissioners residing here, and amounted to a Million, not a peny more nor less, besides their losses, their Free Quarter not accounted. And yet notwithstanding they would be content to accept of a Summe in gros for the full discharge of their Arrears.

The House of Commons hereat was in a Hubub at this monstrous demand, and urged them positively to set down their sum, that it might be known how to to be answered, Aug. 18. And had it stated to be no less then five hundred thousand pounds, two hundred thousand at their advance, and the other three at a twelvemonth end.

Then came a Petition aud Remonstrance of the Scots General Assembly to the King, of the old and usual stamp, tedious and impertinent, which we shall understand by his Majesties Answer.

Upon perusal of the Petition, we require to see the Commission, by which the Messenger who brought it, or the persons who sent him, are qualified, to intermeddle in Affairs so Foreign to their Jurisdiction, and of so great concernment to this our Kingdom. Upon examination whereof, (and in defence of the Laws and Govern-

The Kings Answer to the Scots Petition and Remonstrance.

ment

ment of *England*) we must profess, that the *Scots* Petitioners, or the General Assembly of the Church of *Scotland*, have not the least power or authority to intermeddle in the affairs of this Kingdom or Church, which are settled and established by the proper Lawes of this Land; and till they be altered by the same competent power, cannot be revived again without a due sence of us and this Nation, much less can they present any advice or Declaration to our two Houses of Parliament against the same; or to that purpose to send any Letters, as they have now done, to any Minister of our Church here, who by the Laws of this Land cannot correspond against the same.

As for *Uniformity in Church Government*, we conceived the answer formerly given by us to the former Petition in this argument, was sufficient, viz.

That the Government here established by Lawes, hath so near a relation and intermixture with the Civil State (which may be unknown to the Petitioners) that till a composed, digested form be presented unto us upon a free debate of both Houses in a Parliamentary way, whereby the consent and approbation of this whole Kingdom may be had, and we and all our Subjects may discern what is to be left in, or brought in, as well as what may be taken away. We know not how to consent to any alteration, otherwise then to such an Act for the ease of tender Consciences in the matter Ceremonies, as we have often offered, &c. Of many Bills offered to us for Reformation, we shall not now speak, they being a part of these Articles upon which we have offered and expect to Treat. But we cannot but wonder by what authority you prejudice our judgement herein, by denouncing Gods anger upon us, and our hazard of the loss of the hearts of our good Subjects, if we consent not, &c.

Notwithstanding these and other Reasons, the *Scots* ply the King for his signing to the Propositions, and the Chancellor makes his Speech to the King to this purpose.

That the consequence of his Majesties Answer to the Propositions is of as great consequence as the Ruine or Preservation of his Crown and Kingdoms. That the differences between him and the Parliament, after so many bloody Battels, the Parliament have gotten all the strong Holds of the Kingdom in their hands. They have your Majesties Revenue, Excize, Assessements, Sequestrations, and power to raise all the men and money in the Kingdom; Victory over all, and a strong Army to maintain it, so that they may do what they will with Church and State. And some are so afraid and others so unwilling to submit to your Government, that they desire, nor you, nor any of your Race, longer to reign over them. But the people are so wearied with the War, and so loath to have Monarchy Government destroyed, that they dare not attempt to cast it off totally,

The Propositions are urged to the King.

Anno
1646.

tally, until they send Propositions of peace to your Majestie, lest the people (without whose concurrence they are not able to carry on the War) should fall from them. So that they are resolved to offer them to your Majesty, as that without which the Kingdom and your people cannot be in safety upon any other terms.

If you refuse to assent, you will lose all your friends in Parliament, lose the City, and all the Countrey, and all *England* will joyn against you as one man, they will procees, and depose you, and set up another Government, they will charge us to deliver your Majestie to them, to render their Garisons, and to remove our Armies out of *England*, and so both Kingdoms for eithers safety to agree and settle Religion and Peace without you, to the ruine of your Majestie and Posterity, and if you lose *England*, you will not be admitted to come and Reign in *Scotland*. We confess the Propositions are higher in some things then we approved of, but we see no other means for you to close with your Parliament.

Truly this was plain-dealing, which it seems the King would hazard, for now the great debate was with the *Scots* Commissioners how to dispose of the Kings person, and to please the *Scots*, their Army should have two hundred thousand pounds to leave this Kingdom, and a Plenipotence is coming out of *Scotland* to their Commissioners here, to determine the disposing of the Kings person, being daily debated by both Commissioners. The *Scots* had without consent Imprinted their Arguments concerning the dispose of the Kings person, at which the Parliament were so offended, that the papers and Presses were seized, and the Printer and Book-sellers committed to prison, which the *Scots* Commissioners resent and write to the Parliament their sence herein. And to frighten the *Scots*, Petitions are presented from the Northern Counties against the *Scots* Army, of the intolerable abuses, and therefore pray that they may be removed. And in a word, take it out of a Letter signed by thousands and sent up.

That some former Letters from the Parliament, seemed to comfort our dying hopes, that the Scots were to have two hundred thousand pounds to be gone. Since the bruit thereof, the Army hath been prejudicial to these parts, twice the sum. We hear and read of their good language they give at London, but we feel contrary effects by their Actions here. We hoped when the Earl of Newcastle was gone away, our greatest miseries had been past, but the contrary. He only sucked some of our blood, but these devour our flesh, and are now picking our bones. Our slavery is far greater than any of those under the Turks, both for our persons and Estates; They in Turkey are quit for a fifth part, we in a year pay our Revenues several times over by Ordinance of Parliament. Since the Scots came into Yorkshire, the whole County was Assessed per moneth ten thousand pounds, seven thousand now, three thousand five hundred pounds

Debate how to
dispose of the
King.

Letters com-
plaining of
the Scots
Army.

Anno
1646.

pounds a moneth, but we pay now for Billet and Sefs to the Scots Army here after the rate of above a hundred thousand l. A part of this Hundred paies a thousand pounds a week to two Régiments. We are the absolute Slaves that ever were read of, for they Assess us at their pleasure, Levy as they please, bid us go or ride, who dares refuse, they kill us in hot blood, beat us in cold, and killed a Captain this week, for but only seeking to rescue his Neighbours from their Roberies. In a word, we are threshing out for the Scots, and they eating our last bread. We desire the Parliament to bestow upon us two or three moneths allowance out of our own own Estates, having had nothing these five years out of them, four thousand pounds a moneth are paid to the Scots Army constantly since they came into this little Wapentake, the Lord have mercy upon us. Amen.

Your most humble servants many thousands.

But with this, and other sheets of paper Printed (*Entituled a Declaration of the sufferings of the Northern Counties of the Kingdom under the Scots Army*) their Commissioners were so nettled, that they desired those and such other Pamphlets false and scandalous to the Scots, might be suppressed, which was committed, and there they use to stick. Amongst the complaints, this for one; That two Constableries of the County of *Richmond*, the Rents but 99. l. per an. were Assessed by the Scots, and out in Free Quarters, 1900. l. in four moneths, and those that were pleased with Bribes, the several Colonels would protect from any paiments or assistance of service whatsoever. *Bedall* a small Town of fifty seven pounds old rent, and *Arsugh* of fourty two pounds, complain that they have in less then five moneths last, paid to the Scots two thousand pounds besides Billering and other Taxes. And after all, comes Letters indeed from *York*, that they have complained so long, that they have writ themselves out of work, and out of credit, having no more to write, nor credit left to be believed, &c. that if not present remedy, the County resolve to fall upon their defence, and invite the true-hearted *English* men would lay it to heart, never to give over untill they have removed the Scots Army out of *England*, or moved Relief to this miserable Nation. Here is nothing but Mutinies upon Mutinies, this and worse is our condition, than we can express.

The General *Fairfax* having been at leasure to seek his health at the Bath was come up to *London*, and some Lords and Commons ordered to wait upon him, and to give him the good welcome to the Town, and to return him thanks for his ample service to the Kingdom and State.

And yet the *English* Army is discontent for pay of their Arrears, as appears by Colonel General *Pains* from *York*, where the Souldiers of that Garrison, with a multitude came to his House in *York*, broke

General *Fairfax* comes to *London*.

Anno

1646.

English Army
mutiny
for money.

The taking
Covenant
with exceptions.

Tender Con-
sciences taken
up.

Dispute about
disposing the
Kings person
argued.

The Scots
Answer.

broke his windows, and cryed money, money, money, forcing his doors to get it. To whom he came out and asked them what they would have, they cock't their Matches, and held their Pikes to his breast and would have him their Prisoner, until all their Arrears were paid, and so took him to the Mayor of York, with whom he found another Company of Mutiners that had forced their entrance into his Bed-chamber, and left not till they had got all their Arrears from the Committee, 14. Novem.

But the Scots are to be gon, and many desired the Covenant might accompany them, and to be rid of all together. Which yet by the Ordinance was to be taken by all the Inhabitants of the three Kingdoms, and now read devoutly in the House by the Favourers of the Presbytery: Not so (said some) and began the debate excepting tender Consciences. A new Note lately taken up for a general distinction of each ones Faith (excepting Papists) But the result of this almost midnights debate (after the reading thereof but once) whether the Ordinance and the Instructions shall be read any more, and Ordered to be read no more.

The great Debate continued from time to time in the Houses, and with the Scots Commissioners, about disposing of the Kings person. And Papers and Pamphlets Printed by the Scots concerning their debates, which took much with the people. And therefore to undeceive them, the House of Commons had drawn up a Declaration thereof, but Voted not to desire the House of Lords consent, but before the Printing, they dealt fairly with the Scots Commissioners, and sent them the Copy which they utterly neglected, as being without the Lords assenting. However it was Answered, and the Commons Reply, and the other rejoin, and all the dispute huddled together in a printed Pamphlet, difficult enough to pick out the true reason, to which the Reader is referred. Yet in a word thus the English assert,

We doe affirm, that the Kingdom of Scotland hath no right of joynt exercise of interest in disposing the Person of the King in the Kingdom of England.

The Scots argue.

If this Argument were turned over, the strength or weakness of it may the more easily appear. Suppose the King were here at Westminster, it may be upon the same grounds urged, that the Kingdom of Scotland, would have no consent in his disposal, and so much the more, that the Houses claim the sole interest and judgement to dispose upon the kings Person, which we desire may be done jointly, as may be best for the security and safety of both Kingdoms. And we see no reason why it may not now be determined when he is in the Scottish Army (who were intrusted by both, and subject to the resolution of both Kingdoms) as well as hereafter, since he came thither of his own accord, and his residence there

is voluntary. And if his Majestie shall think fit to repair to his Houses of Parliament, they shall doe no act which may either hinder or dissuade him, but cannot constrain him, or deliver him to the Houses, to be disposed of as they shall think fit.

Anno
1646.

In a word, the Objection of the Scots brings this result: our Army say they cannot part with the King, without the consent of the Kingdom of Scotland, the Kingdom of Scotland cannot consent, unless they may joyn in the disposal of his person, they will not joyn till it be agreed that he be disposed of for the good of both Kingdoms.

But then the Commissioners fell to Debate the Propositions for the departure of their Army. The Scots complained that they had no pay for six moneths, the reason of their free Quarter. Which is strangely enforced for an Argument, when they took 19700. l. monethly in money, besides much free Quarter. Moreover they had (by a just accompt) for one year ending the last of October last seventy two thousand nine hundred seventy two pounds two shillings and eleven pence for the Custome and other Impositions of Coals only.

One years account of the
Scots Army.

And now they must have two hundred thousand pounds in hand for the present to be gon; Or else they advise (out of their charity to the deplorable estate of the Northern parts) to march into fresh Quarters more Southward (to the warm sun.)

And they were modest. Not (they say) to have the King to go into Scotland, which were prejudicial to both Kingdoms, nor into Ireland, or beyond seas. And so whilst they dispute, the Armies marching home is retarded. For until the English dispose of the King the Scots are not like to have 40000. l. a considerable sum for Scots to sell their souls.

And the Parliament argue the groundless Insinuations in the Scots Speeches and Papers, as if the Parliament of England were averse from their Ancient and Fundamental Government by King, Lord, and Commons; which we had thought (say they) The Declaration of the Commons, 17. April last sufficiently cleared to the whole World, or that they were not as really forward as any for procuring of a safe and wel-gounded Peace, which is the greatest and chiefest of our desires, and it will be manifested to the judgements and Consciences of all, That as we really endeavour the good of the King and both Kingdoms, so shall we constantly and faithfully persevere in these endeavours. Not doubting, but upon our sincere performing our Covenant and Treaties, the blessing of God will so accompanie us, as there will be a most sweet and brotherly agreement between the Nations, pleasing to God, and happie to all.

Oh the monstrous Miseries at this time of this unhappy Kingdom! Religion unsetled, the Civil Government loose, a Foreign Army and another of our own, eating out the bowels of mercy with-

Anno.
1646.

Earl of Essex
his Life and
Death.

without compassion, and the anger of God sensible to us all, by the confluence of continual, foggy, rainy, cold, sickly, unseasonable weather, against which we fast and pray, and sin the more; and as if to appease Gods anger, for all the Blood that hath been spilt, we are ordering Councils of War, Courts of Justice to censure Delinquents, persecuted from Post to Pillar, that they know not how to dispose of themselves from being made Offenders.

And now the War is ended, the old General *Essex* must die the fourteenth day of *September*, 1646. at *Essex House* in the *Strand*. His Life and Death we have in Print by his dear Friend, who begins the Discourse with *the Renown of his Fathers Master-piece, that he did beget so brave a Son; and I may call it* (says he) *his Sons Master-piece, that he did resemble so brave a Father. But to give you a Parallel* (says he) *of these two Worthies is a Task impossible, and* (I say) *impertinent*. He was born in *London*, Anno 1592. his Mother the Widow of Sir *Philip Sidney*. And in brief we shall say, what is said of her Son, *That the Presages in his Cradle (like Hercules) he strang led in each hand*, the two invading Dragons of transcending Prerogative and Superstition; this was the business of his Life to come, grew up with his Youth, and crowned his Age with glory. We are told, that *Walter* the Grandfather at his Death desired his Son then at ten years old to be mindfull of his six and thirtieth year of his Age, beyond which, neither he, nor but few of his fore-fathers lived; which he well remembered at the Block, but it was too late to avoid. At which instant, this his Son being a Scholar at *Eaton*, the same Minute his Father suffered, suddenly and distractedly awaked, leaped out of his Bed, and cried out, *that his Father was killed*. No sooner came King *James* to the Crown, than that he restored this Son in Blood to his Titles and Estate, forfeited by his Father. We are told, that he was such a Spark, that at Tennis with Prince *Henry*, who called him the Son of a Traitor, he made no more ado, but cracks his Pate with a Racket, that the blood ran down: we may credit him to be no Courtier who tells this Tale in earnest: but if so, (as no man can believe) it was an unhandson Return to his Son for King *James* his kindness to the Fathers memory, and herein himself an ungratefull person to the Royal Family.

But to go on, it is said, that from his Infancy he was well-affected to the Reformation of the Church, which he received by Inheritance of his Father, who was the less inclined to Doctor *Whitgift* his Tutor, because he was a Bishop. But his Son this Earl unfortunate in his first Wife, was divorced, and then he went to the Wars in the *Netherlands*, thence to the *Palatinate*.

In the beginning of the Reign of King *Charls*, he went with Viscount *Wimbleton* in the Expedition to *Cadiz* in *Spain*, the rather because

because his Father had been there before him, yet the Son came home without Success.

In the year 1635. he married his second Wife Daughter to Sir William Paulet of Wiltshire; but was soon separate from this Wife also, who afterwards bore a Son that died within the year.

Then it is said, that he abandoned all uxorious thoughts, and applied himself to the improvement of those Rules which conduce to the soundness of Church and State.

In the first year that King *Charls* advanced against the *Scots* this Earl had a principal Command: but after the Pacification the Earl was made Chamberlain of the Kings Household; and in the Civil Wars between the King and Parliament he was chosen General of the Parliaments Forces: and (it is said) as of his good fortune, that in all the Wars he never received any hurt: he was called home (it is said) that after his good Service for the State, the Kingdom might enjoy as much benefit by the strength of his Counsels, as it received safety by his Arms, which with Resolution he took up, and with chearfulness he laid them down, joyning with the Parliament in person and affection, he did much advance and facilitate the Victories to come, which were happily atchieved by the Successor Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, General of the Parliaments Forces.

So much for his Life, set down by a special Pen, which I have undertaken thus far to abreviate, lest I should injure his story by any addition of mine own.

Not long after he fell into a Distemper for four Days, aguish, then fiercely assaulted with a Lethargy, and died; and in him ended the Name and Honour of that House, having no Issue.

His Funeral charges, and other engagements were supplied by Parliament with five thousand pounds, and because there was due to his Separate the Widow four thousand five hundred pounds, the Parliament seized it by her Delinquency, being no *Round-head*, the odd five hundred pounds to a Colonel, and the other to the Earls poor Servants.

But the Funeral was deferred untill the twenty third of *October*, and observed, *Because the Battel of Edg-hill was fought on the same Day, 1642.* Or rather (says another) *that the Rebellion in Ireland broke out on the same Day, 1641.*

His Funeral Herse remaining in *Westminster Abbey Church* a Spectacle for the people. Some bold Malignant on the seven and twentieth of *Nov.* at Night most shamefully handled his *Effigies*, broke off his Head, disfigured the Face, tore away his Sword and Spurs, and rent down his Arms and Escucheons. They were not poor Knaves, for they left all behinde, Silk and Velvet to boot.

And for all his good Service, the Arrears of four thousand five hundred pounds of his Countesses Jointure (of one thousand three hundred pounds *per annum*) sequestred for her Delinquency, (not-

Anna

1646.

Sir Jo. Stowel
Prisoner.

withstanding her pitifull Petition) was disposed of, and she could never receive it.

At the Rendition of the Garison of *Worcester*, (I think) was brought up Prisoner to the Parliament that gallant stout-hearted West-countray Gentleman Sir *John Stowel*, Knight and Baronet, and of great Revenues in *Somersetshire*, and elsewhere, where he first refused to kneel, being capable of Composition by Articles, and required to know the Charge they have against him.

But to that he was answered with a Commitment to *Newgate*, and an Indictment to be drawn up against him the next Assizes for *Somersetshire*, For levying War against the Parliament and Kingdom. And was found guilty there, and so is to be proceeded against at the *Kings Bench*. His Sufferings are summ'd up in an History by it self, imprinted and published to the World, to which for the particulars we recommend the Reader.

The Scots Pa-
pers concern-
ing the dispose
of the King.

The four and twentieth of *September* had voted the Disposal of the Kings person to be in the Parliament, and the Scots Papers answered that Vote the six and twentieth of *October*.

That he is not onely King of England, but also King of Scotland; and as the English have an interest in him, he being King of England, so have the Scots no less interest in him, he being King of Scotland: and as the Scots have not the sole Interest in him, he being King of Scotland, because they acknowledg withall, that he is King of England, so have not the Parliament of England the sole Interest in him, he being King of England; because the Scots desire to have it remembred, that he is also King of Scotland; so as neither Nation having a sole, but a joint interest in his Person, the Scots ought jointly to dispose of it for the weal and benefit of both Kingdoms.

The Scots Argument lies thus.

Scots Argu-
ment.

Wheresoever the Kingdom of Scotland hath an interest in their King, there they may dispose of him. But the Kingdom of Scotland hath an interest in their King he being in England; therefore in England they may dispose of him.

'Tis true, that Mr. *Challoner* a Member of the House of Commons managing the Argument there in the House, and of his own framing made a specious Answer, but was replied unto, and that suppressed.

Other Arguments the Scots had, *That the Parliament of England hath no more power to dispose of the person of the King of Scotland, being in England, than the Parliament of Scotland hath to dispose of the King of England if he were in Scotland.*

T hat

That he came voluntarily, and continues voluntarily.

That the Scottish Armies are not tied to be subject to the Resolutions and Directions of the either Kingdom, but of both jointly.

The Scots say, *It is a fundamental Right and Libertie, &c. That none can without consent impede or restrain the Scottish King from coming amongst them to perform the Duties of a King. Under which the Scots cover over their act of Admission and Reception of his person.*

And in opposition to the Votes of Parliament, the Scots say, *It is one thing what the Parliament of England might have done in another Cause and War before their Engagements and Covenant; it is another thing what ought to be done after such Conditions and Ties imposed, &c.*

That the ends of the Covenant are not to be prosecuted by the two Kingdoms as they are two distinct Bodies acting singly, but they were united by solemn Covenant made to Almighty God, and by League each to other, as one entire Body to prosecute the Cause.

That if the Scottish Army should deliver up his Majesties person without his own consent, &c. this act of the Army were not agreeable to the Oath of Allegiance (obliging them to defend his Majesties person from all harms and prejudices) nor to the solemn League and Covenant, which was not intended to weaken but to strengthen the mutual Allegiance, &c. whom therefore the Scottish Army cannot deliver, to be disposed of by any others at pleasure.

The Scots do assert, *That the King coming voluntarily to their Army, they cannot in duty deliver him against his will to the two Houses of Parliament without the consent of the Kingdom of Scotland.*

The place of the Kings Residence is at his own Election in either of the Kingdoms, as the exigence of affairs shall require, and as he shall think fit; or else must be determined by the mutual consent and advice of both Kingdoms.

And much more to this effect, which was scoffingly answered somewhat impudently in a Pamphlet, intituled, [*An unhappy Game at Scotch and English*] wherein (says the Title) *their Scotch Mists and Fogs, and Gain-sayings, their Fuglings, their Windings and Turnings, hither and thither, backwards and forwards, and forwards and backwards again, their Breach of Covenant, Articles and Treaties, their King-craft present Design against the two Houses of Parliament and People of England, their Plots and Intents for Usurpation and Government over us and our Children, detected, discovered, and presented to the view of the World, as a dreadfull Omen, Alarm, and Warning to the Kingdom of England.*

Then follows Scripture-proof.

Fer. 5. 4. And although they say, the Lord liveth, surely they swear falsely.

Anno
1646.

Hosea 10.3. They have spoken words, swearing falsely in making a Covenant; thus Judgmet springeth up as Hemlock in the Furrows of the Field.

EDINBURGH,

Printed (as truly as the Scotch Papers were at London) by Evan Tyler, Printer to the Kings most Excellent Majesty, and are to be sold at the most solemn Sign of the two Houses of Parliament, 1646.

Then in the Pamphlet he recites a pretended Argument of the Scots.

Argument. The two Houses of Parliament have voted the Disposal of the Kings person as they shall think fit.

Ergo, The Scotch Armies may not deliver up his person to the said two Houses, for fear of harm to his person.

Which Argument he retorts upon them thus :

Argument 1. My gude Lord Lesley (says he) came to Monsieur Montril (Ambassador for France) residing at Southwell, there to commune with the King.

Ergo, My gude Lord Lesley fell down on his knees, resigned up his Sword, and laid it at the feet of the King, and then received it again of the King.

Argument 2. My Lord of Northumberland and Sebran the French Agent looked through an Hedge, and the one saw the other.

Ergo, They two are both nigh of a kindred.

Now having (says he) sent you a pair of brave Scotified Arguments, wee'l throw an English Bone after them for your Armies to gnaw upon.

Argument. Sir John and the King are skipt on the Colt of an Afs. But the King and the Scots have agreed on their Lots.

Ergo, When the King hath got all, hee'l turn our Brethren to grafs.

And so runs on in an impudent, jearring, non-sense way, not able to answer the reasonable Arguments of the Scots in that point.

But of this Injury the Commissioners complain to the Parliament, and had no Remedy.

Ready money
for the Scots
Army.

It was the eighth of December before the Money could be procured for the Scots Army, raised out of the Sale of Bishops Lands, and other the Lands of the Church, (for from that Sacrilege they must have their Rewards and Payment) of the first two hundred thousand pounds, upon these terms, viz.

That the two hundred thousand pounds is to be told at York, and one hundred thousand pounds thereof to be paid at Northallerton within five Days after it is told.

That when that Money comes to Topcl ff, the Scots shall give Hostages, that they shall quit all their Quarters, Possessions, and Garisons on the

the South side of Tine, and of Newcastle and Tinmouth, with all the Arms, &c. within ten Days, upon which performance the Hostages to be re-delivered.

Anno
1646.

Upon the Delivery of the Garisons on the South side of Tine, and Newcastle, Tinmouth, &c. the Kingdom of Scotland shall have Hostages upon re-delivery of theirs, for assurance that the other one hundred thousand pounds shall be paid on the North side Newcastle within a Mile of the Works within eight Days after the quitting Newcastle, Tinmouth, &c. and all the Forces to be drawn on the North side of Tine.

Upon the Delivery of the other hundred thousand pounds on the North side of Newcastle, our Hostages to be delivered to us.

And upon the coming of the Money out of Newcastle, Hostages are to be delivered to us.

That their Army do march out of the Kingdom, Barwick, Carlisle, and the Garisons of Scotland slighted within ten Days after the Payment, and the Hostages then to be delivered back.

For the Payment of the other two hundred thousand pounds the Scots Commissioners desired, That it might be paid out of the sale of Delinquents Estates, or seiled by some other particular security.

But the Parliament would give no other security but the Publick Faith of the Kingdom for the same.

Nine hundred pounds was allowed to the Tellers of this first two hundred thousand pounds.

Sixteen thousand pounds were allowed for the Charges of the Carriages and conveying this two hundred thousand pounds to York, which was just six and thirty Carts laden from London the sixteenth of December.

And instantly an Ordinance passed in Parliament, That all such persons as shall hereafter raise Forces against the Parliament of England, or either House of Parliament, or their Forces, shall die without mercy, and have their Estates confiscated.

What Mass of Moneys were issued out by Parliaments Order, for although they had all in their hands, yet their Expences necessarily were infinite; besides their Gifts and Rewards, very high and bountifull to some; and to themselves, not to be summ'd to an imaginable Account: for now also and besides former Gifts, a Remembrance must be of the Sufferings of the five Members so long passed, that some of their persons are laid asleep, yet the charity of the House of Commons was herein visible, even to their Children.

Mr. Denzil Hollis hath five thousand pounds for his Sufferings,
3 Car.

Mr.

Sums of money disposed
of to certain
Members.

Anno
1646.

Mr. Selden 5000. l. To the younger children of Sir John Elyot 5000. l. and to his eldest Son his fine in the Court of Wards to be remitted, and Mr. William Strodes poor kindred 5000. l. He had a God-son who was forgotten.

To Mr. Benjamin Valentine 5000. l. for Mr. Walter Long 5000. l. to Sir Miles Hubbart 5000. l. to Sir Peter Hamands successors (his eldest Son a Member) 5000. l. to Mr. Jo. Hamdens children for his opposing Ship-money 5000. l. and ten thousand pounds to Mr. Vassel for the loss of his Trade, and Damages about the Customes. And Alderman Chambers demand of 22000. l. towards his suffering was only committed. But why were others mixed with the five Members: truly to draw on consent one for another, and so they did doe to the undoing of the Nation, had they not been taken off from doing at all any more, as hereafter shall appear. But two daies after came in further considerations of many more; the Earl of Northumberland for his Audit of sufferings 30000. l. he had in part but 10000. l.

But the Parliament had vast sums coming in certain, for the Excise, although some obstructions hapned in the Levying, and the Mutinies caused thereby. The total charged upon the Excise of this Kingdom in course was cast up and reported to the House, amounting to three hundred and ninety thousand pounds and upwards, besides interest for the same, and the interest of the 200000. l. for the Scots first payment. Of what consequence then must be the credit of Excise, and the benefit of the Towns and Cities that farmed the Excise. And thereupon not long after, the Parliament Order, Jan. 20. That all Towns, Cities, and Counties that have Excise granted them without limitation, shall have it continued no longer then 15. March next, and such as have any Moitie or parcel thereof, no longer then 25. March.

The King hears of these Passages, and conceived that he being herein so concerned, he might put in his spoke, and to keep his old pace, puts the Parliament in mind of his former Messages, and now again desires a personal Treaty, at, or near London upn the faith of the two Houses.

C. R.

His Majesties thoughts being alwaies sincerely bent to the peace of his Kingdoms, was and will be ever desirous to take all waies which might the most clearly make appear the candour of his intentions to his people; And to this end, could finde no better way than to propose a personal free debate with his two Houses of Parliament upon all the present differences. Yet finding very much against his expectations, that this offer was laid aside, his Majestie bent all his thoughts to make his intentions fully known by a particular Answer to the Propositions delivered to him in the name of both Kingdoms, the 24. of July last. But the more he endeavoured it, he

The Kings
Message for a
Treaty near
London.

he more plainly saw that any answer he could make would be subject to misinformations and misconstructions, which upon his own Paraphrases and explanations he is most confident will give so good satisfaction, as would doubtless cause a happy and lasting peace. Lest therefore that good intentions may produce ill effects, his Majesty again proposeth, and desires again to come to London, or any of his houses thereabouts, upon the publick Faith and security of his two Houses of Parliament, and the Scottish Commissioners; that he shall be there with Honour, Freedom, and safety: Where, by his personal presence, he may not only raise a mutual confidence betwixt him and his people, but also have those doubts cleared, and those difficulties explained to him, without which he cannot (but with the aforesaid mischievous inconveniences) give a particular answer to the Propositions: and with which he doubts not, but so to manifest his real intentions for the settling of Religion, the just Priviledges of Parliament, with the freedom and property of the Subject, that it shall not be in the power of wicked and malicious men to hinder the establishing of that firm peace which all honest men desire. Assuring them, as he will make no other demands but such as he believes confidently to be just, and much conducing to the Tranquillity of the people. So he will be most willing to condescend to them in whatsoever shall be really for their good and happiness. Not doubting likewise but you will also have a due regard to maintain the just power of the Crown, according to your many protestations and professions. For certainly, except King and people have reciprocal care each of other, neither can be happy.

To conclude, 'tis your King who desires to be heard, (the which, if refused to a Subject by a King, he would be thought a Tyrant for it) and for that end which all men profess to desire. Wherefore his Majestie conjures you, as you desire to shew your selves really what you profess, even as you are good Christians and Subjects, that you will accept this his offer, which he is confident God will so bless, that it will be the readiest means by which these Kingdoms may again become a comfort to their friends, and a terror to their enemies.

Newcastle 20. Decemb. 1646.

But in stead of an Answer hereto, the Houses were busie to Order the disposal of the Kings person, for the Scots had their hire, and were taking their leave. That they were ready to depart and to march away, desiring to know what service the Parliament would command them to the Estates of Scotland, leaving the King to shift for himself. And accordingly the Parliament Voted his remove to Holmby, with respect to the safety and preservation of his Majesties person, and in preservation and defence of the true Religion: but then a great debate followed, whether the words according to the Covenant should be added, and it past affirmatively.

And that after his coming thither, and attended there by such as they shall

The King
voted to
Holmby.

Anno
1646.

shall appoint, and that the Scots are gone out of the Kingdom: then the Parliament will joyn with our Brethren of Scotland to perswade the King to pass the Propositions: and if he refuse that, then the Houses will do nothing that may break the union of the two Kingdoms, but to preserve the same.

A Rumour there was of the Kings intentions to escape disguised from Newcastle. Indeed there was a Hubbub raised of such a design, and the Guards doubled that night, and letters sent to General Leven to be more careful of the Kings Person, who returns Answer of his double diligence therein, and hath thanks for his labour. Then the Scots select a Committee of their own, Lowthian and others to move the King once more for all, to take the Covenant, and sign to the Propositions, which they did endeavour, but could not prevail.

For the Kings intention to escape was thus proved out of several Letters of the Kings to *Hudson* (whilst he was out of prison) by way of direction how to manage the design, with great promises of reward to such as should assist therein. *Hudson* sends a Copy of this Letter inclosed in one of his own to Major Gen. *Langhorn* a Commander in *Wales*, and tels him what a great value the King had of his worth, and desires his assistance, with other his friends to restore his Majestie to his Rights. This letter was sent to Mr. *Gibb* late of *Lincolns Inn*, who sent it to Mr. *Price* in *Wales*, who delivered it to *Langhorn*.

And had the King escaped, it was conceited that he was to be received into a *Holland Ship* that had lain off at Sea near the Shields this two moneths, to carry him God knows whither, for none on earth could imagine.

But now the Scots are ready to deliver up their King and Sovereign to Commissioners appointed by the Parliament to receive him, and to convey him to *Holmby*. Viz. the Earls of *Pembroke*, *Denbigh*, and the L. *Mountague*, Sir *James Harrington*, Sir *Fo. Holyland*, Sir *Walter Earl*, Sir *Fo. Cook*, Mr. *Crew*, and Major General *Brown*.

And the servants to attend the King in Ordinary, were Voted to be Sir *Thomas Herbert*, Mr. *Maxwell*, Mr. *Astley*, Mr. *Harrington*, Mr. *Patrick Marel*, Sir *Foulk Grevil*, Mr. *Middleton* Serjeant at Arms, and Doctor *Wilson* Physician, Mr. *Marshall*, and Mr. *Caryll*, (to attend them as Chaplains).

The Parliament of *Edenburgh* had some debate concerning the King, and Queries put to the General Assembly of Ministers.

Queries.

If the King shall come to this Kingdom, and that the Kingdom of England shall exclude him from the Government there for his leaving them without granting their Propositions, whether or no it will be lawfull for this Kingdom to assist him for the recovery of the Government, he

be not granting the Propositions concerning Religion and the Covenant, and not giving a satisfactory Answer to the rest of the Propositions.

They answer, The Quere presupposeth the Kings coming into this Kingdom, which Case we humbly conceive should not be put into the Question; and therefore we desire your Lordships to go about all means to prevent it, as a matter of most dangerous consequence to Religion, this Kirk and Kingdom, and to the King himself and his Posterity.

But if the Question be stated simply in these terms.

If the King be excluded from Government in England, for not granting the Propositions concerning Religion and the Covenant, and for not giving a satisfactory Answer to the rest of the Propositions, whether in that case it be lawfull for this Kingdom to assist him for the Recovery of the Government, or if it be not lawfull?

(Being put to it) we cannot but answer, In regard of the Ingagement of this Kingdom by Covenant and Treaty Negative.

Hereupon the Parliament of Scotland resolve.

1. Resolved upon the Question, That the Kingdom of Scotland shall be governed as it hath been these five last years, all means being used, that the King may take the Covenant, and pass the Propositions.

2. Resolved, That the taking of the Scots Covenant, and passing same of the Propositions doth not give warrant to assist him against England.

3. Resolved, That upon bare taking the National Covenant we may not receive him.

4. Resolved, That the clause in the Covenant for defence of the Kings person, to be understood, in defence and safety of the Kingdoms.

5. Resolved, That the King shall not execute any power in the Kingdom of Scotland, untill such time that he hath granted the Propositions concerning Religion and the Covenant, and given a satisfactory Answer to both Kingdoms in the rest of the Propositions presented to him by both Kingdoms at Newcastle.

6. Resolved, That if the King refuse to pass the Propositions, he shall be disposed of according to the Covenant and Treaty.

7. Resolved, That the Union be firmly kept between the two Kingdoms, according to the Covenant and Treaties.

And to shew you the consequence hereof, see the joint consent of the Estate of Scotland, together with the Army, for delivering up of the King.

If the King have any thoughts of coming to this Kingdome (Scotland) at this time, he not having subscribed the League and Covenant, nor satisfied the lawfull desires of his loyal subjects in both Nations; we fear the consequence will be very dangerous, which we desire may be timely prevented. Neither is it possible,

The Parlia-
ment of Scot-
lands resolt
concerning
the King.

Anno
1646.

but that our receiving him in this present posture of affairs, will confirm the suspicion of the *English* Nation, of our under dealing with him, before his coming to our Armies, and make them not without cause, to think that we purpose to dispose of him without their consent. Which is contrary to the profession of those that were in trust at the Kings first coming to the *Scots* Quarters, and overthroweth all the Arguments that have been used by the Commissioners of our Parliament, in their Papers, concerning the disposing of his Majesties Person, by the consent of both Kingdomes, given in to the Parliament in *England*. Nor do we see how we can vindicate such a practice from a direct breach of our engagement to them by Covenant and Treaty, which were not onely to expose us to the hazard of a bloody war, but to involve us in the guilt of perjury. And what greater disservice could be done to the King and his posterity, than to give way to a course that might prove prejudicial to their Interest in the Crown and Kingdome of *England*, and conclude.

Our carriage now for many years past, in the midst of many temptations, hath put us beyond all suspicion in the point of our Loyaltie.

January 14.

If otherwise, let the world judge.

And yet the King put some Queries to the *Scots* Commissioners at *Newcastle*, January 14.

The Kings
queries to the
Scots Army.

It is a received opinion by many, That Engagements, Acts, or Promises of a restrained person, are neither valid nor obligatory. How true or false this is, I will not dispute; but I am sure, if I am not free, I am not fit to answer your or any Propositions: Wherefore you should first resolve me in what state I stand (as in relation to freedome) before I can give you any further answer, (the reason of this my answer the Governour can best resolve you) But if you object the loss of time and urgency of it, certainly in one respect it presses none so much as my self, which makes me also think necessary that I be not to seek what to do, when this Garison shall be surrendred up, to demand of you, in case I go into *Scotland*, if I shall be there with Honour, Freedom and Safety, or how? being ready to give you a farther and more particular answer, how soon you shall have resolved these Queries.

The *Scots* Answer 14 January.

Scots Answer.

I To the first, In what state you stand as in relation to freedom, the Parliament of both your Kingdoms have given such orders and directions as they have thought fitting for the good and safety of your Majesty and the Kingdom to the General and Governour.

2 To your second of going into Scotland, we shall humbly desire that we may not be now put to give any Answer: but if your Majesty shall either deny or delay your assent to the Propositions, we are in that case to represent to your Majesty the Resolutions of the Parliament of England.

Anno

1646.

The King Replies.

I know very well that the General and Governor have received orders concerning me, but the question is into what state those Orders put me in (as relating to freedom) to which you have either power to answer or not. If you have then Answer me, otherwise send to those that can. And so to my second query.

The Kings
Reply.

And now must the Kingdom of Scotland set out their Remonstrance (in relation to the Parliament of England's Order, of disposing of the Kings person) They do declare their concurrence for the Kings Majesties coming to *Holmby* House, or some other of his Houses in or about *London*, there to remain until he satisfie both Kingdoms in the Propositions of peace; and that in the Interim there be no harm done to his person, that there be no change of Government, other than hath been the three years past, and that his Posterity be no way prejudiced in their Lawful succession. And as this is the clear Intention and full resolution of the Kingdome of *Scotland*, according to our duty and interest in his Majesty, so they are confident from the same grounds and many Declarations, the same is the intent of their Brethren: And at such time they do expect a renewed Declaration, and that they will give brotherly and just satisfaction to the desires sent. And they do assure it shall be their constant endeavour, to keep all right between the Kingdoms according to the Covenant and Treaty.

The Scots
Declaration
concerning
the King.

The Commissioners for receiving the person of the King, came to *Newcastle* Saturday the 22. of *June*, and were appointed by the King to speake with him on Munday next after. At their approach my Lord *Pembroke* began first as being the best man, but the worst Speaker, and told the King his Children were well at *St. James's*. The rest said, that they were commanded by the Parliament, to attend him to *Holdenby* when his Majesty pleased: He replied, that he would give them Answer after he had put a few Questions to them, and so they parted.

Commission-
ers to receive
the Kings
Person.

The Lord *Lanerick* was lately arrived at *Newcastle* from *Scotland*, where the vote of their Parliament carried it (by two voices only) against the Kings coming into *Scotland*. Then the *Scots* Lords came to the King, who told them that he had often desired to go into *Scotland*, that he came into their Army for protection and had it, but now he perceived they were not willing thereto, and they being to deliver up the Garisons, he desires to know, how they would dis-

Anno.
1646.

pose of him? and for their Answer he desired them to withdraw, and to consider, to whom they would deliver him; which they did, telling the King, That since his Majesty had refused to take the Covenant, and sign the Propositions, they were to deliver him to the Commissioners of the Parliament of England.

The next day came again the *English* Commissioners for Answer, he told them he should not get ready for some dayes; and said to *Pembroke*, he had belyed him in many things, but if this journey pleased him, his expectation would be much frustrate. *Pembroke* answered, if he had had the least doubt, some other should have come of the Errand, and if this his good service deceived the King, he was like so to deceive him more; the King replied, that the *Scots* were much beholding to him for travelling so oft of their errand, to preserve peace of both Kingdoms.

The King desired that two of his Chaplains who had not taken the Covenant, might attend him for his private use; they excused it, not to be in their Instructions, nor could they send for leave to the Parliament, but his Majesty might send by an Expreffe of his own.

Scots Army
depart *New-*
castle.

On Saturday the last of *January*, the *Scots Army* marched out of *Newcastle* about three a clock after noon, and the *English* forces entered at six at night, and the King turned over to the *English* Commissioners, who from *Newcastle* came with the King to *Durham* the first night with nine hundred Horse, and Proclamation, that none that had deserted the Parliament, should come near his Majesty; and yet a *Scot*, one *Mongo Murrey*, an old Servant, conveyed a Letter into the Kings hands, but was perceived and imprisoned, and the Letter taken in Cipher. By the way at *Nottingham*, General *Fairfax* with many of his Officers met the King, who at his coming stopt his Horse, the General alighted and kist his Majesties hand, and then mounted talking with the King some miles; of whom at parting the King gave this character, that he was a Man of honour and had kept his word in observing Articles. And so came to *Holmby* Tuesday the sixteenth of *Feb.* all the way, especially in Towns, the people in wonderful multitudes crying out *Hosanna*, God save the King, rejoycing to see him, others the wiser sort weeping and sadly prophesying what after fell out.

The Rear of the *Scots Army* marched over *Tweed* the eleventh of *Feb.* at *Kelsey* and *Barwick*, the six Regiments of *Scots* Horse, which were appointed to disband according to agreement, had their Rendezvouz at *Kelsey*, where they were required to deliver up their Arms, to take an Oath to offer no injury to the Country in their passage home, to be faithful to the Covenant and Cause of both Kingdoms, and not to engage with any against them; which they sware to.

The *French* Ambassadour Extraordinary *Belime*, that had been
all

all this while with the King at *Newcastle*, was come to the Parliament and had Audience; signifying as before, his Masters desire and his own endeavours hitherto, for a happy accommodation between the King and Parliament; and would not cease the prosecution if the Houses would please to make use of his service.

The King conceiving he was now to settle at *Holmby*, and sufficiently sad and solitary, sends to his House of Peers the next day after his coming a reasonable request, for any two of his Chaplains to pray with him: And because he findes his condition not to command, he begins now to intreat and to subsign his desires with the ordinary way of submission at the foot of his Letter, and directed to the Speaker of the House of Peers.

Since I have never dissembled nor hid my Conscience, and that I am not yet satisfied with the alteration of Religion, to which you desire my consent, I will not yet lose time in giving reasons which are too obvious to every body, why it is fit for me to be attended by some of my Chaplains, whose opinions as Clergie-men I esteem and reverence; not only for the exercising of my Conscience, but also for clearing of my judgment concerning the present difference in Religion, as I have at full declared to Mr. Marshal and his fellow Minister: Having shewed them that it is the best and likeliest means of giving me satisfaction, which without it I cannot have in these times, whereby the distractions of this Church may be the better seiled: Wherefore I desire that at least two of these Reverend Divines whose Names I have here set down, may have the liberty to wait upon me for the discharging of their Duty to me, according to their function.

The King desires two of his Chaplains to be with him.

Charles Rex.

Holmby 17. Feb. 1656.

Bish. London. Bish. Salisbury. Bish. Peterborough. Dr. Sheldon, Clerk of my Closet. Dr. Marsh, Dean of Yorke. Dr. Sanderson. Dr. Bailly. Dr. Haywood. Dr. Beal. Dr. Fuller. Dr. Hamond. Dr. Tayler.

For the Speaker of the House of Peers pro tempore, &c.

The Guardians Commissioners had two of their own Ministers, Mr. Marshal and Mr. Caryl, who undertok the King, but so lamely, as that they may be said to halt after *Henderson*. And truly the King rather pittying then despising them, and would never be perswaded to hear their preachings, nor overswayed with their Council.

The Guardians had kept a bounteous house it seems, and were foundly chidden by the Parliaments Letters, for spending the States Revenue so fast, and therefore for want of better work they are very busie to new Model his Majesties litle Family into lesse, and by degrees

Anno
1646.

Serjeant
Glanville re-
leased upon
Bail.

grees to none at all. His hard condition to be minced meat and drink out of his own.

We may not omit the Remembrance of that worthy learned Lawyer Mr. Serjeant *Glanville*, mightily persecuted for malignancy, of being of the Kings party, Imprisoned in several durances, and lastly of long time committed to the Tower two years, without any charge at all against him; he is now released upon Bail: and this justice was done to him by the favour of the Lords House, to which the Commons had been alwayes and now was dissenting. We may observe, that he had been hardly used heretofore in the beginning of this Kings Reign, for not consenting to some passages of State and then sent to Sea, which he humbly endured with patience and Loyalty. And now also his Conscience bearing witnesse, he suffers for his Sovereigns sake, faithful to his principles.

The King having no Answer concerning his Chaplains, writes again for them to come and comfort him.

The King
writes again
for his Chap-
lains.

It being now seventeen daies since I wrote to you from hence, and not yet receiving any Answer, I cannot but now again renew the same. And indeed concerning any thing but the necessary duty of a Christian, I would not thus at this time trouble you. But my being attended with some of my Chaplains, whom I esteem and reverence, is so necessary for me, even considering my present condition, whether in relation to my conscience, or a happy settlement of the distractions in Religion, that I will slight divers kindes of censures, rather than not to obtain my demand; nor shall I wrong you as in this, to doubt the obtaining of my wish, it being totally grounded upon Reason. For desiring you to consider (not thinking it needful to mention) the divers reasons, which no Christian can be ignorant of, for point of Conscience, I must assure you I cannot as I ought, take in consideration those alterations in Religion, which have and will be offered unto me, without such help as I desire; because I can never judg rightly of, or be altered in any thing of my opinion, so long as any ordinary way of finding out the truth is denied me; but when this is granted, I promise you faithfully not to strive for victory in Argument, but to seek and submit to truth (according to that judgment which God hath given me) alwaies holding it my best and greatest conquest to give contentment to my two Houses of Parliament in all things, which I conceive not to be against my conscience or honour; not doubting likewise but that you will be ready to satisfie me in reasonable things, as I hope to finde in this particular concerning the attendance of my Chaplains upon me.

Charles Rex.

Holmby 6. March.

For the the Speaker of the House of Peers pro tempore.

To

The Reign of King Charls.

943

Anno
1646.

To which the Parliament give Answer, That all those the Kings Chaplaines are disaffected to the Established Government of the Church, and have not taken the Covenant; but for others that have, if his Majesty please they shall be sent to him.

This troubled the King to be denied such, as every Christian hath liberty to choose, their Ghostly Fathers, Spiritual Comforters. This makes him complain.

When Providence was pleased to deprive me (saies the King) of all other civil comforts and secular Attendance, I thought the absence of them all might best be supplied by the attendance of some of my Chaplains; whom for their Function I reverence, and for their Fidelity I have cause to love. By their Learning, Piety and Praiers, I hoped to be either better enabled to sustain the want of all other enjoyments, or better fitted for the recovery and use of them in Gods goodtime: so reaping by their pious help, a spiritual harvest of Grace amidst the thorns, and after the plowings of temporal crosses.

Eikon Bas.
page 106.
Chap. 24

The truth is, I never needed, or desired more the service and assistance of men judiciously-pious, and soberly-devout.

The solitude they have confined me unto, adds the Wildernes to my temptations; for the company they obtrude upon me is more sad then any solitude can be.

If I had asked my Revenues, my power of the Militia, or any one of my Kingdoms, it had been no wonder to have been denied in those things, where the evil policie of men forbids all just restitution, lest they should confesse an injurious usurpation: But to deny me the Ghostly comfort of my Chaplains, seems a greater rigor and barbaritie, then is ever used by Christians to the meanest Prisoners and greatest Makers of; whom though the justice of the Law deprives of worldly comforts; yet the mercy of Religion allows them the benefit of their Clergie; as not aiming at once to destroy their Bodies, and to damn their Souls.

But my Agony must not be relieved with the presence of any one good Angel; for such I account a Learned, Godly and Discreet Divine: and such I would have all mine to be.

They that envy my being a King, are loth I should be a Christian: while they seek to deprive me of all things else, they are afraid I should save my Soule.

Other sense Charitie it self can hardly pick out of those many harsh Repulses I received, as to that Request so often made for the attendance of some of my Chaplains.

I have sometime thought the Unchristiannesse of those denials might arise from a displeasure some men had to see me prefer my own Divines before their Ministers: whom, though I respect them for that worth and piety which may be in them, yet I cannot think so proper for any present Comforters, or Physicians; who have (some of them at least) had

Anno
1646.

so great an influence in occasioning these calamities, and inflicting these wounds upon me.

Nor are the soberest of them so apt for that Devotional compliance and conjuncture of hearts, which I desire to bear in those holy Offices, to be performed with me and for me; since their judgments standing at a distance from, or in jealousy of me, or in opposition against me, their Spirits cannot so harmoniously accord with mine, or mine with theirs, either in Prayer, or other Holy Duties, as is meet and most comfortable; whose golden Rule and bond of perfection consists in that of mutual love and Charity.

Some Remedies are worse then the Disease, and some Comforters more miserable then Misery it self; when, like Job's friends, they seek not to fortifie ones minde with patience, but perswade a man, by betraying his own innocency, to despair of Gods mercy; and by justifying their injuries, to strengthen the hands, and harden the hearts of insolent Enemies.

I am so much a friend to all Church-men, that have any thing in them becomming that Sacred Function, that I have hazarded my own Interest, chiefly upon Conscience and Constancy, to maintain their Rights; whom the more I looked upon as Orphans, and under the Sacrilegious eyes of many cruel and rapacious Reformers; so I thought it my Duty the more to appear as a Father, and a Patron for them and the Church. Although I am very unhand somly requited by some of them, who may live to repent no lesse for my sufferings, then their own ungrateful errors, and that injurious contempt and meannesse, which they have brought upon their Calling and Persons.

I pittie all of them, I despise none: onely I thought I might have leave to make choise of some for My special Attendants, who were best approved in My judgment, and most suitable to My affection. For, I held it better to seem undevout, and to hear no mens prayers, then to be forced, or seem to comply with those Petitions, to which the heart cannot consent, nor the tongue say Amen, without contradicting a mans own understanding, or belying his own soul.

In Devotions, I love neither Prophane boldness, nor Pious nonsense; but such an humble and judicious gravitie, as shews the Speaker to be at once considerate of Gods Majesty, the Churches Honour, and his own Vileness; both knowing what things God allows him to ask, and in what manner it becoms a Sinner to supplicate the divine Mercie for himself, and others.

I am equally scandalized with all prayers, that sound either impetuously, or rudely, or passionately; as either wanting humility to God, or charity to men, or respect to the duty.

I confesse I am better pleased, as with studied and premeditated Sermons; so with such publick Forms of Prayer, as are fitted to the Churches and every Christians daily and common necessities; because I am by them better assured, what I may join My heart unto, then I can

be

Anno
1646.

be of any mans extemporary sufficiency; which as I do not wholly exclude from Publick occasions; so I allow its just libertie and use in private and devout retirements; where neither the solemnity of the Duty, nor the modest regard to others, do require so great exactness, as to the outward manner of performance. Though the light of understanding, and the fervency of affection, I hold the main and most necessary requisites both in constant and occasional, solitary and social Devotions.

So that I must needs seem to all equal minds with as much Reason to prefer the service of My own Chaplains before that of their Ministers, as I do the Liturgie before their Directory.

In the one, I have been alwaies educated and exercised, in the other, I am not yet Catechized, nor acquainted: And if I were, yet should I not by that, as by any certain Rule and Canon of Devotion, be able to follow or finde out the indirect extravagancies of most of those men, who highly cry up that as a peice of rare composure and use, which is already as much despised and disused by many of them, as the Common-praier somtimes was by those men; a great part of whose pietie hung upon that popular pin of railing against, and contemning the Government and Liturgie of this Church. But I had rather be condemned to the wo of *Væ soli*, then to that of *Væ vobis*, Hypocritæ, by seeming to pray what I do not approve.

It may be, I am esteemed by my Denyers sufficient of my self to discharge my Dutie to GOD as a PRIEST; though not to men as a Prince.

Indeed, I think both Offices, Regal and Sacerdotal, might well become the same Person; as anciently they were under one name, and the united rightes of Primogeniture: Nor could I follow better precedents, if I were able, then those two eminent Kings, David, and Solomon; not more famous for their Scepters and Crowns, then one was for devout Psalms and Praiers; the other for his divine Parables and Preaching: whence the one merited and assumed the name of a Prophet; the other, of a Preacher: Titles indeed of greater honour, where rightly placed, then any of those the Romane Emperours affected from the Nations they subdued: It being infinitely more glorious to convert Souls to Gods Church by the Word, then to Conquer men to a Subjection by the Sword.

Yet since the order of Gods Wisdom and Providence hath, for the most part, alwaies distinguished the gifts and offices of Kings and Priests, of Princes and Preachers, both in the Jewish and Christian Churches; I am sorrie to finde my self reduced to the necessitie of being both, or enjoying neither.

For such, as seek to deprive me of my Kingly Power and Sovereigntie, would no lesse enforce me to live many Months without all Praiers, Sacraments and Sermons, unlesse I become my own Chaplain.

Anno.
1646.

As I ow the Clergie the protection of a Christian King; so I desire to enjoy from them the benefit of their gifts and prayers; which I look upon as more prevalent then my own, or other mens, by how much they flow from mindes more enlightned, and affections lesse distracted, then those which are encombred with Secular Affairs: Besides, I think a greater blessing and acceptableness attends those Duties, which are rightly performed, as proper to, and within the limits of that Calling, to which God and the Church have specially designed and Consecrated some men: And however, as to that Spiritual Government, by which the devout Soul is subject to Christ, and through his Merits daily offers it self and it's Services to God, every private believer is a King and Priest, invested with the honour of a Royal Priest-hood; yet as to Ecclesiastical Order, and the outward Politie of the Church, I think confusion in Religion will as certainly follow every mans turning Priest, or Preacher, as it will in the State, where every one affects to rule as King.

I was alwaies bred to more modest, and, I think, more pious Principles: The consciounesse to my Spiritual defects, makes me more prize and desire those pious assistances, which holy and good Ministers, either Bishops or Presbyters, may afford me; especially in these extremities, to which God hath been pleased to suffer some of my Subjects to reduce me; so as to leave them nothing more, but my Life to take from me; and to leave me nothing to desire, which I thought might lesse provoke their jealousy and offence to deny me, then this of having some means afforded me for my Souls comfort and support.

To which end I made choice of men, as no way (that I know) scandalous; so every way eminent for their Learning and Piety, no lesse then for their Loyalty: Nor can I imagine any exceptions to be made against them but only this, That they may seem too able and too well-affected toward me and my service.

But this is not the first service (as I count it the best) in which they have forced me to serve my self; though I must confesse I bear with more grief and impatience the want of my Chaplains, then of any other my servants; and next (if not beyond in some things) to the being sequestred from my Wife and Children; since from these, indeed, more of humane and temporary affections; but from those, more of heavenly and eternal improvements may be expected.

My comfort is, that in the enforced (not neglected) want of ordinarie means, God is wont to afford extraordinary supplies of his gifts and graces.

If his Spirit will teach me and help my infirmities in praier, reading and meditation, (as I hope he will) I shall need no other, either Orator, or Instructor.

The

The general inquirie was whether now we shall have Peace, or a new War? Most men imagine the old quarrel at an end, but another between *Presbyters* and *Independent*. We will have Uniformity saies the one, and all to submit to the Covenant. Liberty of Conscience saies the other, and that in his sence is agreeable to the Covenant, and Gods Word to back is. But as the Quarrel grew high, Pamphlers were published for either party. Another to settle the brains of either of them, or any besides, offers the Reconciliation in his advice, Intituled *The Temple measured*: wherein are discussed the Questions about Constitution and Government of the visible Church, the solution of such questions which he propounds and numbers them, *all the Objections against the Model of Ecclesiastical policie*, and particularly there is debated, the unity of the Church, the Members thereof, the form of the Church and Church Government, the power of the Church, the Officers of the Church and their power. The powers of Magistrates about the Church, some Church Acts as admission of Members, &c. Tedious enough, and all this set out for the final satisfaction of all differences, by that Orthodox Divine, the Lecturer at *Newbery* in *New-England* Mr. *Noyes*.

What a pretty pass we were come unto, to fetch our Church-government from the *West Indies*. And although Mr. *Symson* was silenced by Order of Parliament for dissenting from the Assembly of Divines, it was now held fit to Null that Order, and *Symson* admitted, and why? for his zeal (it is said) to the glory of God, and edification of his Church, and so upon this general ground, he, and others of any strain, became admitted to the Pulpit.

We grow near an end of this year: now the 19. of *Mar.* the Parliament Voting the Modeling of the Army into less. Many Garisons dismantled, some Forces Disbanded, rather to be rid of the men, than to spare the expences. Much muttering there had been by the Officers and Souldiers, very high in the esteem of their own power, which increased as the Parliament lessened. And therefore the Forces at their own dispose draw near together towards the City of *London* and *Westminster*, which put the Citizens to advise at their *Guid-hall*, and the whole number in Common Councel conclude of a Petition to either House, but both alike.

The Army
Model.

To settle the Affairs of this long distracted Kingdom.

City of *Lon-*
don Petition.

That his Majesty being come nearer in person to his Parliament, they hope he will come home to their desires in the Propositions, National and solemn League and Covenant.

That Malignants may be removed out of the City.

And here (say they) we should have ceased, but that the Army (which they hoped ere this should have been disbanded) is now

Anno
1646.

drawn so suddenly and quartered neer the Parliament and this City. Besides, that in this same juncture of time, a most dangerous and seditious Petition is set on foot to be presented to this Parliament, the Copy thereof is annexed, which doth exact this addition from the Petitioners.

And pray, *That the Parliament would give command that the Army be forthwith removed, and after with all speed to be disbanded: the annexed Petition suppressed, and that the City may make annual Election of the Members of their own Militia.*

Soft and fair, the Citizens ride post.

'Tis true the Petitioners had thanks of both Houses, but they reckon without their Host, the Army; which we shall hear of to another tune.

Prince of Orange dies.

The old Prince *Henry of Orange* died the 14. of *March* of a Fever, sixty three years of age, the most approved Commander in the Christian world, and answerable in wisdom for State Government, of an infirme body with the disease of the Gout, the pain whereof increasing he fell into a Fever. His only Son succeeded General and Admiral of the Forces of the united Provinces. A faithful friend he had been in the assistance of the King, contracted in the Marriage of his Son with the Kings Eldest Daughter, and great sums of money and Ammunition had been sent to him in these Civil Wars of *England*, and when he sees the King undone, he dies deplored of all, leaving his Son the hopefull Issue of such a Father. And so we end this year 1646.

Of the Presbyterian Government, Tyranny, and Power.

The *Scots* Army is gone, and left us the Bone to gnaw, their *Ecclesiastical Presbytery*, to which Reformation we were forward in forming of our selves.

This Discipline of Government in the *Scotish* Kirk had been long time a framing in *Scotland*, according to the Tenets of the Church of *Geneva* and devised and settled there, as afterwards in *Scotland* by treasonable practices against the power of Magistracie, and Sovereignty.

The Prerogative of a King, and the liberty of Subjects are consistent and dependent the one from the other. Certainly the Kings power is primarily derived from God for the Subject; He to establish good Lawes for Church and State, they to obey them; And it is true too, that the chief of the Church (Bishop or Presbyterian) have a power which the Supream Power hath not in *Spiritualibus*, resting only in their persons; But the King is in the External Affairs of the Church, to call *Synods*, *Assemble Divines*, for ordering of the Church by Canons and Edicts: and he hath a power also to punish the Ministers offending by broaching Heresies, or by Schisme, to the disturbance of the Church or State.

They

They that joyn Issue with the *Jesuites*, that the King is not Head of the Church, that stab him with their Pens, and wound him with their Tongues, and degrade him from that Authority over the Church, and tread upon his his head, must needs press his Shoulders the Peers, and be grievous to the inferiour Subjects, and enemies to Peace and Liberties, for which so much Innocent Blood hath been spilt to the ruine of Ancient Families.

These are as those pretended Zelots, cruel and bloody, acting under colour of piety, and now in this age are discovered, for *Nemo potest diu ferre personam fictam, &c.* saies Sir Walter Raleigh.

The Assembly of Divines at *Westminster* were the most of such as had their wills working to this frame of *Presbytery*, according to their *Scotish Discipline*, for wheresoever they are, they differ in Government: by our connivance with the *Scots*, we swear to their Covenant, and called them in, to defend the Parliament in this civil War against the King, which thus far we have brought forth in blood.

Now we expect the issue and effects of the *Synod of Westminster Assembly* thus many years forming and framing for a Church Government, and now ready (we expect) for a Directory of Discipline to us all.

And because we finde the King so infinite averse to this *Presbyterial* Government, even to the hazard and ruine of himself, Posterity, and his Kingdoms, of which he had forewarning (in the same words) by the *Scots* Estates and Nation; Let us a little examine the constitution, the exercise and practise thereof, if such a pestilent nature remain therein, as some doe suspect.

This *Presbyterial* Government hath four Jurisdictions, *Parochial Session, Presbytery, Provincial Synod, and General Assembly*. *Parochial Session* is constituted of the Minister, and a competent number of *Lay Elders*, *Presbyterie* (*non docentes*) and *Deacons*, and this is the *Spiritual-Parochial-Sanhedrim*: the Minister is *constant Moderator*. He hath no Negative voice, the Jurisdiction Spiritual is radically in the *Lay-Elders*. Their four Sacred Orders they hold to be (*Jure Divino*.) *Preaching Elders, Doctors, Lay-Elders*, who have *vocem deliberativam & decisivam in rebus fidei, cultus, Policia*, and *in foro exteriori Ecclesie, in censuris Ecclesiasticis*, are Authorized as *Preaching Elders, fourthly Deacons*, trusted with the Treasury and moneys.

The *Lay Elders* and *Deacons* are yealry elected, this year sacred, the next propahne. *Hodie Clericus, cras Laicus*. The competent cases of this Session, are to enjoyn civil punishment and fines, censuring of losses, scandals, for the capital scandals are reserved for the *Presbytery*.

Presbyterie is a Jurisdiction of Parish Churches, more or fewer, twenty, twelve, or less, all persons within this *Presbyterie* (whether King or his Family) are under this grand Consistory. The Mem-
bers

Anno
1646.

bers *constituents* hereof, are all the Parochial Ministers within this Precinct, and a Lay Elder of each Parish, who is equal to the Preaching Elders, and are *pari consortio honoris & potestatis præditi*, a Plough-man as good in power as the Preacher (a parity in all) nay, to be Moderator also even in their *Idolized General Assembly*: so were Robert Yoel, George Buchanan, and Andrew Melvil, neither Priest, Deacon, nor Church-men.

The cases proper to this Judicatory, are all crimes, of highest strain, punishable by death, Excommunication, Appeals from Sessions, or Parochial Conclave, the censure of all that is amiss in each Parish. They meet once a week or fortnight, and there all the Ministers in their turns, exercise, or expound. There be Lay-Preachers or *Ingredients*, young Students or Countrey School-masters, and are called *Expectants*, and once admitted in his turn of exercising, may preach: was ever such a prophanation, a Lay-man without Orders, to intrude upon this Sacred Function?

Within a County they may be more or fewer *Presbyteries* Independent one from another; only *Edinburgh* Presbytery superintends over all (and some others, that *Pope* it over the rest like *Patriarchs*) and the *Responsa prudentum* from hence are received like Oracles, or Answers by *Urim* and *Thummim*.

All persons whosoever that live within the Verge of a *Presbytery*, are answerable to this *Classis*, the King or his Family must submit, he must submit his earthly Scepter to this of Christ. See the *Kings conference at Hampton Court*, q. 79. A *Scottish Presbyterie* and *Monarchy* (saies King James) [*agree as God and the Devil*] keeping state with King James, as if two free Kings were in Treaty.

All Cases and Crimes committed or suspected (though inconsonant to the Apostolical Canon, *de occultis non judicat Ecclesia*, are here questioned. To cure these secret sins, smelleth of the Auricular confession, *sigillum confessionis*. See *Conference at Hampton Court*, pa: 93.

And if any two persons be suspected, and are known to meet, it shall be holden *pro confesso*, and to be cleared only by their own oath. This Judicatory of *Presbytery* is of so vast a latitude, that as the *Pope* bringeth in all civil causes to himself *sub formalitate peccati*, so doth this papal Conclave, *sub formalitate scandali*, any thing purely civil. Nay to Transport Wax to *Spain*, was to be accessary to Idolatry, as supposing the wax might be employed in making Tapers to the *Virgin Mary* and other Saints, and so inconsistent with the authority of Civil Judicatories. It hath power likewise to repeal Royal Grants by Law confirmed, as to discharge a Munday Market because it occasioned the travelling on Sunday before.

It hath intermeddled with Civil Actions, interposing Suits between the Landlord and his Tenants, *in re civili*, but *modus considerandi*, as they took notice of it, it was *Spiritual*, because it did draw people

people from their lawful Vocations, and hindered the progress of the Gospel. It hath power to transplant a lawful Minister, because under pretence the Congregation is supposed not to be edified by him, there needs no other reason, but that this *Presbyterie* directed by *Infallibility* doe finde it *è re Ecclesia*, that is, for Gods glory. Which pretence increased neighbourly feuds, to the effusion of much blood.

Provincial Synods are a Jurisdiction of greater extent then *Presbyterie*, yet in its Essential power, is the very same. It is the apostolical Imitation of a Provincial Council (consisting of a Metropolitan and the suffragan Bishops of his Province) with them it is an associate body of the Commissioners chosen out of all the individual *Presbyteries* within the Precinct of the Province; and *Scotland* is divided into so many Provinces as is fit for the Government of the Church. This Synod meets twice a year *pro re nata*.

The Cases which fall within their Jurisdiction, are first, all matters appertaining to the whole Province. 2. All Referrees from *Presbyterie* within its Verge. 3. All difficult cases of every several *Presbyterie*. 4. And censure of them. 5. And lieth all within the particular *Presbytery* and Parishes, Lay or Clergy, to obedience. The same course holden here, as in the Provincial *Sanhedrim*. Only the policy of this Synod is, to have meetings and Counsels together, and are able to draw their brethren Pupils of their Faction as *servum pecus*, slavishly, yet with much zeal to voice as they please for their ends. These prime men of God are almost deified by the Commons, and are honour'd by the subtil and cunning Nobles and Gentlemen, carested, and invited principal Guests to their Ladies and Wives. And therefore however this Church Government pretends purity, it is *protestatio contra factum*. And Mas-Robert Bruce was so attended into *Edenburgh*, which occasioned King James to say, *Bruce intends to be King, and to declare himself heir to King Robert the Bruce*, and it may easily be so believed, if we confer the story of Mas-Bruce his carriage with King James, being seriously asked by the King, whether upon his coming to the Crown of England, he might not redeem the Roman Catholicks of *Scotland, Angus, Huntly, and Arrol*, (in point of State security) and give them a pardon, and to restore them to their honour and Lands; Bruce answered, you may pardon *Angus* and *Arrol* but not *Huntly*; Nay said the King, rather he, then they, he, my kinsman and friend, doe as you think fit, replied Bruce, *you shall not have me and Huntly both for you; see the story*: and yet this man was but a Minister at *Edenburgh*.

The General Assembly, the great and high *Sanhedrim*, the last resolution of faith, the ultimate decision of all Controversies, *Infallibilitie*: the Jurisdiction universal concerning *Ecclesiastica, Ecclesiasticos*, and all *Temporalia in ordine ad spiritualia*. It hath an Independent Sovereignty

Anno
1646.

veraignty, immediately from Christ, to punish in Estate, Life, or Body, in Life and death. The King is to be Excommunicable, and every Individual person whatsoever, is to concur, to compel, censure, punish, dethrone, un-King, to kill, &c.

It is composed of Commissioners from all the *Presbyteries*, each *Presbyterie* sending two preaching Elders and a Lay Elder. Every Corporation one Commissioner. The Universities send Commissioners Lay-men and Graduates in Liberal Arts and Sciences. The King is a Member *Personally* or *Virtually* and *Representatively*. He hath one voice affirmative only. Some hold he is there *Princeps membrum*, some say he sits there as the *Representative of the Civil body of the Kingdom* and hath power to keep the peace there. He may have four or five Assistants for advice, whilst matters are in debating, but in Vote he hath only one voice, and that *Affirmative* only, not *Negative*, and is bound to put it to execution, though against his conscience, for *Potestas juris* is radically in the whole Assembly, the King having but *potestatem facti*, to be an Executioner *Rei judicatae*. The King presides (they say) but so, that it is only civilly, in his civil capacity. He cannot propose any thing Spiritual, the *Moderator* must. He cannot hinder the proposing of any thing concerning the Kingdom of Christ, for then it were no free General Assembly. Nay if the thing proposed be Spiritual, and twisted with things civil, and so endanger a change and distemper in the State and Government, or danger to the King or Crown, the *Moderator* or any Commissioner only hath power to propose, and to determine it: and that for *God and Christs glory*.

And observe that the proper Moderator should be a Preaching-Elder, though we have noted before, how Laymen, *Buchanan*, *Melvil*, and *Bruce* have been *Moderators*, but a Lay Elder cannot be *Moderator*. Here is the *Legislative Power*, the Sovereignty of Christs Kingdom, the highest Tribunal and Judicatory of Christ upon Earth, from which, no Person, no Officer, no condition of Creature is priviledged, from it, no appeal.

They indict the Assembly by their own power. Necessarily once a year they meet.

This Assembly vindicateth to it self only *authoritative*, within the Church of the Kingdom and Nation; Yet *consensive* and *charitative* to extend to all Churches in the World, what ever it be, that concerneth *fidem*, *cultum*, *Regimen*, &c. *credenda*, *agenda*. And in *ordine ad Spiritualia*, they will give the King Laws, repeal his Laws, command obedience to theirs, otherwise Excommunication follows: and if he neglect that, then they incite inferiour Magistrates, Nobles and Commons to order him, compel and force him. He is in a worse condition under this Sovereignty, then under the *Pope*, who is but *One*, these a multitude. And in this Assembly, the Lay Judges, Elders, are *de jure divino* in the highest points of Faith, Worship,

The Reign of King Charls.

953

Anno
1646.

Worship, &c. and have *Vocem deliberativam, vocem decisivam*, and to give *Normam fidei, cultus politiae*, what shall we say now to that of the Council of Chalcedon, *Concilium Episcoporum est, &c.* and that old verse

Ite foras Laici, non est vobis locus, ici;

By the power of this Assembly all things there done, are animated with a *Potestative* power by the influence which these Orders received from that *Legislative* power, Christ hath intrusted them within his *Oeconomical Kingdom*. They are above the King and his Sovereignty. Their constant Tenet, That if the *King, Queen, Regent, or Protector* of the people, or any other, in whose person Sovereignty is fixed, or will not submit to this holy Scepter, any man or men are bound to doe it at their direction Representatively, by a Fiduciary trust; One of their own says, that there is no authority above the Brotherhood.

No Magistrate may lawfully maim or deform the body of Christ the Church: no lawful Church Government is changeable at the pleasure of the Magistrate, of necessity all Christian Magistrates are bound to receive this Government.

Another says, *That what the holy Brotherhood cannot obtain by suit, and dispute, the people must bring it to pass.*

The Scots maintain, *Religion* may be reformed or preserved by violence: if the King will not, the Nobles may, if neither of them will, the people must. Inferiour Magistrates and people may joyn: every Individual in this good work, may, and ought to their utmost power, intend and endeavour Reformation, they have Texts of Scripture for all, of *Phineas* who killed the Adulterers: of *Ehud* who slew *Eglon*, of *Jaël* who killed *Sisera*: of *Matthias* who killed a *Jew* for committing Idolatry, and who in the same zeal killed the Kings Commissioner, and all to be done in zeal (as they fancy) to God and his Cause.

All well affected, may Covenant and Combine for doing this work; The Confederates may by themselves give Orders of Reformation without the Authority of Sovereignty.

They have protested (in *Scotland*) against King and Parliament, contemned Sovereign Authority, usurped Royal power, renounced their lawful Sovereign, command all the Brotherhood to be assistant: Denounce War against their Adversaries: hear of no peace, but enter combination for mutual defence; Depose the Queen Regent. And for Presidents of all or any of these, we may have them in the History of *Knox*. In a word, so absolute, so incontroleable is this high Celestial Court, that it commandeth conscience and Soul, disposeth of Body and Estate, that if you conform not to their Tyranny, neither Soul, Body, nor Estate can be in peace.

Anno
1646.

Præfide of the
Presbytery.

Of their Government in practice, the *Scottish* Form of Church-government hath been studiously endeavoured of many men, by importunity of divers Petitions to the Parliament to be established in *England*, upon pretence of the Solemn League and Covenant; but the Parliament hath artificially declined that establishment, by ordaining Commissioners in every County to superintend the Presbyteries, and to receive Appeals from them, and by reserving the supreme power of the last sentence in themselves; and from this their Ordinance the *Scots* could never remove them.

The reason of this great difference in judgment between persons so considerable is by considering the Frame of it, as it is set down in that Model of Discipline contained in their *Psalm Book*, and in the two Books of Discipline, and the Confession of their Faith, by which we may see the Inference and the Evidence to be pernicious to Civil power, grievous to the people, and destructive to the common peace.

And first of the power of their Government.

1. They challenge a power absolute and independent of the King, to convene in Assemblies at their own pleasure, time and place. 2. *Book of Discipline, cap. 7.*

2. They claim power to make Constitution Ecclesiastical, without the *Christian* Magistrate, *ibid.*

3. To abrogate the Laws of the Land touching Ecclesiastical matters, if they judg them hurtfull or unprofitable, *ibid.*

4. The civil Magistrate must be subject to their power, 1. *Book Discip. cap. 7.* so that all the power they allow the civil Magistrate in Church affairs, is onely to be the Executioner of their Decrees.

5. It is true, they hold, that to disobey or resist any lawfull Authority is sin, (whilest they pass not the bounds of their Office) and from hence no doubt the Inference is good, but see the dangerous Consequence, (at this time, in the general disaffection of Regal power) supposing them to have no other Drift, than to clip the Wings of Sovereignty; a gross Mistake, for whosoever shall be invested with that civil power, which shall be taken from the King, (be it in the Parliament, or in any other Protection) must succeed him in the enmity which this Presbyterian power will exercise against the civil power, against the civil Magistrate in common, when it complies not with them. So that if they have a minde to call a general Assembly, though the King and Parliament finde it needless, inexpedient, dangerous, (as the times may be) they will over-rule, and must be obeyed, and all their Constitutions and Canons yielded unto; or to repeal all Laws concerning the Church. If opposed by King and Parliament, they will incite the people against them.

6. If the civil Magistrate punish not with Death, whom they think

think deserve it, the Church may excommunicate the Offender, not onely for his Crime, but as suspect to have corrupted the temporal Judg, and so the Judg hereby defamed. See their *Psalms Book*.

Anno
1646.

7. They determine that the temporal Magistrate (before the Statute) is bound to punish Adultery with Death, by Gods own Law. If this be true, why are we not bound to all the Judicials of *Moses*, to punish Theft, not with Death, but Restitution; besides others touching Inheritances, Purchases, and other temporal things, which would confound our temporal Laws?

8. They hold it unlawfull for the civil Magistrate to pardon capital Offenders, 1. *Book Discip. cap. 9.* which puts such a Tie upon sovereign power, as robs them of their noblest virtue, Mercy; inclining Offenders to be desperate.

9. They exact it a Duty in the Magistrate to maintain the Ministry with his own Rents, if need require; and themselves being Judges of this need, if the Minister be not relieved out of the Kings Rents, they may warrant his Subjects to take Arms against him, 2. *Book Discip. cap. 10.* In a word, they may deal with all civil causes for a spiritual end, as the Pope expresses, *In ordine ad bonum spirituale*; and these Presbyters, *In ordine ad bonum Ecclesie*.

The persons in whom this power is placed are partly of Ministers, who admit no superiority, but a parity; and partly of Lay Elders, who joyn with the Minister in the Government of the Kirk; and all Government and Discipline is exercised joyntly by them by plurality of Voices in the several Parishes, who are subordinate to a *Classis*, made up of the Ministers and Lay Elders of the Parishes within the bounds thereof, as the several *Classes* are, to the Provincial Assembly, consisting of Ministers and Elders out of every *Classis* within the Province; and Provincial Assemblies are in like manner subordinate to the National Assembly, chosen out of all the Provinces in the Kingdom: and this National Assembly acknowledgeth no Superiour upon Earth.

Of the persons
authorized.

Now if the Presbyterian power it self be so pernicious, as it appears in several particulars expressed in their *Book of Discipline*, surely to put it into such hands (as by this Model) it must needs make all impartial men averse from it.

1. For first, it admits of no superiority, but requires a parity of those that govern, of manifold inconvenience.

The Resolutions in publick and private affairs will be very slow. The difference of Opinions and Interests is like to breed Factions and Contentions, often corrupt: and Reason and Experience teach us, that amongst many Equals, popularity will make some one Leader of the rest, and he will offend more than any Bishop, laying the blame upon others.

Anno.

1646.

2. Secondly, the mixture of Lay-men and Ministers, is like to breed Emulations, whilest each one sides with his own Order against the other; and men grossly ignorant in Divinity must be Judges of Doctrine, and others submit to their Judgment, who neither know right, nor are willing to do it, (for where the minde that should rule is weak, the corrupt passions that should be ruled, break into all disorder.) These men must be trusted with others souls, besides their quiet Reputation and Purfes exposed to blinde Malice, Revenge, Envy, Covetousness, Partiality, Insolence.

3. The kindes of persons to be chosen, Lay Elders, we shall finde them to be either for activeness or greatness; the active men in a Parish have commonly neither wealth, wit, nor honesty, and thereby likely to bring all to confusion. If great men in Estates or Honour, they may use that power to enthral their Tenants, Husbandmen, and Yeomen of *England*, to the same slavery, as that sort groan under in *Scotland*.

4. 'Tis true, Appeals seem to give Remedy, but see the trouble and charge from Parish Session to the *Classis*, thence to the Provincial Assembly, thence to the general Assembly, and then to the Parliament, and there to a Committee to examine, thence to their Report, and there it may lodg till you have Relief, Never.

And lastly, if this Church-government be in the hands of Ministers and Lay Elders of ten thousand Parishes, and the State see it necessary to alter it to another Form, they shall never be able to wrest this power out of their Faction.

Their power
how exercised.

And now see the Exercise of the Presbyterian power in *Scotland*, and the Laws imposed on the people.

All Ministers are appointed (as aforesaid) by a popular Election, utterly disallowing Patronages of Livings, *Cura animarum*, which will be prejudicial to Nobility and Gentry. The very Ministers shall be kept poor enough, and so to be servile to the peoples humours, 2. *Book Discip. cap. 3.*

These Stipends must be raised out of the Rents of Tithes, which are paid to the Deacons, besides provision for the poor and Schools, 1. *Book Discip. cap. 6.* Nay, the Kirk Rents are divided into four portions, for the Minister one, the other three divided for the Elders, Deacons, Doctors, Schools, Poor, Reparations of the Kirk, &c. When all these Collops are cut out, the Ministers part is partly taxed, &c. 1. *Book Discip. cap. 5.*

Their Glebes if they exceed six Acres, shall be detained, *Ibid. cap. 6.*

In general, it inflaves the People with Burdens and Vexations.

For as the Minister is poor, none but the lowest people will enter into it; and therefore they have Laws to compell men to that Function, and Parents to dedicate their Children thereto, by the

Cen-

Censures of the Kirk, and civil power, *Ibid. cap.4. & 9.*

All persons must be catechized, and as children all their life long, once a year examined in the Principles of Religion, *Ibid. cap.9.*

We imagine fix and twenty Holy-days in a year to be a Burthen in the Prelacy, yet the Presbytery have one Day in every Week taken from them, (besides the *Sunday*) for Sermons and Prayers, *Ibid. cap.9.*

We complain of Bishops Courts once in three Weeks, the Presbytery yokes people with a Consistory one Day in every Week; so they shall have but four Days in seven free to do their own business. See *Psalms Book*.

If a man be acquitted of Homicide by the temporal Judg, yet the Presbytery supposing him guilty, (which they always do) will impose Satisfaction (as they term it) upon him, and will tax Damages upon capital Offenders convicted before the Judg, and to moderate between the Offender and the party offended in that point: all which may be seen in their *Psalms Book*.

If they please, none shall be in safety with whom they have a minde to quarrel, if the party conform not his words, gestures, expences, diet, or apparel, to their liking; nay, if they but suspect him inordinate in those, if he obey not their Admonitions, Excommunication follows. See *Psalms Book*.

That's not all, they will be Judges even in mens inward thoughts and affections also, if they be by any means to be discovered, 2. *Book Discip. cap.1.*

Conclusion. This which yet appears, is but the Lion's Paw, his Body not easily to be seen, but lies lurking in the Registers of their Assemblies and Sessions, so that by the badness of what we see, we may suspect the rest of their Acts, Constitutions, Practices, recorded in their Registers Books, would frighten any from that Profession.

Certainly the *Scots* themselves are weary of it, and therefore we may suspect their Design, (as of *Ulysses*) to bring it upon us, like the *Trojan Horse* with the Belly full of armed men to take our *Troynovant*, unlike to be settled without a War, and that with their assistance.

We know very well, how that the Parliament hath done prudently in declining the Erection of their Government, absolute, onely in part, and that mixed in their six several Exceptions or Provisoos, like the *interim* of *Charls* the fifth, (a middle way of Religion, between *Protestant* and *Papist*, made to reconcile them, and compose Differences till a more perfect union might be found out) the which displeased both sides; as this of Theirs and Ours may do, if God do not prevent it.

Anno
1646.

Affairs of Ire-
land.

The Affairs of *Ireland* we have compos'd by it self, not to intermix with the *English*, and yet not to be set aside, being contemporary with the other and of some use to comprehend either.

The Treaty began at *Singeston* in *September 15. 1643.* the *Irish* pretended for a Peace, but a Cessation was all that was granted, for a year, and although sufficient provision had been to forbear all acts of Hostility during the time limited, but however they have ever since the Cessation plunderd and pillaged the *English*, seizing the people, and the Kings Forts and Castles, surprizing the Castle of *Wicklo*, and put all to the Sword, men, women and children, not suffering them Burial, but left to the ravening Wolves.

Soon after the Cessation they sent Commissioners to the King to supplicate for a Peace, and withall they moved for certain concessions of grace, which they hoped to have been granted, but were referred therein to the Lord General *Ormond*, which was so spun out by the *Irish*, that what might have ended in a Moneth, held out almost two years, yet no Peace fully concluded; all which time they treacherously spent in Contrivances and dangerous Designs; for in the midst of the Treaty they sent their Agents beyond Seas, to sollicite the aid of foreign Princes, and called home such of their Countrey Commanders in military affairs, who went over by flocks, with Amunition and Powder, and such Money as their begging Clergy could get for them. Amongst many one *Bealing* an active Instrument in this wicked Rebellion was sent over, and returned with the Popes *Nuncio*, who sits at the Helm of their affairs, and challenges the Rule of all *Ireland*, as of Right belonging to his Holiness of *Rome*.

And whilest they treated with *Ormond*, they also treated underhand with the Earl of *Glamorgan* upon other Articles of Peace, grounded upon a pretended Commission of the Kings, which his Majesty wholly disavowed, and protested against it in his Declaration to the Parliament. This Commission was discovered by occasion of the Death of *Malachias* titular Arch-bishop of *Tuam*, who was killed with two of his Chaplains in the County of *Sligo*, upon a sudden Inrode made by the *Scots* into that part, and a Copy of the Original found about him, subscribed under the hands of *Glamorgan* and the Commissioners heretofore mentioned; which Project would have carried away all Spiritual Living Improprate and Institutive, and prejudicial also to the Laity, whose Inheritances were mainly concerned therein, and to the total and final Extirpation of the *Protestant* Clergy.

The Commissioners as they did not openly wave the Contract with *Glamorgan*, so neither did they stand to claim any benefit thereby for that time, but were content for the present that the Treaty with *Ormond* should be kept on foot, which being accord-

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Anno
1646.

ingly continued for a time, and at last brought to a period. Articles signed and sealed by both parties, imparting his Majesties Grant to certain Concessions of Grace to that party: provided, that they should assist the King with an Army of ten thousand men, viz. six thousand on the first of *April*, and four thousand on the first of *May* following: but not a title of this performed, nor any other of their Conditions contracted for.

So then the best way to work upon these faithless Creatures is, to force them by the Sword, which may cut off the rebellious Members, and cause others to keep within the compass of Loyalty: for no sooner were the *English* Forces called over out of *Ireland* for the Kings Service in *England*, Anno 1643. but the Rebels broke all Contracts, and began their Rapines and Murders as at first, and in a word, all Treaties of Peace with *Irish* Rebels from the first of their Insurrections have ever proceeded fatal to the *English* producing no other effects than Treacheries, which being not timely discovered, brought Mischief and Misery upon the heads of them who had too much relyed on them.

But now it may seem unreasonable, say some, to neglect an adventure of a second Treaty of Peace, when the *English* are not able to force them by the Sword, nor to defend themselves.

And 'tis as true, that the *English* deserve blame, for trifling so much time before the Association with the *Scots* was concluded, or the counsels of both communicated each to other, uniting into one Body, and might have prevented that unfortunate Blow which was given to the *Scots* by the Arch-traitour *Owen Ro Oneal*, who now wants nothing to crown his Designs but the winning of *Dublin* and *Drogheda*, the onely two places of Importance within the Province of *Lemster*, now remaining in the Kings possession.

The wilfull separation of the *English* and *Scots* which should hold together in this *Irish* War verifies the Observation,

Dum pugnamus singuli, vincimur universi.

And by this means the Rebels prevailed in their Cruelties, enforcing the Protestants to abandon their Habitations, nay their Nation, and to cross the Seas by Hundreds and Thousands, to prevent the cruelty of the barbarous Enemy, bemoaning themselves, as formerly the *Britains* said by the *Scots*,

Repellunt Barbari ad Mare, repellit Mare ad Barbaros, inter hac duo genera funerum aut jugulamur aut mergimur.

But in effect, good counsel was not accepted, and so misery followed for a long time to the *English* Protestants.

Anno
1646.

The Kings
Letters to the
Lord General
of Ireland.

The King now with the *Scots* Army was wrought upon to comply with them and the Parliament, as he had cast himself into their hands, so now it was his necessity also to put his own affairs to their managing, and under his hand to give command to all his Garisons to surrender to the Parliament.

His affairs in *Ireland* were kept up as yet, being at this distance, not so soon to be submitted: yet in order thereto he writes to the Marquess of *Ormond*, his Lieutenant General there, from *Newcastle* the eleventh of *June*, 1646. requiring him, and peremptorily commanding not to fall into any Treaty with the *Irish*, which might engage the King to the *Romish* Catholicks party, with whom he was induced to a Pacification, which being communicated with the Council Board, they all resolved to yield obedience in that point, and a Letter instantly drawn up to return to the King with their punctual submission, with an ample Relation of other Occurrents and passages concerning the Kings Service there, where on the sudden one of the Council of honourable Rank gave it in to be considered, that the King being now under Restraint may not be free to do as himself might think fit, but what his new Masters may enforce from him; and this Command of his was likely to proceed from them in the *Scots* Army.

To clear this Doubt, the Bishop of *Meath* gave his Opinion, that it seemed to him to be the Kings free act without enforcement. Observing, that they are not required by his Majesties Letters to take the Covenant, or to conform to the new way of Reformation in Divine Worship, nor to withdraw obedience from the Government established by his Royal Authority; but the King being now disobliged of all former Engagement, (which the *Irish* had upon him) by their wilfull Breach of Conditions, he would not now again trust them any more upon the like score; and therefore the matter of Peace being now the Rebels aim, no longer than they may be anew furnished for a more fearfull War; besides the Kings party must be enforced to make War upon the Parliaments party, who are absolutely resolved never to afford them a Peace, untill they have revenged the inhumane Murders made upon our Countrey-men and Protestants. And being now united with the powers of two potent Kingdoms, *England* and *Scotland*, this same Nation of *Ireland* (if supposed to be faithfull) can never be able to oppose them.

But this advice was somewhat checked by the visible assistance of the *French*, who had already heightened up the Kings party to a War against the Parliament, and to joyn in Peace with the *Irish*, having already sent the Lord *Digby* with ten thousand pounds to *Ormond*, as the earnest of some particular matters hereafter; the pretence was to restore the King. But in truth the *French* King aimed at his own advantage by favouring the *Irish*; for the *French* Resident

there

there had written to *Ormond*, That if the King and Parliament should conclude a Peace, it must be necessary to comprehend the Irish therein, and for their settlement in their due Rights, otherwise his Master must take the Irish into his Protection.

A practice evermore of the *Irish* to seek protection of Foreign Princes.

Bodin in his first Book *de Republ.* mentioneth an Earl of *Desmond*, *Gerald Fitz James* the last of that House was killed in actual Rebellion, and was afterwards attainted by Act of Parliament. This *Gerald* had writ a Letter to *Henry 2.* of *France*, That if his Majesty could procure a Grant of the Kingdom of Ireland from the Pope, he would be content to hold it of him as in fee.

Which Letter seems to have some reference to the Popes claim of a Right or propriety challenged by him in all the Islands of the World, and so in *Ireland*, upon which pretended ground Pope *Adrian* the fourth (called *Nicholas Breakspear*, and sometime a Monk of *St. Albans*) licenced *Henry 2.* of *England* to invade *Ireland*, and passed a Grant to him of the whole Kingdom, reserving to his Holiness an annual Rent of *Peter-pence* to be passed out of every House in the Land; the Original Record is kept in the *Vatican*, and the Copy to be read in *Baronius Annals*.

And why not the same Design of *France* at this time, the Popes *Nuncio* and the *French Agent* had been there above a year resident amongst the Confederates. And it seems considerable, for any ambitious Prince to purchase thereby to step into the Conquest of *England*.

It was the Observation of one of the *Irish* petit Kings, who being driven out by some seditious Inhabitants sailed over into *Anglesey*, then called *Mona*, the Isle of *Man*, and getting access to the Roman General *Julius Agricola*, told him, that the Kingdom of *Ireland* might be kept in subjection, *Regione una & modicis auxiliis adversus Britanniam profuturum*. If the *Britains* should by any sudden Insurrection shake off their yoke under the Roman Empe-
mour.

*In vita Julii
Agricola.*

And certainly, if the *French*, or any other Nation should be called in thither, it might be of dangerous consequence; for so the *Irish* Rebels now threatned, in case they should be put to extremity.

The *Picts* called for the *Scots* out of *Ireland*, to assist them against the *Britains*, and having done that Work, they fell upon the *Picts* themselves, and destroyed them, and so took possession of that part of *North Britain*, which from them ever since takes name of *Scotland*.

The like did the *Saxons*, or rather a Rout of Pirates and Sea-Rovers, they were no better, invited to assist the miserable *Britains* against the barbarous *Scots*, and put a final stop to their IncurSIONS,

Anno
1646.

and after by Surprize of the Nobility of *Britania*, and slew them. The Remain of the people fled into the Mountains of *Wales* and *Cornwall*, where they remain ever since, and left the best of the Land to the insulting *Saxons*.

Nay did not *Heraclius* the *Greek* Emperour call for aid of the Rake-Hell Rabble of *Scythians* to assist him against the *Saracens*; but no sooner got footing in the Empire, and in process of time seized *Constantinople*, slew *Constantine*, the last of the Imperial Race of *Paleologs*, and now possess that Seat, the chief Residence for the great *Turk*, descended of those *Saracens*.

But these were Pagans and Infidels, we are all *Christians*. Truly they can practise the old Rule, *Si violandum est jus, regni causa violandum est; in ceteris pietatem colas*. To gain Kingdoms we may bid Conscience good night.

And so it was happy for the King that his party called not over the *French* to fight for him, nor would the Parliament at any time make Peace with the *Irish*, wise enough they were to keep down the pride of the treacherous *Scot*, that had good footing there in *Ireland*.

See before *Anno 1643*. the Treaty at *Siginstone*, *Septemb. 15*.

But the Parliament of *England* had considered of the order and manner of governing of *Ireland* by a Lord Lieutenant General; and whom should they pick out but the Lord *Lisle*, Son to the Earl of *Leicester*; to command all the Forces raised and to be raised in and for reducing that Kingdom, with a Council about him, both at home and abroad, the better to enable him for the Government; but not as the Motto sets out *Cesar*, this General went thither, and so came home again, as hereafter is mentioned.

The *English* Forces there in some distress, the *British* in the North in great want, but the happiness was that the Rebels were at difference amongst themselves.

And the thirteenth of *May* the Lord *Lisle* had order to beat his Drums to raise six thousand Foot, and eight hundred and fifty Horse in *England* and *Wales*, and for maintaining of these Forces it was ordered, Six thousand pounds every six moneths end to the Treasurers for *Ireland*.

News came the fifteenth of *June* of the great Defeat given to the *English* and *Scotish* Forces in the Province of *Ulster*, and the Parliament ordered five thousand Foot more & fifteen hundred Horse to be added to the former Forces ordered in *May*, and Arms, Ammunition and Victuals speedily to be sent over.

And notwithstanding the Parliamentary proceedings in *Ireland*, by their advice and directions to such of their own party; the King likewise had a particular party under the publick Government of the Marquess of *Ormond*, Lieutenant General of his Majesties Forces for the Government of *Ireland*, to whom he writes for

The Commons vote
the Govern-
ment of *Ire-
land*.

The Reign of King Charls.

963

Anno
1646.

for the discharging all further Treaties with the *Irish* Rebels for any Peace, as the Parliament advised the King to write: the eleventh of *June*.

The Lord *Broghall* and the Lord *Inchequin* were particularly for the Parliament. *Broghall* had intermixed several Successes against the Rebels, he took *Castle Lions* and *Inchequin Castle* near *Youghall*, then his Horse marched to *Dungarven*, returning with five or six hundred head of Cattle, and besieged the Garison of *Blarnly Castle*, and the next Night gained the Out-works, and the next Day set three Battering Guns against one of their new Flanks sixteen foot thick; within the Castle their Powder took fire, and blew up and spoiled twenty of their Men, which with the bold Attempts of the Besiegers, the Castle was surrendered the next Day, the fifteenth of *June*, two hundred persons to march away, who left this exceeding strong place being held by faint hearts for a small space, and now delivered up to slender Forces.

Musgrave was General for the Rebels, and with the greatest Army of theirs was set down, besieging *Banratty*, against whom they sally out daily with very good Success.

Notwithstanding the Kings Letters at *Newcastle* whilest he was under durance, *That Ormond should not treat with the Rebels*, yet it seems he had finished and articed into a Peace with them, *August 1*.

That the Irish be not bound to take the Oath of Supremacy.

A Parliament to be held before November.

All Acts against the Roman Catholicks to be repealed.

Places of Strength to be in the hands of men of merit.

But the reason might be, the wonderfull misery of the *English* and *Scots* Forces there, impossible to hold out without any reasonable Food for Man or Horse.

And it was conceived there by *Ormond* and the Kings party, that it was most convenient for the general good of the Protestants, for it soon occasioned a Breach amongst the Rebels, the Popes *Nuncio* and that Clergy protesting against it, as being done without their privity: and the chiefeft of their Towns oppose the Peace, as *Limrick*, *Waterford*, *Wexford*, *Lemster*, and *Galloway*.

And herein *Ormond* (according to the Articles on either side) was to assist against the Opposers of the Peace, the fourteenth of *September*, who marching with some thousands towards *Kilkenny* had intelligence by the way, that a party of the discontented Rebels against the Peace had a Design against his person, which made him suddenly to return to *Dublin*.

Anno.

1646.

Concerning the thirty Articles the Popish Clergy disclaimed them, and at a Supream Council ordered.

That all and singular Confederate Catholicks, who shall adhere to the said Peace, or consent with the Favourers of it, or after any other manner shall entertain and imbrace it, are absolutely to be accounted perjured, specially for this reason, because in these Articles there is no mention made of the Catholick Religion and the security thereof, nor any regard had of the Consecration of the Priviledge of the Countrey, as it was promised by the Oath. But that all things are rather referred to the judgement of our most renowned King. (From whom in this present estate we can have nothing settled: and in the meantime the Armies, Weapons and Fortifications, and the Supream Council of the Confederate Catholicks it self, are subjected to the Authority and Command of the Council of the State, and the Protestant Officers of his Majestie, from whom that we might be secure, we have taken Oath: For which and many other causes being moved only by our Consciences, and having God before our eyes, that it may be known to all and singular, as well Irish as strangers, that we have not, nor will give our consent to such Peace, except that safe condition (as well for our Religion as for the King, and for the Countrey according to our Oath) be offered unto us. And that our Flocks, and all our Catholick people without confederate Forces who in these general meetings have sometimes asked our advice in this Spiritual business, belonging only to a Spiritual Fudge, may know certainly what hath been determined by us, to the end that the godly and faithful Catholicks, obeying their Shepherds and Pastors, may concur in the same. We have commanded this Decree to be written and published in all places in the English and Irish tongues, which we have confirmed with our hands and Seals. But to the other question concerning Excommunication we have referred until the next Sessions. Given at Waterford 12. of August 1646.

And Ormond being wanting of Amunition and Powder, Articled with two Captains of the Parliaments Ships upon the Coast of Ireland, to furnish him to be employed against the Irish Rebels, and condiscended to his Propositions, with assured hopes of his complying with the Parliament of England, the House of Commons confirmed the Transactions and Negotiations herein, sending Letters of thanks to the two Captains, and to Captain Willoughby. 5. October.

The Rebels had taken Acklew Castle belonging to the Protestants, who had refused to subscribe unto the Peace, with eighty Souldiers, and one hundred Arms therein, as also the Fort of Marborough in the Center of the Province of Lemster, to Quarter with Sir William Gilbert Governour thereof, all his Officers and Souldiers, all the Arms and Amunition, and about a thousand persons,

sons, men women and children, now at the mercy of the barbarous and insulting Enemy.

The three Commissioners sent to the Parliament of *England* from *Ormond*, landed at *Chester*, being transported over by Captain *Willoughby* 26. October.

The Committee appointed to Treat with them, made report of the conditions from *Ormond* for the surrender of *Dublin*, and the rest of the places of Strength in his power, he desires Supplies and Moneys for the Forces with him, and for himself he is willing to come into *England*, if it shall be thought fit, which accord troubled the King at *Newcastle*.

The Parliament of *England* send over Commissioners to remain in *Ireland*, with two Regiments, and all possible speed for *Amunition* and *Victual* to follow. And now the President of *Connaught*, and the *British* bestirring themselves on one side, and *Inchequin* of the other, but its believed the Rebels will be able to attempt upon *Dublin*, and yet leave sufficient number of Forces to make incursions upon the *British* and *Inchequin*. For by *Ormonds* Letters the Rebels are fifteen thousand Foot, and two thousand Horse, commanded by *Owen O Neal* at *Kilkenny*, and have frequent Counsel, the chief of whom are *Preston*, *Roger Moore*, *Hugh Mac Phelin*, *Brion*, *Con. O Neal*, with many more of the old *Natural Irish*. *Preston* is at *Agamoe* intending to advance towards *Dublin*, and to attempt the same before the Parliament can send relief. But the intended high flying Excommunication of the confederate Catholics against such as agreed to the peace, and the great Declaration of these against the *Nuntio* and others for opposing the peace, are now composed to a cunning agreement, and altogether to joyn for the design of taking *Dublin*, and are minded to storm it speedily, 3. November.

Ormond was now in *Dublin*, accompanied with Sir *Arthur Aston* sometime Governour of *Oxford*, and the Lord *Castlehaven* with three thousand in the City. The Rebels are strong in Force, and numerous, who straiten *Dublin*, have taken all the Out-Garisons, seven, all yeelding upon discretion, save one commanded by Major *Piggot*, who had Articles agreed upon, and sending his brother to have them signed, the *Irish* run in at the Gate, fell upon them within, put the Major and all others to the Sword except the Majors Wife and Daughter saved by an *Irish* Gentleman the Minister, in whose hands they found a Bible, they Butchered him, and bid him goe preach to his Patron the Divil. The Popes *Nuntio* and Clergy have a mighty influence upon the people, for when the Accord was made, being not agreed upon by the *Nuntio*, a Roman Catholick coming to serve with 1100. men according to the agreement, a Frier came and standing at the head of them, declared, that if they marched a foot forward they should be all Ex-

Dublin besieged by the Rebels.

commu-

Anno
1646.

communicated, whereupon they returned all home. And all Letters give assurance that *Ormond* means faithfully to the Parliament of *England*.

The Recorder of *Dublin*, Mr. *Bise*, came over and reported that the Enemy lay ten Miles round about *Dublin*, with such truths of their barbarous cruelties in their Marches upon the miserable Protestants, taking a Castle by the way, and the Minister one Mr. *Brereton* with sixty men upon Quarter, yet killed them all in cold blood, the Town of *Dublin* hath Victuals for five moneths. The two Justices of that Government, Sir *Adam Loftis*, and Sir *Williams Parsons* are coming for *England*, Nov. 10.

Colonel *Monk*, one that had served the King in his Wars and now taken prisoner, was tampered with to take the Solemn League and Covenant, and the Negative Oath also, which he did, was released, and ordered for the Service of *Ireland*. And there were Shipt for the same 1870. Horse and Foot now at *Chester*, together with the Parliaments Commissioners who came to *Dublin* safe, and were nobly welcomed by *Ormond* and the Counsel, with full assurance to deliver to them the Castle and Town of *Dublin*, the Souldiers landed, and the Treaty began between them, but *Ormond* disagreed, and at last gave an absolute denial of Surrendring *Dublin* unto them. Affirming that his Letters to the King, not being sent by the Parliament according to conditions, and so he not having his Majesties full command for the Surrender, he utterly refused, protesting that to be the only reason, which if procured, he would forthwith Surrender.

Upon which the Commissioners sent away by Shipping all the Forces brought with them Northwards to joyn with the *British* which land at *Belfast* a Town possessed by the *Scots*. The Commissioners are jealous that the War between *Ormond* and the Rebels was but calmly prosecuted on either side, which makes them suspect they are not in earnest. For there hath been since the first of *October* these Garisons lost to the Rebels, *Lese*, *Strathbally*, *Bifert*, *Grange Mellon*, *Rebend*, *Athy*, *Greenhill Castle*, *Fordan*, *Edenberry*, *Marmegs Town*, *Sir Fo. Hayes House*, *Honestow*, *Nans*, *Castle Warden*, *Monmonck*, *Lestip*, *Lucan*, *Palmeshore*, *Tallon*, *Bulloeis* and *Bellimont*, 1. of *December*.

And now *Ormond* in this distress is forced to make a Cessation with the Rebels, if not (some say) a confederacy, taking the Keys from the Mayor, and giving them to the Lord *Lambert* of *Ireland*, who is now Governour there, 2. *December*.

And these Propositions give likelyhood that they are agreed, being from the confederate Catholicks of the Kingdom of *Ireland*, to the Marquess of *Ormond*, and signed by the Generals of *Lemster* and *Ulster*. Novem. 1646.

That

The Reign of King Charls.

967

Anno
1646.

That the exercise of the Roman Catholick Religion be in Dublin and Drogheda, and in all the Kingdom of Ireland, as free as in Paris in France, and Bruxells in Flanders.

That the Council of State, called the Councel-Table; be of Members true and faithful to his Majestie, and such as may be no fear or suspicion to go to the Parliaments-party.

That Dublin, Drogheda, Team, Newby, Catherly, Carlingford, and all Protestant Garisons be manned by their Confederate Catholicks, to maintain and keep the said Cities and Garisons for the use of our Sovereign Lord King Charls and his lawful Successors, and for defence of the Kingdom of Ireland.

That the present Council of the Confederators shall swear truly and faithfully to keep and maintain for the use of his Majesty and his Lawful Successors, and for defence of the Kingdom of Ireland, the abovesaid Cities and Garisons.

That the said Councillors and all Generals, Officers and Souldiers whatsoever, doe swear and protest to fight at Sea and Land against the Parliaments and all the Kings Enemies, and that they will never come to any convention, or agreement with the said Parliamentiers, or any of the Kings Enemies, to the prejudice of his Majesties Rights, or of this Kingdom of Ireland.

That according to our Oaths of Association, we will to the best of our power and cunning defend the Fundamental Lawes of this Kingdom, the Kings Rights, the Lives and Fortunes of the Subjects.

Owen O Neal, Tho. Preston.

The Lord Lisle designed Lieutenant General of Ireland, is but now this day taking leave of the Parliament to goe to Ireland, Jan-28. and ere we can hope of his arrival there, he writes to the Parliament he is willing to return, for they had Debated his return before, and so he came home again, April 1.

But the Parliament Vote the sending over more Forces into Ireland, and with all vigour to carry on a Defensive War in that Kingdom with seven Regiments of Foot consisting of eight thousand four hundred besides Officers, with three thousand Horse, and one thousand two hundred Dragoons. And all these to be taken out of the General Fairfax Army, which was the occasion of much distemper between the Armies and the Parliament, as will appear the next year.

But according to our former Method, we may not omit the Kings affairs Military in Scotland under the Conduct of the Marquess of Montrose this year 1646.

Montrose

Anno
1646.

Continuation
of the
Kings affairs
under Mont-
rose in Scot-
land.

Montrose his late success made him famous abroad, which soon came to the Kings knowledge; and although he were not able to send him supplies sufficient to Arm against the great power of his Enemies, yet it was thought very fit to comply with him in Complements; and therefore the King to careffe him in some way, sends from *Oxford* several Letters and Messengers to *Montrose*, whilst he continued at *Bothwel* (four miles East of *Glasgow*) amongst whom was *Andrew Sandiland*, a *Scotish* man but bred in *England*, a Church-Man, faithful to the King and beloved of *Montrose*, with whom he continued to the end of the War. Another was *Sir Robert Spotswood*, Son President of the Session in *Scotland*, and now the Kings Secretary for that Kingdom.

The Instructions by all of them were to this effect:

That it was the Kings Pleasure Montrose should joyn unto himself the Earls of Roxborough and Traquair, and to confide in their advice and endeavours, of whose fidelity there was no question to be made. That he should hasten towards the Tweed, (the River that runneth to Barwick and divides the Kingdoms) where he should meet a party of Horse instantly sent by the King out of England, with which he might safely give Battel to David Lesly, if he should march that way with the Covenanters Horse, as was suspected he would.

Each Messenger said as much, and the King (evermore over credulous) confirmed the same by his Expresse, which *Montrose* resolves to obey. And here he receives a larger Commission from the King by *Spotswood*, wherein he was impowered to give the honour of Knighthood, which he did to *Mack Donel* at his departure.

Montrose intends the Kings commands, and Journies to *Calder Castle*, when the Earl of *Albony* whether *Montrose* would or no, carries away with him his own men, and all others of the Northern Forces.

Montrose passing by *Edenburgh* led his small Army through *Louthian*, and in *Straithgal* joyns with *Dowglasse*, whose forces mouldred daily: In that coast *Traquair* himself came to him, pretending faith and Loyalty to the King, and the next day sends to him his Son the Lord *Linton*, with a gallant Party of Horse as if to be under his Command, that by that like pledg he might the better shadow his Villany which he intended: the ungratfullest person to him, and in him also to the King. And now *Montrose* within twelve miles of *Roxborough* and *Hume* without any careffe from them, and therefore mistrusting, he resolves to seek them out and to bring them to reason. But they cunningly send to *David Lesly*, who by that time was come to *Barwick* with all the *Scotish* Horse out of *England*, and willingly give him leave to pretend to the

David Lesly
comes with
Horse from
the Scots Ar-
my in Eng-
land.

seizing

seizing of the Earls as Enemies to the Covenanters, which was done the day before *Montrose* came to them. Then comes *Lestly* over *Tweed*, marching East of *Lothian*. *Montrose* knowing their Wiles, and fearing to be blocked up from passing to the North and *Highlanders*, marches into *Armindale* & so to *Niddesdale* South-westwards, and the County of *Ayre* to raise Horse, the Enemies strength being therein. And from *Kelsor* comes to *Fedburgh* and *Selkirk* where he Quartered, busied in some dispatches all night to the King; and although he appointed the best of his Scouts, who it seemes were false, and suffered the Enemy with all their Forces to come within four miles ere he had warning.

Lestly that day when *Montrose* departed from *Fedburgh*, mustered his Men upon *Gladsmar* in *Lothianshire*, and marched straight to *Serathgale* to surprize *Montrose* upon the borders of *Tweed*, and *Linton* had private Order from *Traquair* his treacherous Father, to withdraw his party of Horse from *Montrose*, and the Enemy within half a mile with six thousand, the most Horse, charged his Wing disorderly got together, but Valiantly defended themselves until the third charge disranked, routed the Foot after some resistance, and over powered many, who were all put to the sword after, by *Lestly's* peculiar command, and so to the very Women and Horse-boys; most of the Horse and some Foot shifted well, and came to *Montrose* the next day. An honest *Irish* Man seeing one of the Kings Standards engaged, valiantly rescued it, and stripping the staff, wrapped it about his middle and brought it to *Montrose*, who honoured him with the bearing thereof ever after. The other Standard also born by *William Hie*, Brother to the Earl of *Kinole*, stript it off the staff and conveyed it with him to the borders of *England*, and after when the coast was clear brought it to the North to his General. But in comes the *Marquesse Douglass* and Sir *Fo. Dalziel*, with other his friends in this Extremity with a small Party of Horse (not a hundred) charged through the Enemy and escaped, and being pursued he made his Stand, slew divers and took *Bruce* a Captain of Horse, and two Cornets with their Colours Prisoners: *Traquair* Triumphingly reported *Montrose* and the Kings party totally defeated.

Defeats *Montroses* Forces.

But *Montrose* was well, and made the best use of his evil fortune, and therefore marching easily with good guard and valiant hearts; he marched Northwards, forded over *Cluid* River, where met him by the way many of his Souldiers, with the Earls of *Crawford* and *Airly*, and now he was strong, two hundred Horse and some Foot, and with convenient hast he resolves to go Northward into *A-shole*, and so passing over *Forth* River, and then *Erne*, he comes to *Perthshire*. And in his way he had sent *Dowglass* and *Airly* with *Angus* North East, and the Lord *Eisken* into *Marria* to raise their friends and dependance, and sent *Dalziel* to the Lord *Carnegy* with

Anno
1646.

Commissions to that purpose, and Letters to *Mac-Donel* and to *Aboin*, to return to him with their Forces.

About *August* the *Athole* Men furnished him with four hundred good Foot to march Northwards, and when ever he returned Southward he should command the whole County, only they desired to be spared now for their harvest.

Montrose with wonderful speed and unspeakable toil, clambers over *Gransbane* Mountains to meet with *Aboin* and *Mac-Donel*, whom he expected, and so the return of other his Messengers with their New Forces, then to return Southward again to meet with the Kings Horse, which by sundry Letters he was promised from *England*.

Aboin was of himself faithful and forward enough, but restrained: *Ersken* was sick, and *Huntly* was returned home, but with envy and ambition crossed under hand *Montrose's* designs; but at last *Aboin* meets him with fifteen hundred Foot and three hundred Horse at *Druminore*, a Castle of the Lord *Forbes*, and that his Brother *Lewis* was coming with more. Thus impowered, he instantly returns the same uncouth wayes over *Gransbane* Mountains, and to take up *Erskins* and then *Murries* Forces, and so to march Southward, *Lewis* was come, and marching together the first dayes Journey, stole away the next with such Forces as followed him. And the third day after his Brother *Aboin* with the rest of his Men desired leave to return, pretending their Fathers Command (the *Marquess Huntly*) whose County was in danger by the Enemy now about *Marre*, and would suddainly ransack their Country, but was content his Father should be treated with. To him therefore *Montrose* sends *Donald* Lord *Rose* and *Fermin* kinsmen, whom he had lately releived from Imprisonment. *Rose* was honest and ashamed of his Kinsmans refusal, fell sick and could not return. *Fermin* most noble, never forsaking *Montrose* to the death, came back with doubtful Letters, fast and loose. And so *Aboin* must go home.

Montrose came down through the plaines of *Marre* and *Scarischiock* into *Athole*, and so with increase of Forces he falls into *Perth*. Here *Aboin* sends him word that he had got leave to return, and would be with him before the time limited by his Forlough. And here also meets him two Messengers after each other: Captain *Thomas Ogleby* of *Pomie*, and Captain *Robert Nesbet* with Commands from the King, That if possible he should march Southward to the borders to meet the Lord *Digby*, Son to the Earl of *Bristol*, who was sent to him with a Party of Horse. The same Bearers he dispatches with the Letters to *Huntly* and *Aboin*, but in vain expectation he trifled away much time at *Strath Erne* in the *Perth*.

And here dies that gallant Man the Lord *Napier* of *Marcheston*, truly Noble, of an Ancient Family, his Father and Grand-father,

Philosophers

The Reign of King Charls.

971

Anno
1646.

Philosophers, and Mathematicians Famous through Christendom.

But indeed this man exceeded them in Civil Affairs, highly heretofore esteemed by King *JAMES*, and lately by K. *CHARLS*, made Lord Treasurer of *Scotland*, and advanced into the Rank of higher Nobility, his Loyalty had suffered all the effects of his Enemies malice, often Imprisoned, Sequestred, and Plundered of all his Substance, whose Elaborate Discourses of the *Rights of Kings*, and of the *Original in the Turmoyle of Great Britain*, I have heard of, and read some Manuscripts in Parcels, but heartily wish may be published.

Montrose is now passed the *Forth*, and come into the Lands and Estate of Sir *John Buchanan* a stiff Ring-leader of the Covenanters, and descended from old *Buchanan* ingrateful Schoolmaster to King *JAMES*, and yet for his sake, he and King *Charles* had advanced this man to what he was.

Hereabouts at *Leven Montrose* Encamps, being so near *Glasco*, that oftentimes he forces the City on purpose to deter the Convention of the Covenanters here, who sat in Council to arraign their Prisoners, whom *Montrose* endeavoured to rescue. Here they had for their Guard three thousand Horse, and he not more than 3 hundred, and fifteen hundred Foot, wasting the Countrey without resistance.

Notwithstanding before he came, they had executed three gallant men, we may not neglect their memory.

The first was the afore mentioned Sir *William Rollock*, *Montrose* his first Friend and Companion in Arms. He was sent to the King after the Battle of *Aberdine* and taken prisoner and condemned, but upon *Arguile* offer of life, he was dealt with to murder *Montrose*, whose life he valued far above his own, and to save him he accepted this offer, and so got loose, and instantly found out by *Montrose*, discovering all, which saved *Montrose* for the present, and was the cause of his own suffering, promising upon his word that if he did not doe it to return prisoner by such a day, which he did, to the grief of *Montrose*, and paid dear for it to the death.

The next was the afore said *Alexander Ogleby*, Eldest Son to Sir *John Imercarrit* (descended from those Famous in the *Scottish* Chronicles) he was not yet more then youth under eighteen, but of a daring Spirit and Loyal to the King, for which he was executed. Unless we admit him of the Family, in deadly feud with *Arguile*.

Then comes Sir *Philip Nesbit* (I finde him the Son of Col. *Nesbit*, a Regiment in the Kings service in *England*) we may adde those two *Irish* men that suffered at *Edenburgh*, some dayes before, Colonel *O-Caben*, and Colonel *Laghlin*, the crime of them all concentrated in this new Treason against the King and Covenanters.

Montrose having long looked for (six weeks) his absent Confederates

Anno.
1646.

derates out of the *North*, *Mac-donel*, *Alboin* and others, the Lord *Digby's* Forces defeated by the way, and he not able to hold out a piercing hard winter Camp. He the 20. of *November* departs from *Levin*, Marching Northward over the Snowy Mountains of *Taich*, through Woods and Loghes the *Strathern*, and over the River *Tay*, returns into *Athole*, where he met Captain *Ogleby* and Captain *Nesbit*, whom (we told you) he had sent with the Kings Letters to *Huntly*, but prevailed not.

Here against *Montrose* sends to Sir *John Dalry* to mediate the Kings cause, the danger of the Kingdome, and after all to beseech a conference with *Montrose*. But he returned answer with peevish scorns: Wherefore *Montrose* resolves to surprise into reason. Therefore in depth of Winter the last of *December* he marches through *Angus*, over *Granshaw* hills, and so with a few men he comes direct North into *Strathbogge*, where *Huntly* kept in hold; but with wondrous cunning, escaped to his Castle *Bogy*, upon the mouth of the River *Spey* that runs North and South. Thither posts *Montrose* with two men; and so disguised, rushes in and salutes him. Where they confer, and over-mastred with *Montrose's* reason, and perhaps loyalty to his Sovereigns cause, they agree and shook hands in earnest. *Huntley* to pass over the *Spey*, and fall down into *Murray Land*, South-West. *Montrose* to march Southwards on the East side to *Strath-spey*, and then suddenly to meet and Besiege *Inverness* a Garison in the North of *Murray Land* on the Sea Coast above the great Lake *Nessa* (which was near froze.) And his two Sons *Alboin* and *Lewis* confirmed friendship and obedience hereto upon the most assurance by oath that could possible be given from men of Honour, and by force of fair means to draw to them the Earl of *Seafort*.

Montrose accordingly Marches with his Forces towards *Inverness*, and sends *Patrick Graham* and *Dromond* to raise the whole men, seven hundred, who were put to it, for the *Arguile* Party and others were fallen upon the *Mack-Gregories*, and *Mack-Nubies* (who sided with *Montrose*) with fifteen hundred men. Having already fired a Town in the Lakes, and besieged *Ample Castle*, from which they are forced by the *Athole* men, and pursued, but Face about and fight, and being Routed fly, and many slain, and so return to *Montrose*. Of whom we take leave till we meet the next year.

The Foreign Affairs speak the surrender of *Dunkirk* to the French the tenth of *October*, and the same day the news was carried to the King, and Queen Regent newly arrived at *Paris* from *Fountain-Blean*, the Spaniards have now but three Haven Towns in *Flanders*, *Newport*, and *Baukerber* (which are not fit for greater Vessels then of ten Tun) and that of *Ostend* in truth capable of greater, but those less safe there than in the open Road.

Surrender of
Dunkirk to
the French.

The

The Reign of King Charls.

973

Anno
1646.

The Besieged Marched out of *Dunkirk* that night with fifteen hundred Foot, and three hundred Horse, besides four hundred sick and wounded persons: they have lost in their defence six or seven hundred of their best men, those that marched out were conducted to *Newport*. The Duke of *Anguien* (now Prince *Conde*) put in the Marshall of *Rantzau* Governour thereof. The *Holland* Ships assisted the *French* here.

We may not confound the Original and Natural Inhabitants with an heap of *divers* Nations, who being brought under the Banners of *Spain* into their Haven, (commodious for Sea-roads) did exercise that Piracy, which naturally the *Spaniard* doth not profess. The chieftest of the Natural people are *Flemings*, a Generation of good men, lovers of Traffique, Improvers of Handicraft, as appears by the great Trade and Commerce of those most populous Towns of *Flanders*, and the rest of the *Netherlands*. Another sort of them subsisting wholly by Thieving and Piracie.

The fifth of *September* the Emperour at *Prague*, came attired in his Imperial Robes, with his Eldest Son in white cloth of *Tyssue* early into the *Cathedral* Church of the Castle, attended with divers Princes and Lords that bare several dignities and honours in the State of *Germany*, the Emperour sat upon a Throne of Gold, the Son upon Silver, who having been re-attired with Royal Abilliments in a side Chappel was conducted by the Estates of *Bohemia* unto his Throne, where after Masse, he went and kneeled down before the Cardinal of *Harach*, invironed with sixteen Prelats in *Pontificalibus*, Anointed him, and put on his Head a Regal Crown, whereupon he was proclaimed King of *Bohemia*, and received the Oath of Allegiance of the Peers and States of that Kingdom, and the Ceremonies and Feastings finished, the Father and Son went to *Lintz*.

The Parliament and *Scot* having bought and sold the best Bargain, are soon decieved of their Prize by a third party, as bad as both the other. The Parliament jealous of any present Power to prevail but themselves, by degrees debate the lessening of the Army, thereby to be rid of such whom they misliked; And to send over thousands of them into *Ireland* to manage that War against the Rebels there; But the Souldiers (set on) begin to Mutiny, and being ripe for acting, their Cominanders underhand abet them, and after some alteration it fell into Sedition, and so into Division, those for the Parliament fared the worse and were Cashiered. And therefore twas necessary for some truly affected to discriminate the other. Those who were intrusted were called Agitators, two out of each Regiment, who indeed with others (of more power) Acted for erecting a *Democracie*, having seized the King out of custody of the Parlia-

1647.

A summary
or entrance to
this year 1647

Anno

1647.

Parliaments Commissioners, under pretence of favour and freedom of his person, they indulge him with many small Experiments for the present, of his Chaplains, converse with his Children, cares him to his most eminent Palace, so that the Camp and Court seemed one; nay, they frame Proposals to provide for the King, the Army, and people, envy at the Parliament, accuse divers Members of high Treason, urge the Dissolution of the Parliament regnant; and all this seemingly for the Kings Interest. In fine, the Military march up to the Parliament, and formidable, put them in fear.

Some of the Members of either Houses, with their Speakers, fly to the Camp for succour: the City and such as stay behinde prepare for a Defence, whose Circle being too wide for their Management, and unfaithfull to themselves, fall into Factions, the whole City submit to the Discretion of the Army, who first ingratiate the Speakers and Members in the Camp, and settle them into their Seats again, with condign punishment and Impeachment of high Treason upon the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, divers Lords, and many Members. The *Tower* and City *Militia* are new-modelled into other hands, their Fortifications demolished, and their Lines of Communication levelled, the Admiralty ordered into Commissioners; ad yet for all these punishments the City give thanks, and pay a Largeſs to the Army.

Thus the former eminent power, the *Presbyter*, by their own weight and pride sink, and raise the other; yet these are at their wits end also, unresolved and unsettled, The people at gaze for a Government, Proposals from the Army, and Propositions from the Parliament, the King refuses, as in hope to have them lessened, which they take for an advantage to themselves. The Wheel turns, and he is threatned, and under hand advised of some Danger to his person, which whilest he seeks to avoid, he falls into their Pit prepared for him, and afterwards into eminent Destruction, which the story too soon discovers.

Prince Elector
Palatine

We may wonder what becomes of the Prince *Electoꝛ Palatine*, he remained at *Westminster*, for his Interest might have been usefull for the Parliament, in case other Successes had failed, and therefore he stuck close to them, and in the time of all the Wars, whilest his two Brothers *Rupert* and *Maurice* were fighting for the King their Uncle, this *Palatine* was feasting with the Citizens at *London* every Thanksgiving Day, in effect, Drinking their own Healths, which was the others Destruction. But not to be out of the Gang, he was much reformed also, and upon his humble Desires was voted by the Commons to sit with the Synod of Divines at *Westminster*, for his assistance in the composure of the *Directory*, which will come out one day.

a Member of
the Assembly
of Divines.

And

The Reign of King Charls.

975

Anno
1647.

And now the six and twentieth of *March* we finde his Letter to the Lords House, and conferred with the Commons, *Wherein his Highness desires to communicate some Intelligence of great concernment in relation to the Protestant Religion through all Christendom, to such Committees as both Houses shall appoint.*

And here were two Committees conjoynd to wait upon his Highness herein, and that was all, for it came to no more; being a Design set on work by a *Scottish* man, who had laboured amongst the Northern *Lutherans*; first then, he descends Southwards to the *Genevians*, *Oecolampadians*, *Zwinglians*, *Hugonians*, and now returned hither to the *Presbyterians*, devising how by Articles of the general Fundamentals of Faith, professed amongst them all, to reconcile them into one certain *Creed*, and so to one professed Reformation against the common Enemy *Antichrist*, presuming, that as the *Roman Papists* agree in the *Catholick Cause*, so the *Reformed Churches* should settle into a *Protestation* alike. But this Business was too deep for his Highness, and too shallow for the Parliament to wade in: and so it went off in a puff.

And during his being here with the Parliament, his distressed Uncle the King is disconsolate at *Holmby*, under captivity and guard of the Parliaments Commissioners, which makes him contemplate this Soliloquy.

Yet (says he) may I justifie those Scots to all the World in this, that they have not deceived me; for I never trusted to them further, than to men: if I am sold by them, I am onely sorry they should do it; and that my Price should be so much above my Saviours.

The King
contemplates
his Captivity
at Holmby.
Eikon Bas.
cap. 23.

These are but further Essaies, which God will have me make of mans uncertainty; the more to fix me on himself, who never faileth them that trust in him: though the Reeds of Egypt break under the hand of him that leans on them; yet the Rock of Israel will be an everlasting stay and defence.

God's Providence commands me to retire from all to himself, that in him I may enjoy my self; whom I lose, while I let out my hopes to others.

The solitude and captivitie, to which I am now reduced, gives me leisure enough to studie the worlds vanitie and inconstancie.

God sees 'tis fit to deprive me of Wife, Children, Armie, Friends, and Freedom, that I may be wholly his, who alone is All.

I care not much to be reckoned among the Unfortunate, if I be not in the black List of irreligious and sacrilegious Princes.

No Restraint shall ensnare my Soul in sin, nor gain that of me, which may make mine Enemies more insolent, my Friends ashamed, or my Name accursed.

They have no great cause to triumph, that they have got my Person into their power; since my Soul is still mine own: nor shall they ever gain my Consent against my Conscience.

What

Anno
1647.

What they call Obstinacie, I know God accounts honest Constancie; from which Reason and Religion, as well as Honour, forbid me to recede.

'Tis evident now, that it was not Evil Counsellours with me, but a good Conscience in me, which hath been fought against; nor did they ever intend to bring me to my Parliament, till they had brought my minde to their obedience.

Should I grant what some men desire, I should be such as they wish me: not more a King, and far less both Man and Christian.

What Tumults and Armies could not obtain, neither shall Restraint, which though it have as little of Safetie to a Prince, yet it hath not more of Danger.

The fear of men shall never be my Snare; nor shall the love of any Libertie entangle my Soul: better others betray me, than my self; and that the price of my Libertie should be my Conscience: the greatest Injuries mine Enemies seek to inflict upon me cannot be without mine own consent.

While I can deny with Reason, I shall defeat the greatest impressions of their malice, who neither know how to use worthily what I have already granted; nor what to require more of me but this, that I would seem willing to help them to destroy my self and mine.

Although they should Destroy me, yet they shall have no cause to Despise me.

Neither libertie, nor life are so dear to me, as the peace of my Conscience, the Honour of my Crowns, and the welfare of my People; which my word may injure more than any War can do, while I gratifie a few to oppress all.

The Laws will, by God's blessing, revive, with the Love and Loyaltie of my Subjects, if I bury them not with my consent, and cover them in that Grave of Dishonour, and Injustice, which some mens violence hath digged for them.

If my Captivitie, or Death must be the Price of their Redemption, I grudge not to pay it.

No condition can make a King miserable, which carries not with it his Soul's, his People's, and Posterities thralldom.

After-times may see, what the blindness of this Age will not; and God may at length shew my Subjects, that I chuse rather to suffer for them, than with them; haply I might redeem my self to some shew of Libertie, if I would consent to enslave them: I had rather hazzard the Ruine of one King, than confirm many Tyrants over them; from whom I pray God deliver them, whatever becomes of me, whose solitude hath not left me alone.

Judg Fenkins
refuses to be
examined.

Judg Fenkins taken at the Surrender of Castle in Wales, was convened before a Committee of the House of Commons, to answer to some Questions propounded to him.

T o

The Reign of King Charls.

977

Anno

1647.

To which he gave no Answer, but presented them with this Paper.

I stand committed for high Treason, for not acknowledging, nor obeying the power of the Parliament, by adhering to the King in this War.

I denie this to be Treason, and this is my Reason :

The supreme power by the Laws of this Land is in the King, if he should submit to any Examination derived from your power, which by the Negative Oath stands in opposition to the Kings power, I should confess the power to be in you, and so condemn my self for a Traitor indeed.

I am sworn to obey the King and the Laws, you have no power to examine me by these Laws, but by the Kings Writ, Patent or Commission, and you do not produce either : you your selves this Parliament have sworn, that the King is our onely supreme Governour : your Protestations, Vows and Covenant, solemn League and Covenant, your Declarations all of them publish to the Kingdom, that your scope is the maintenance of the Laws, those Laws must be derived to us, and enlivened by the onely supreme Governour, the Fountain of Justice, and the Life of the Law, the King.

The Parliaments are called by his Writs, the Judges sit by his Patents, so of all Officers, the Cities and Towns Corporate govern by the Kings Charters ; and therefore since by the Laws I cannot be by you examined I do refuse to answer.

April 10. 1647.

David Jenkins.

And forthwith he publishes a Discourse in print concerning Treason, Murder and Felony, that any person committing either of them, hath no assurance of Life, Lands or Goods without the Kings pardon. 27 H.8.cap.24.

The King is not virtually in the two Houses at Westminster, whereby they can give pardon to these offences.

The Parliament in their Declaration November 28. last to the Scots Papers say, [That the King at this time is not in a condition to govern] and it is impossible that they should have a virtue from the King to govern, which they declare he hath not himself to give.

The Law of the Land is 5 Eliz.cap.1. That no person hath a Voice in Parliament before he take Oath that the King is the onely and supreme Governour. How does this Oath agree with their Declaration ? By the one it is sworn, He is the onely supreme Governour ; and by the other, that he is not in a condition to govern : so they swear one thing, and declare the contrary at the same time.

The Parliament say, that the Parliament are the onely supreme Governours in default of the King, for that he hath left his great Council, and will not come to them, and yet he desires to come, and they will not suffer him, but keep him Prisoner at Holmby.

That there is no point of Government, but for some years past they

Anno

1647.

have taken to themselves and used his Name onely to deceive the People.

They have sent Propositions to Oxford, to Newcastle, to be signed by him; What needs this ado, if they have the virtual power with them at Westminster?

To say, that his virtual power is separate from his person is high Treason. See Coke in Calvin's case, fol. 11. And setting down the Traitors Arguments of that time, they were condemned in Edw. 2. called Exilium Hugonis le Spencer: and the other in 1 Edw. 3. cap. 2.

That the two Bodies Natural and Politick, make but one Body, and not divers, is resolved 4 Eliz. Plowden Com. fol. 213. by Catlin, Dier, Sanders, Raftal, Brown, Corbet, Weston, Frevil, Carve, Powdrel, Gerard, Carel, Plowden, the most learned men of our Law in that Age.

That no Act of Parliament bindes the Subject without the assent of the King, either for Person, Lands, Goods, or Fame. The styles of the Acts in Print from 9 H. 3. to 1 H. 7. And since his time it continues thus: so that alwaies the assent of the King giveth Life to all, as the Soul to the Bodie.

He is called by our Law-books, the Fountain of Justice, the Life of the Law. Mercie as well as Justice belongs onely to the King, 2 H. 4. Mr. Pryn in his Treatise of the great Seal saies as much. See 27 H. 8. cap. 24.

Queen Elizabeth summoned her first Parliament to be held Jan. 23. 1 Eliz. and the Parliament accordingly assembled, but she being sick, it was prorogued till the 25. of the same; and it was resolved by all the Judges, that the Parliament began not till the said 25. Day.

They have the King a Prisoner at Holmby, and yet they govern by the virtual power of their Prisoner, a meer deluding Fiction.

All these he will justifie with his Life, and takes it for an Honour to die for the Laws of the Land.

April 29.

David Jenkins.

We must confess that H. P. a Barrister of *Lincolns Inn* made a slight Answer to *Jenkins*, but being ashamed to set down his Name, we will not trouble the Reader with it, but leave it to the Lawyers.

But this man endured from time to time strict Imprisonment in most of the Goals at *London*, was arraigned at the Sessions in the *Old Baily*, at the *Kings Bench Bar*, and where not? and is now at liberty, legally answering to all the Exceptions against him.

We enter this year with the military affairs of the *English Army* (for the *Scots* are gone) modelled into less, and sixty thousand pounds a Moneth settled for their pay, as also for the Transport and Main-

Maintenance of these to be employed into Ireland, viz. eight thousand Foot, and two thousand Horse. And in these Commissioners are appointed to treat with the General at *Saffron Walden* in *Cambridgeshire*, and the Advance-money was borrowed of the City, no less than two hundred thousand pounds.

The Officers met, five and fourty of them, and resolve,

That they were not resolved concerning the engaging in the Service of Ireland with those under their Command; yet they shall be ready to further and advance it amongst those under their Commands. But conclude in four Questions.

1. *Under whose Conduct in chief those (who are to engage for Ireland) shall go?*
2. *What particular Forces of this Armie are to be continued in England?*
3. *What Assurance of Subsistence and Pay to those that engage for Ireland during their stay there?*
4. *When shall the Armie receive their Arrears and Indempnitie for past Services in England?*

And thus heated, a Petition is drawn into Heads:

For provision for Indempnitie, the Arrears to be paid, that the Foot Souldiers may not be prest out of the Kingdom, nor Horsmen compelled to serve on Foot, their Widows and Children to be relieved, and (untill the Armie be disbanded) that they may receive Pay to discharge Quarters, and not to burden the Countrey.

Petition from
the Army.

To this Petition were Subscribers, increafing daily into Thousands, and to be preferred by Lieutenant General *Hamond*, Colonel *Hamond*, *Ireton*, and *Rich*, and others who are sent for to the Parliament, and ere they come the Parliament declare,

Their high dislike of that Petition, and their approbation and esteem of their good Service who first discovered it: but if the Subscribers forbear to proceed any further therein, they shall be retained in the Parliaments good opinion: and that those who shall continue in their distempered condition shall be proceeded against as Enemies to the State.

But all things were pieced for the present, and not till the General was angry, who sends a Letter to some Members, and to this effect,

That there is another Petition on foot in the Countie of Essex against this Armie, and which was read in several Churches yesterday by the Mi-

Anno.
1647.

wisters to get Hands thereto. The Souldiers, specially the Horse, are much troubled at this, and crie out, Why may not we petition, as to see Petitions subscribed in an indirect manner against us, and that under our Noses? The Horse here about talk of drawing to a Rendezvous to compose something of Vindication, &c.

Walden, April 5.

And this Essex Petition was framed at London, and sent down thither for Subscribers.

Then comes out an Apology of the common Souldiers to their General, presented under the Hands of the Agents (or Commissioners, as they call themselves) for the several Regiments, wherein they complain of the Design of Modelling and Disbanding some of their Forces styling the publick proceedings,

To be a Plot, a meer Cloak for some, who have lately tasted of Sovereignie, and being lifted beyond their ordinary Sphere of Servants, seek to become Masters, and degenerate into Tyrants, and therefore utterly refuse the Service of Ireland, untill their Desires be granted, the just Right and Liberties of the Subject vindicated and maintained.

To which they all subsign April 28. for which some of them were questioned and imprisoned: but then they are angry indeed, and complain to their General, *That they speaking but for the Rights and Liberties of this Nation are some of them slighted, abused, beaten, and dragged to Goals, to the Ruine of their Estates, and loss of their Lives.*

The Parliament busle, and vote the Apologizers Enemies to the State, and such as they could catch were laid by the heels at London.

Bosvil in secret gives Letters to the King.

The King was close beset with watchfull eys over him, and yet one Major Bosvil once of his Army, and of the Lord Cleveland's Regiment, disguised in a Countrey-mans Habit, the King (walking out) passed over a narrow Bridg, he put a Pacquet into the Kings hand, but was discovered by the Miller, directing the Pursuit after the Major, who was overtaken and brought to confession, *That the Letters came from the Queen at Paris, and that they contain a Desire of the Prince of Wales to go with the Duke of Orleans into the Field this Summer, who commands the French Armie against the Spaniards in Flanders.*

But the King being desired to acquaint his Guardians with the Contents: he answered, *That he was not to give account to any man living.*

And because the Countrey flocked to the Court for cure of the Disease called *The Kings Evil*, the Parliament declare, *That the People shall be satisfied of the fond Superstition of that custome to be touched*

touch'd by the King, and that they are not suffered to be healed by him.

And being the Feast of the Church called *Easter*, the Parliament discharged that Solemn Custom. But were told by the King, that the Feast was Instituted by the same Authority, which changed the *Jewish* Sabbath into the Lords day or Sunday, for the Scripture doth not mention this; So then, we may as well return to the Sabbath Saturday, if we refuse the Church Authority which Instituted both. 23. April.

This day was read the Kings Letter to the Parliament in effect: to Answer the Propositions formerly sent to him which he had lying by him, and that himself without a Secretary, had formed this Answer.

CHARLES REX,

As the daily expectation of the coming of the Propositions hath made his Majesty this long time to forbear giving his Answer unto them, so the appearance of their sending being no more for any thing he can hear, than it was at his first coming hither, notwithstanding that the Earl of Louderdale hath been at London above these ten daies, (whose not coming was said to be the only stop) hath caused his Majestie thus to anticipate their coming to him, and yet considering his condition, that his Servants are denied accesse to him, all but very few, and those by appointment, not his own election, and that it is declared a crime for any but the Commissioners, or such who are particularly permitted by them, to converse with his Majesty, or that any Letters should be given to, or received from him, may he not truly say, that he is not in case fit to make concessions, or give Answers, since he is not master of those ordinary actions which are the undoubted rights of any free-born man, how mean soever his birth be? And certainly he would still be silent as to this Subject, untill his condition were much mended, did he not prefer such a right understanding betwixt him and his Parliaments of both Kingdoms, which may make a firm and lasting peace in all his Dominions, before any particular of his own, or any earthly blessing; and therefore his Majesty hath diligently employed his utmost endeavours for divers moneths past, so to inform his understanding, and satisfie his Conscience, that he might be able to give such Answers to the Propositions, as would be most conformable to his Parliament; but he ingeniously professes, that notwithstanding all the pains that he hath taken therein, the nature of some of them appears such unto him, that without disclaiming that Reason which God hath given him to judge by, for the good of him and his people, and without putting the greatest violence upon his own Conscience, he cannot give his consent to all of them. Yet his Majesty (that it may appear to all the World how desirous he is to give full satisfaction) hath thought fit herby to expresse his readinesse to grant what he may, and his willingness to receive from them, and that

The Kings Answer to the former Propositions.

Anno

1647.

Anno

1647.

that personally, if his two Houses at Westminster shall approve thereof, such further information in the rest as may best convince his judgment, and satisfie those doubts which are not yet clear unto him, desiring them also to consider that if his Majesty intended to winde himself out of these troubles by indirect means, were it not easie for him now readily to consent to what hath, or shall be proposed unto him; and afterwards choose his time to break all, alleging, that forced Concessions are not to be kept: surely he might, and not incur a hard censure from indifferent men. But maxims in this kinde are not the guides of his Majesties actions, for he freely and clearly avowes, that he holds it unlawfull for any man, and most base in a King to recede from his promises for having been obtained by force or under restraint; wherefore his Majestic not only rejecting those acts which he esteems unworthy of him, but even passing by that which he might well insist upon, a point of honour, in respect of his present condition, thus answers the first Proposition. That upon his Majesties coming to London, he will heartily joyn in all that shall concern the honour of his two Kingdoms, or the Assembly of the States of Scotland, or of the Commissioners or Deputies of either Kingdom, particularly in those things which are desired in that Proposition, upon confidence that all of them respectively with the same tenderneſſe will look upon those things which concern his Majesties honour.

In Answer to all the Propositions concerning Religion, his Majesty proposeth, that he will confirm the Presbyterial government, the Assembly of Divines at Westminster, and the Directory for three years, being the time set down by the two Houses, so that his Majesty and his household be not hindered from that Form of Gods Service which they formerly have: And also that a free consultation and debate be had with the Divines at Westminster (twenty of his Majesties nomination being added unto them) whereby it may be determined by his Majesty and the two Houses, how the Church shall be governed after the said three years, or sooner, if differences may be agreed. Touching the Covenant, his Majesty is not yet therein satisfied, and desires to respite his particular Answer thereunto, until his coming to London, because it being a matter of conscience he cannot give a resolution therein, till he may be assisted with the advice of some of his own Chaplains (which hath hitherto been denied him) and such other Divines as shall be most proper to inform him therein; and then he will make clearly appear, both his zeal to the Protestant profession, and the union of these two Kingdoms, which he conceives to be the main drift of this Covenant. To the seventh and eighth Propositions, his Majesty will consent. To the ninth, his Majesty doubts not but to give good satisfaction when he shall be particularly informed how the said penalties shall be levied and disposed of. To the tenth, his Majesties Answer is, that he hath been alwaies ready to prevent the practises of Papists, and therefore is content to passe an Act of Parliament for that purpose: And also that the Laws against them be duly executed. His Majesty will give his consent to the

Act

Act for the due Observation of the Lords Day, for the suppressing of Innovations, and those concerning the Preaching of Gods Word, and touching Non-Residence and pluralities, and his Majesty will yeild to such Act or Acts as shall be requisite to raise monies for the payment and satisfying all publick debis, expecting also that his will be therein included. As to the Proposition touching the Militia, though his Majesty cannot consent unto it in terminis as it is proposed, because thereby, he conceives, he wholly parts with the power of the Sword entrusted to him by God and the Laws of the Land, for the protection and government of his people, thereby at once divesting himself, and dis inheriting his Posterity of that right and Prerogative of the Crown, which is absolutely necessary to the Kingly Office, and so weaken Monarchy in this Kingdom, that little more then the name and shadow of it will remain: Yet if it be only security for the preservation of the peace of this Kingdom, after the unhappy troubles, and the due performance of all the agreements which are now to be concluded, which is desired (which his Majesty alwayes understood to be the case, and hopes that herein he is not mistaken) his Majesty will give abundant satisfaction, to which end he is willing by Act of Parliament, that the whole power of the Militia, both by Sea and Land for the space of ten years, be in the hands of such persons as the two Houses shall nominate, giving them power during the said term to chang the said persons, and substitute others in their places at pleasure, and afterwards to return to the proper Chanel again, as it was in the times of Queen Elizabeth and King James of blessed memory. And now his Majesty conjures his two Houses of Parliament, as they are Englishmen and lovers of peace, by the Duty they owe to his Majesty their King, and by the bowels of compassion they have to their fellow Subjects, that they will accept of this his Majesties offer, whereby the joyfull news of peace may be restored to this languishing Kingdom. His Majesty will grant the like to the Kingdom of Scotland if it be desired, and agree to all things that are propounded touching the conserving of peace betwixt the two Kingdoms.

Touching Ireland (other things being agreed) his Majesty will give satisfaction therein. As to the mutual Declarations proposed to be established in both Kingdoms by Act of Parliament, and the Modifications, Qualifications, and Branches which follow in the Propositions, his Majesty only professes, that he doth not sufficiently understand, nor is able to reconcile many things contained in them; but this he well knoweth, That a general Act of Oblivion is the best bond of Peace; and that after intestine troubles, the wisdom of this and other Kingdoms hath usually and happily in all Ages granted general Pardons, whereby the numerous discontentments of Persons and Families otherwise exposed to ruin, might not become fuel to new disorders, or seeds to future troubles. His Majesty therefore desires, that his two Houses of Parliament would seriously descend into these considerations, and likewise tenderly look upon his conditioin herein, and the perpetual dishonour that
must

Anno.
1647.

must cleave to him, if he shall thus abandon so many persons of Condition and Fortune that have engaged themselves with and for him, out of a sense of duty, and propounds as a very acceptable testimony of their affection to him, that a general Act of Oblivion and free Pardon be forthwith passed by Act of Parliament. Touching the new great Seale, his Majesty is very willing to confirm both it, and all the Acts done by vertue thereof, untill this present time, so that it be not thereby pressed to make void those Acts of his done by vertue of his great Seal, which in honour and justice he is obliged to maintain: And that the future government thereof may be in his Majesty, according to the due course of Law. Concerning the Officers mentioned in the nineteenth Article, his Majesty when he shall come to Westminster will gratifie his Parliament all that possible he may, without destroying the alterations which are necessary for the Crown. His Majesty will willingly consent to the Act for the confirmation of the Priviledges and Customs of the City of London, and all that is mentioned in the Propositions for their particular advantage. And now that his Majesty hath thus far endeavoured to comply with the desires of his two Houses of Parliament. To the end that this agreement may be firm and lasting, without the least face or question of restraint to blemish the same, his Majesty earnestly desires presently to be admitted to his Parliament at Westminster, with that honour which is due to their Sovereigne, there solemnly to confirm the same, and Legally to passe the Acts before mentioned, and to give and receive as well satisfaction in all the remaining particulars, as likewise such other pledges of mutual love, trust and confidence, as shall most concern the good of him and his people; upon which happy agreement, his Majesty will dispatch his Directions to the Prince his Son, to return immediately to him, and will undertake for his ready obedience thereunto.

Holmby, May 12. 1647.

The Army
discontent.

The Commissioners sent down to the Army return this Account, That they had sent to the Army the result of the Parliament, for the addition of fourteen dayes pay more, and the Act of Indempnity to the Officers. But the Parliament Voted, That all the Forces of this Kingdom not subscribing for the service of Ireland shall be disbanded; excepting those for the continued Garisons, and to be referred to the Committee of Derby House, to consider of the time when that the General (now at London) be desired to repair to the Army: Which he did some weeks after, viz. the twentieth of May. For the Army was in Mutiny against the Members, and were not appeased until the Parliaments Declaration against the Army was rased out of the Journal Books of both the Houses; seizing their Monies and Carriages as they passed for several Garisons, and shared it as they thought good. And the Reformado's and Souldiers about London, flocked to the Parliament, and for two hours blocked up

up the door of the Commons not suffering any to passe out or come in, till their desires were granted.

And being in this fearful case, the Commons vote concerning their self-denying Ordinance, which upon such desperate distempers they would often debate and vote, but never observe as now.

That such Members as have any Place, Office, or Sequestration, granted to them be void, and the benefit which they have received since the Ordinance, be payed to the Common-wealth.

That the Members Lands be liable to their debts: And freedom of Petitions against any Member.

That no Member receive any reparations for Damages by these times, till the publick debts of the Kingdom be satisfied.

For indeed so many Members pretended damages, that the poor Cavaliers Estates for private satisfactions, were not able to compound for their Delinquency.

And the Commons of *London* were drawn to side with the Parliament, and the multitude made a Petition in the name of many thousands well affected in the City of *London*, which was canvassed in the House of Commons and laid aside, untill the Petitioners came flocking for Answer, who were advised to depute a small Number to attend, and they waited so long that some one of them was snap't for prating at the Parliament door, which he justified at their Bar and was only bidden to return home and be Mannerly, but the Petition was burnt, several Copies at *Westminster*, others at the *Exchange London*. 22. May.

The City Petition burned.

But the Army is a powerfull party that must be otherwise handled, and therefore the Parliament order Commissioners of their own to Treat with the Armies Commissioners. The Parliaments Men were the Earl of *Nottingham*, Lord *Wharton*, Field Marshal *Skippon*, Sir *Henry Vane Jun.* Sir *Thomas Widrington*, Colonel *White*, Mr. *Scawen* and Mr. *Pory*. For the Army Commissioners, General *Ireton*, Sir *Hardresse Waller*, Colonel *Rich*, Colonel *Lambert* and Major *Desbrough*. And their first meeting was at *Wickham*, the second of *July*.

Commissioners of the Parliament and of the Army treat.

Little being as yet effected in relation to former desires of the Army, they told them that they had several things of weight to be added, which may very much conduce to the peace and safety of the Kingdom, the preventing of a new War, and to the sending of some relief to *Ireland*, which they will offer at the next meeting.

The King at *Holmby* with his Guardians, and the Parliament and Army in distemper, the Army thought it their Advantage to seize the King into their custody, and accordingly the third of *June* a

The King taken into the Armies power

Anno
1647.

party of Horse under command of Coronet *Foice*, and sent from the Committee of Troopers in the Army, came to *Holmby*, where after they had secured their Guards demanded the King of the Commissioners, who in a maze asked for his Warrant, whose Answer, *That it was the sense of the Armie*. The same he said to the King, promising security of his Majesties person; and so the next Day after Dinner the Troop carried him and the Commissioners (who would not leave him) towards the Army: of which the King sends word to the Parliament by the Earl of *Dunferling*.

That the King was unwillingly taken away by a part of the Armie, (five hundred Troopers) that he desired the Parliament to maintain the Laws of the Land; and that though he might sign to many things, being in this condition, yet not to be believed, till further notice to the Houses.

This was strange and uncouth to the Parliament; and therefore they order to sit again to morrow (though *Sunday*) and Mr. *Marshall* is voted to pray for them; for the Army was in Rendezvous near *Kenford* six Miles from *Bury*, and the King in his way to them, and so to *Newmarket*, all the people in the High-way strewing the Streets with Flowers and Boughs, and crying out *Hosanna*; and therefore the Army conveyed him not through *Cambridg*, but by *Trumpington* to *Newmarket*.

But the Generals Letter to the Parliament says, *That the Soldiers at Holmby had brought the King thence by consent, and lay at Colonel Mountagues the next Night, and would be at Newmarket the next Day: the ground whereof was from an apprehension of some strength gathered to force the King from them; thereupon I sent (says he) Colonel Whaley with his Regiment to meet the King and the Commissioners, and to return them back again, but they refused, and were come to Sir John Cuts near Cambridg. The General professing, that this Remove was without his consent, or his Officers about him, or the Bodie of the Armie, or without their desire or privitie; and whose person he will secure from danger. And assures the Parliament, that the whole Armie endeavours Peace, and are clear from opposing Presbyterie, or to affect Independencie, or to hold a licentious Freedom in Religion, or Interest in any particular partie, but to leave all to the Parliament.*

Then on the sudden comes three Colonels, Reformadoes and Actours at *London*, with News to the Parliament, *That a Major of the Armie gave them assurance, that the Armie was marching, and would be with the Parliament by Noon next Day, advising the Colonels to return with him to the Armie, where they should be included within the Capitulation for their Arrears.*

This

The Army
draws towards
London.

The Reign of King Charls.

987

1647

1647

This strook the Parliament into a panick fear: the Committee of Safety are sent unto to sit all Night.

The Sheriffs and Common Council of London present a Letter to them from the Army to that purpose, of coming to the City.

A Message presently is voted to the General to desire him not to come within five and twenty Miles of London, and order ten thousand pounds more for the Army, the Head Quarters being at Roiston, June 11.

And as the City moved for the Parliament, so Petitions came from the Counties, praying the Army not to disband ere all things were settled, and so they come to St. Albans.

Then the Trained Bands are drawn out upon pain of Death, and on the sudden all sent home again, onely the Passes are strongly guarded about the Line of Communication, then the Shops are shut up, such clattering of Doors and Windows, such Fears and Jealousies indeed, as men would imagine the City were mad, who send a Committee of their Common Council to the General.

And he returns Answer, *That the Armie was come thither ere the Parliaments Desires came to his hands*, and prays the House to send a Moneths Pay speedily to the Army, which was done very dutifully.

And yet they vote, *That the General be required to deliver the person of the King to the former Commissioners, to come to Richmond, to the intent that Propositions of Peace may be speedily presented to his Majesty, and that Colonel Rossiter and his Regiment may guard his person.*

The Army declare likewise, *That they appeal in the business of Ireland, and desire of the Parliament to review their former Papers, not yet satisfied, that the Parliament and Kingdom are concerned therein*, pleading the Declarations of the Parliament themselves therein in point of Freedom, Peace, Safety, the Laws of the Kingdom, the President of Scotland; and in the close conclude with Propositions for settling and securing their own and the Kingdoms common Rest, Peace, and Safety, grounded upon these positive Articles.

The Armes
Representation.

That the Houses may be speedily purged of such as ought not to sit there.

That such who abused the Parliament and Army, and endanger the Kingdom may be speedily disabled from doing the like or worse.

That some determinate period of time may be set to this and future Parliaments, according to the intent of the Bill for Triennial Parliaments.

That provision may be not to be adjournable or dissolvable by any power, but by their own consent, during their respective period, and then to determine themselves.

Anno
1647.

The Charge
against eleven
Members.

Their persons
to be suspend-
ed.

That the freedom of the people to present Grievances by Petition to Parliament may be vindicated.

That the exorbitant powers of Countrey Committees may be taken away.

That the Kingdom may be satisfied in the Parliaments Accounts for their vast Sums received, and also in divers other things wherein the Common-wealth have been abused.

That after Delinquents have passed their Compositions, an Act of Oblivion may be passed.

These fly high, and therefore the Parliament to appease them send Commissioners to treat with the General, to receive their Grievance, which now is returned, a Charge against eleven Members of the Commons, *Denzil Hollis, Esq. Sir Philip Stapleton, Sir William Lewis, Sir John Clotworthy, Sir William Waller, Sir John Mainard, Major General Massey, Mr. Glyn Recorder of London, Colonel Walter Long, Colonel Edward Harley, and Anthony Nichols, Esq.* Which Charge being read to their faces, some of them made excuse for the present.

But this Charge is brought up by these Officers of Note, four Colonels, *Scroop, Okey, Hewson, and Pride*; Lieutenant Colonels *Bowen and Goff*; Major *Desborough*, and five Captains, *Berry, Clark, Carter, Rolph, and Saxbie*: and must be obeyed, for there follows them a Paper also from the General and Army, shewing,

That in pursuance of the Representation, they have the Heads of a Charge against these Members, and shall appoint fit persons on our and the Kingdoms behalf to make good the same; and that if the Parliament shall admit the Debate and Consideration, then the Armie shall desire,

That the persons impeached may be forthwith suspended from sitting in the House, who have notoriously appeared to the prejudice and provocation of the Armie, and unfit to be Judges therein.

That a Moneths Pay be immediately sent down to the Armie the next Day by Noon at the farthest.

That if those Officers and Souldiers of the Army who have engaged in Ireland, or those who have deserted the Army and come to London, have received more than a Moneths Pay, that then so much more Money may be sent to the Army to make their Pay equal.

And that hereafter they have no more Pay till the Army be paid their Arrears.

And concerning secret Practices and Designs to raise and list new Forces, and those engaged in Ireland, to march towards London, to engage in a second War.

That no force be further raised in these Kingdoms, or invited from foreign preparations, to interrupt the Liberties and Peace of the Kingdom.

And

The Reign of King Charls.

989

And all these to be speedily performed, the condition of the Army, and Kingdom, and King himself, not admitting Delaies.

June 27.

Anno

1647.

To which obedience was performed, and the several Orders for listing and drawing together any Forces of the Counties, as also that other of listing the Reformadoes Officers to engage in the Parliaments Service are nulled and void.

But the Parliament debate the suspension of their eleven Members, and vote, *That by Law no Judgment can be given to suspend those Members, before the particulars of the Papers be produced, and the proofs made. Nor have those Members done or said any thing wish- in the House for which the House can suspend them.*

Votes in Par-
liament con-
cerning the
11. Members.

But the Army is displeased, the eleven Members forbear the House.

But not to affright the Parliament and City by being too near with the Army, they removed to *Backhamstead*, seven and twenty Miles from *London*, thence to *Uxbridg* the six and twentieth of *June*, and the King came from *Roiston* to *Hatfield* to the Earl of *Salisbury's*, and thence to *Causam* the Lord *Craven's*.

The Army answer these Votes, *That they can prove them guilty of such practices in the House as will be just for the House to suspend them.*

Answered by
the Army.

And that by the Laws of the Land and the Parliaments Precedents in the E. of *Strafford*, Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*, and the Lord Keeper *Finch*, and others, upon very Papers of Accusation they were suspended the sitting in Parliament; and yet the Army is ready to give in a Charge against them, and because the Members have of themselves forborn the House, they are to be so forborn till they be proceeded against, which is ready, *June 27*.

And yet to comply with the Desires of the Parliament the Army remove to *Wickham*.

And truly as the Kings Surprizal at *Holmby*, and those future Distractions amazed most men to foresee the Issue and effects, so it put the King into serious contemplation, as he expresses himself.

What part God will have me now to act or suffer in this new and strange Scene of Affairs, I am not much solicitous; some little practice will serve that man, who onely seeks to represent a part of honesty and honour.

Eikon Bas.
cap. 26.

This Surprize of Me tells the World, that a King cannot be so low, but he is considerable; adding weight to that party where he appears.

This motion, like others of the times, seems excentrick and irregular;

Anno

1647.

lar, yet not well to be resisted or quieted: Better swim down such a stream, then in vain to strive against it.

These are but the strugglings of those Twins, which lately one womb enclosed; the younger striving to prevail against the elder: what the Presbyterians have hunted after, the Independents now seek to catch for themselves.

So impossible it is for lines to be drawn from the center, and not to divide from each other, so much the wider, by how much they go farther from the point of union.

That the builders of Babel should from division fall to confusion, is no wonder; but for those that pretend to build Jerusalem, to divide their tongues and hands, is but an ill Omen; and sounds too like the fury of those Zealots, whose intestine bitternesse and divisions were the greatest occasion of the last fatal destruction of that City.

Well may I change my Keepers and Prison, but not my Captive condition; only with this hope of bettering, that those, who are so much professed Patrons for the peoples Liberties, cannot be utterly against the Libertie of their King; what they demand for their own Consciences, they cannot in reason denie to mine.

In this they seem more ingenious then the Presbyterian rigor, who, sometimes complaining of exacting their conformitie to Laws, are become the greatest Exactors of other mens submission to their novel injunctions, before they are stamped with the Authority of Laws, which they cannot well have without my consent.

'Tis a great argument, that the Independents think themselves manumitted from their Rival's service, in that they carry on a business of such consequence, as the assuming my person into the Armies custodie, without any Commission, but that of their own will and power. Such as will thus adventure on a King, must not be thought over-modest, or timorous to carry on any design they have a minde to.

The next motion menace's, and scares both the two Houses and the City: which soon after, acting over again that former part of Tumultuarie motions, (never questioned, punished, or repented of) must now suffer for both; and see their former sin in the glass of the present terrors and distractions.

No man is so blinde as not to see herein the hand of Divine Justice; they that by Tumults first occasioned the raising of Armies, must now be chastened by their own Armie for new Tumults.

So hardly can men be content with one sin, but add sin to sin, till the later punish the former; such as were content to see me and many Members of both Houses driven away by the first unsuppressed Tumults, are now forced to flie to an Armie, or defend themselves against them.

But who can unfold the riddle of some mens justice? The Members of both Houses who at first withdrew (as my self was forced to do) from
the

the rudeness of the Tumults, were counted Desertors, and outed of their places in Parliament: such as staid then, and enjoyed the benefit of the Tumults, were asserted for the only Parliament men.

Now the fliers from, and forsakers of their places, carry the Parliamentary power along with them; complain highly against the Tumults, and vindicate themselves by an Army: Such as remained and kept their Stations, are looked upon as Abettors of Tumultuarie Insolencies, and Betrayers of the Freedom and honour of Parliament.

Thus is Power above all Rule, Order, and Law; where men look more to present Advantages then their Consciences, and the unchangeable Rules of Justice; while they are Judges of others: they are forced to condemn themselves.

Now the plea against Tumults holds good; the Authors and Abettors of them are guilty of prodigious insolencies; when as before, they were counted as Friends and necessary Assistants.

I see Vengeance pursues and overtakes (as the Mice and Rats are said to have done a Bishop in Germany) them that thought to have escaped and fortified themselves most impregnably against it, both by their multitude and compliance.

Whom the Laws cannot, God will punish by their own crimes and hands.

I cannot but observe this divine Justice, yet with sorrow and pitie; for, I alwaies wished so well to the Parliament and City, that I was sorry to see them doe, or suffer any thing unworthy such great and considerable bodies in this Kingdom.

I was glad to see them only scared and humbled, not broken by that shaking: I never had so ill a thought of those Cities as to despair of their Loyalty to me; which mistakes might Eclipse, but I never believed malice had quite put out.

I pray God the storm be yet wholly passed over them; upon whom I look, as Christ did sometime over Jerusalem, as Objects of my prayers and tears, with compassionate grief, fore-seeing those severer scatterings which will certainly befall such as wantonly refuse to be gathered to their duty: fatall blindness frequently attending and punishing wilful; so that men shall not be able at last to prevent their sorrows who would not timely repent of their sins; nor shall they be suffered to enjoy the comforts, who securely neglect the counsels belonging to their peace. They will finde that Brethren in iniquitie are not far from becoming insolent enemies, there being nothing harder then to keep ill men long in one place.

Nor is it possible to gain a fair period for those Notions which go rather in a round and circle of phansie, then in a right line of Reason tending to the Law, the onely Center of publick consistencie; whither I pray God at last bring all sides.

Which will easily be done, when we shall fully see how much more happy we are, to be subject to the known Laws, then to the various

Anno
1647.

rious Wills of any men, seem they never so plausible at first.

Vulgar compliance with any illegal and extravagant waies, like violent motions in nature, soon grows wearie of it self, and ends in a refractory sullenness. Peoples rebounds are oft in their faces, who first put them upon those violent strokes.

For the Army (which is so far excusable, as they Act according to Souldiers Principles and interests, demanding Pay and Indempnitie) I think it necessarie, in order to the publick peace, that they should be satisfied, as far as is just; no man being more prone to consider then my self: though they have fought against me, yet I cannot but so far esteem that valour and gallantrie they have sometime shewed, as to wish I may never want such men to maintain my self, my Laws, and my Kingdoms, in such a Peace, as wherein they may enjoy their share and proportion as much as any men.

The Kings
desire to see
his children
retarded.

The King had made a suit to the Parliament, to vouchsafe him the comfort of seeing his Children (at Syon) as he passed towards Windsor, but was not admitted. He being now at Causam (the Lord Cravens House) made his case known to the General, who resents it so much that he Writes to the Speaker of the Commons House, and the same to the Lords. And answered the Parliaments Exceptions, because the Duke of Richmond and two of the Kings Chaplains had access to him.

Mr. Speaker

The Generals
letter in the
Kings behalf,
and herein the
case of the
Army in
reference to
the King.

I was sent unto by the King on Friday last to desire the Parliament to give way to him to see his Children, and that they might for that purpose be sent unto him. If I may be bold, humbly to offer my Opinion, I think the allowance of such a thing may be without the least prejudice to the Kingdom, and yet gain more upon his Majestie than denying it. And if it be in the prayers of everie good man that his heart may be gained, the performance of such Civilities to him is verie sutable to those desires, and will bear well with all men, who, if they can imagine it their own case, cannot but be sorry if his Majesties natural affection to his Children in so small a thing shall not be complied with.

And if any question should be concerning the assurance of their return, I shall ingage therein, within what time the Parliament shall limit.

Upon this occasion, give me leave I beseech you to take notice of some Reports spread abroad, as if my self and the Officers of the Army were upon some under-hand Contract or Bargain with the King, and from thence occasion is taken to slander our integrities, and endeavours, a misunderstanding betwixt the Parliament and Army, the fidelitie of which to the Parliament and Kingdom, and their affections to it, are the great objects of many mens envies, because they see nothing so likely to settle

Right

Right and Freedom with Truth and Peace to us, and Posterity, and to hinder their designs against the same, as an Harmonie and good accord between the Parliament and Army, which is the joy of good men, and it shall be our study to preserve against all Designs and Designers to the contrary.

To prevent therefore all misunderstandings of that kind, I thought fit with all clearness to declare unto you, that we have done nothing, nor shall doe any thing which we desire to hide from you, or the world, or shall not avow to the faces of our greatest Adversaries.

Our desires concerning a just consideration and settlement of the Kings Right (his Majestie first giving his concurrence to settle and secure the Rights and Liberties of the Kingdom) we have already publicly declared in our Representation and Remonstrance: since the first of these Papers sent to the Parliament, there have been several Officers of the Army upon several occasions sent to his Majestie, the first to present to him a Copy of the Representation, and after that some others to tender him a Copy of the Remonstrance: upon both which the Officers sent were appointed to clear the sence and intention of any thing in either Paper, whereupon his Majestie might make any question: since then, also there have been some other Officers at several times sent to his Majestie about his remove from Hatfield, to dissuade (if possibly) from Windsor or any place so near London, to some place of further distance, answerable to what we had desired from the Parliament.

In all which Addresses to his Majestie, we care not who knows what hath been said or done, for as we have nothing to bargain for, or to ask either from his Majestie or the Parliament, for advantage to our selves or any particular party, or interest of our own: so in all these addresses to his Majestie, we have utterly disclaimed and disavowed any such thing: But the only intent and effect of those addresses, hath been to desire his Majesties free concurrence with the Parliament for establishing and securing the common Rights and Liberties, and setting the Peace of the Kingdom, and to assure him that (the publick being so provided for with such his Majesties concurrence) it is fully agreeable to principles, and should be desirous and endeavour, that (with, and in such setting of the publick) the Rights of his Majesties Royal Family should be also provided for, so as a lasting Peace and agreement might be settled in this Nation. And that as we had publicly declared for the same in general terms, so (if things came to a way of settlement we should not be wanting (in our Sphere) to own that general desire in any particulars of Natural or Civil Rights to his Majesties Person or Family, which might not prejudice, or again indanger the publick. And in the mean time that his Majestie should finde all personal Civilities and respects from us, with all reasonable Freedom that might stand with safety, and with the trust or charge lying upon us concerning his person.

You have here the utmost sum of what hath past from us to his Majesty, and we could wish that all men did rightly understand (without

Anno
1647.

misrepresentation) every particular wherein (as we know nothing not agreeable to Reason, Justice, Honesty, or Conscience, so) we thought our selves concerned the rather to say, and doe as we have towards his Majestie, since he came within our Quarters, because of those common prejudices suggested against us, as if we were utter Enemies to Monarchy, and all civil Order or Government.

And for that particular of the Duke of Richmond, and the two Chaplains (Dr. Hamond and Dr. Sheldon) lately admitted to attend his Majestie, it was not done without much reluctancie, because therein we doubted we might be misunderstood by the Kingdoms best friends.

But upon his Majesties continuing importunity for it (as a thing very nearly concerning his inward and outward contentment) and conceiving those persons such (as we hoped) would not doe ill Offices to prejudice the Peace of the Kingdom, we did give way to it, and the persons (before they came) had notice of the permission. And as we then thought, so we still doe think to allow him such company of persons least dangerous, whom former acquaintance may make him take pleasure in, and the allowance of some such Chaplains of his own, are things both reasonable and just, and the debarring of that Liberty in the latter we doubt will but make him the more prejudiced against the Ministers.

In general, we humbly conceive that to avoid all harshness and afford all kinde usage to his Majesties person in things consisting with the Peace and safety of the Kingdom, is the most Christian, Honourable, and most prudent way, and in all things (as the Representation and Remonstrance of the Army doth expresse) we think that Tender, Moderate, and Equitable dealing, both towards his Majestie, his Royal Family and his late party (so far as may stand with safety to the Kingdom, and security to our common Rights and Liberties) is the most hopeful course to take away the seeds of War, future Feuds amongst us, for posterity, and to procure a lasting Peace and Agreement in this now distracted Nation, to the effecting and settling whereof (with a secure provision first to be made for the Common Rights and Liberties of the Kingdom) and a due care to propagate and preserve the Gospel of Faith and Peace amongst us, we shall hope that neither the Parliament, nor his Majestie will be wanting. And if God shall see it good to make us any way Instrumental thereunto: or that we may otherwise see the same accomplished: we shall then think our selves indeed discharged from the publick engagements we have been called out unto, more clearly and effectually then (before such things were settled) we could have thought our selves to be, and to demonstrate our clearness from seeking self Advantages in what we did, we shall thenceforth account it our greatest happiness and honour (if God see it good) to be disengaged and dismiss, not only from our Military charges, but from all other matters of Power or publick employment whatever.

I have in these things spoken, not in my own name only, but in the name (because I finde it to be the clear sence of the Generality, or at the least

of

The Reign of King Charls.

995

of the most considerable part) of the Army, and I am confident that you and the Kingdom will never finde it otherwise. I shall leave it to your favourable construction, and commit all to the goodness of God for an happy issue. I remain

Your most humble servant

Thomas Fairfax.

Reading, July 8. 1647.

Anno
1647.

In the Letter to the House of Peers, which is the same with this to the Commons, there was inclosed a Letter from his Majesty to his Son the Duke of York.

CHARLES REX.

JAMES, I am in hope, that you may be permitted, with your Brother, and Sister, to come to some place betwixt this and London, where I may see you.

To this end therefore I command you to ask leave of the two Houses, to make a journey (if it may be) for a night or two.

But rather then not to see you, I will be content that ye come to some convenient place to dine, and go back at night.

And foreseeing the fear of your being brought within the power of the Army, as I am, may be objected, to hinder this my desire,

I have full assurance from Sir Thomas Fairfax, and the chief Officers, that there will be no interruption, or impediment, made by them for your return, how, and when you please. So God bless you.

Casam, July 4.

Your loving Father

1647.

Charles R.

Send me word as soon as you can, of the time, and place, where I shall have the contentment of seeing you, your Brother, and Sister. And accordingly the King and they met at Maidstone, where they dined together, went with the King to Casam, and there stayed two dayes and returned.

Indeed at this time the Parliament were jealous of the K. and Army, lest they should Treat without their consent: and Pamphlets had been Printed of Heads presented by the Army to the King, 19. June. As also Articles agreed upon between the King and the Army, 26. June, which the General complained of since he came to Wickham being devised to distract the Peace of the Kingdom. And daily several Petitions were presented by Prentices to the Parliament in many particulars, which the next day another number of Prentices would contradict. And the Army likewise devised as many jealousies and fears of a private Ingagement, and Subscribing in the City of London and against the Army; Then the Parliament Order their Votes of the Militia in the hands of the City to be Null, and for to be Treason to seek Subscriptions to Petitions. Upon which the

Anno.

1647.

Prentices clamour at the Houses, and in *Westminster Hall* in such Multitudes and Mutiny, that the Commons were forced to Unvöre and Null their last Orders.

And in this Hubbub the Army Marches neerer *London*. Orders are therefore given by the *Militia* that the Trained Bands doe Man the Works, and Proclamation for all the Inhabitants that have, or can bear Arms, to appear in their defence of the City against the Army, 30. *July*.

The eleven
Members have
leave to travel.

But the 11. Members were wise enough to ponder their different conditions and Power now, not to struggle with an Army, though 5. such other Members had the better heretofore of the King. And therefore these having made their way to some of the Officers of the Army, and now by a Member *Mr. Green* to the Parliament, They humbly desire, and had it granted.

That leave be given to *Denzil Hollis*, *Sir Philip Stapleton*, and the rest, &c. for six moneths to be absent at their own home, or to go beyond Seas, and then to return and attend the Parliament, to Answer the Charge against them.

Result of the
difference be-
tween the Par-
liament and
Army.

The debate hitherto of the Treaty between the Commissioners of the Parliament, and the Commissioners of the Army came to this result.

That a Declaration be published by Parliament against the coming in of any Foreign Forces.

That the pay of the Army be put into a constant course, and Accountants called in question.

That the Militia of London return into former hands well affected.

That all persons imprisoned (for pretended misdemeanours) not by course of Law, but by Order of Parliament or their Committees, to have libertie of Baile, and after of Trial; If innocent, that they may have reparation. In particular they mention Lieutenant Colonel John Lilburn, Mr. Mulgrave, Mr. Overton, and others imprisoned at London or any other places, contrarie to the Acts and Statutes of 35. Eliz. and the 3. of James against Conventicles or Meetings in pretence of Religious Exercises.

To grant these, and other such Demands, the Parliament Vote them neither for their Interest nor Honour, the Souldiers heretofore for King and people, March on towards the Parliament, who with the *Londoners* prepare for Defence, and Vote that the King be invited to *London*.

Both Speakers
and some
Members fly
to the Army.

The Parliament in these Distractions had a while Adjourned, and now come to Assemble, the Speakers of both Houses with about half a hundred of their Members were slipt out of the City, and were not to be found, but anon tremblingly, betake themselves to the

the Camp: crying out against the outrage of their fellows, and the Citizens, and certain Reformadoes, desiring the Armies protection of their persons, and to punish the Offenders. Some others also of their friends stay behind to manage the Councils in the Houses. Hereupon the few Members present Vote new Speakers, the Upper House chose the Lord Grey in the place of the Earl of Manchester: The Commons Elect Mr. Pellam Councillor of Lincolns Inn and a Member, to be Speaker *pro tempore*; A new Mace bearer also, one Mr. *Nusfolk* borrowed the City Mace for the present of those who were their friends: and thus fitted, they began to Vote. 29. July.

That the King comes to *London*. That the City raise what Force they think fit, with such Commanders in Chief, and Officers of the *Militia* as they shall appear, and so the City chose Major General *Masse* their Master in chief for the City: and Order that all Reformadoes doe appear and be listed in St. *Jame's* Fields for Defence of the City, and so we finde the City and this new *Representative* to be all one.

But the General hears of this, who for the ease of the Countrey was removed about *Bedford*, pretending thereby in reference to the desires of the City not to approach near *London*, and therefore now he writes to the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, &c.

My Lord and Gentlemen,

You may please to remember the forward compliance of the Army, wish your desires to remove at this distance, upon assurance that you would secure the Parliament from violence, &c. And therefore we cannot but be sensible of the unparalleled violation acted upon the Parliament on Munday last 26. July, by a multitude from the Citie, with incouragement of divers of the Common Councel, a prodigious and horrid face, tending to dissolve all Government, and look upon them as accountable for to the Kingdom, the interruption thereby of Peace and settlement of the Nation, and relieving of Ireland, upon which score the Armie will put every thing of the like nature, except Justice be done to the Offenders. Bedford 30. July.

The General
resents the out-
rage of the
City.

And finding the City to stand upon their Guard, the Army forthwith March a round pace nearer *London*, and within two days were got to *Uxbridge*, and some Horse were entered *Windsor*, *Hownslow*, and then to *London*, professing their Obligations to the Parliament whom they will defend, for the old Speakers and many Members were fled to their Protection. And the eleven Members that had leave to travel, were now got into this new Parliament, and *Masse*, Sir *William Waller*, and Colonel General *Poins* the

Anno

1647.

The Cities
Declaration
against the
Army.

the City Favourites were Lifting Reformadoes and others Souldiers.

And out comes the City Declaration, 31. July in effect.

That his Majesty was surpris'd at Holmby, and though the Act was disavowed by the General, Yet the Armie desire that his person may be Resident with them: Improving their interest throughout the Kingdom.

That the City have indeavoured by Remonstrance and Petitions to satisfie all unbiass'd men of their zeal to Peace, by establishing the True Religion, restoring his Majestie, and maintaining Priviledge of Parliament, easing the charge of the Kingdom, securing the peoples Liberty, and relieving of Ireland: Endeavouring to hold good correspondency between the Army and City.

That the Priviledges of Parliament have been violated by the Armies causing the eleven Members to withdraw, whilst the City Militia is demanded, contrary to the Establishment by Ordinance of Parliament, and is subject to no other Cognizance then of the King and Parliament.

That there is nothing in the world that we desire more, then that his Majestie be left free in such an honourable condition and capacitie, as his person may appear to be at libertie to receive, and treat upon Propositions to be presented to him from the Parliaments of both Kingdoms, for whilst his Royal person is invironed by an Army, and remains under the power thereof, He cannot give that free assent to Propositions as is requisite, or if he doe, we nor our Posterity have no hope to enjoy the same without alteration. And therefore we are resolved to apply ourselves to the Parliament, and hope that all good Subjects touched with the sence of Duty and Allegiance, which by the Law of God and man, they owe to the King, will unanimously joyn with us therein.

The matter of difference thus truly stated between us and the Army, to wit, That we would not submit the Militia of the City to be ruled at the pleasure of an Army, after it had been so orderly settled into the hands of such as were intrusted with it for a year, when there was a full and free Parliament] So we finde it more then time that the whole Kingdom be possessed with the true state thereof, and upon whom the guilt of a new War (which God forbid) must justly lodge, and accordingly we expect a blessing from God in our just defence.

And conclude their desires summond up to be [The settlement of Religion, by re-establishing his Majesty in his just Rights and Authority, by upholding all lawful priviledges of a free Parliament, by maintaining the Fundamental Laws, by restoring the Subjects Libertie and propertie, by freeing this long oppressed Kingdom of all Taxes enforced, Free Quarter of the Army, which hath had no visible Enemy to encounter] and from this resolution we shall never recede for any earthly consideration or advantage whatsoever.

And

The Reign of King Charls.

999

Anno
1647.

And although the Parliament had by Ordinance of 19. *July* given the General power over all the Land Forces under the pay of the Parliament, they declare it shall not extend over the Trained Bands, and Garisons.

And both Houses Order that this Declaration be Printed and published by the *Militia* of the City by sound of Trumpet, and that the Sheriffs of the severall Counties of this Kingdom and *Wales* do publish the same in their respective Limits accordingly.

The Army comes on, this night at *Wickam*, to morrow to be at *Colebrook*, and the King now at *Latimer*. The last of *July* he was two dayes after at *Stoke Abby* near *Windfor*.

In this confusion the City differ among themselves at the sitting of their Common Councel at *Guildhall*, the Trained Bands of *Southwark* came in a Mutinous manner, and would not be commanded out of their *Borough*, but there to stand upon their own Guard. Then were presented Petitions of thousands well-affected (one against another) that matters might be composed, but what way, they cared not, nor could they tell. And therefore their new Leaders *Masse*, *Waller*, and *Poins* were displeased with the multitude at *Guildhall*, fell to words and blows, divers wounded, and some slain, and the Aldermen in Councel fearing the people, were faine to sit all day and that night, and only concluded to write to the General.

The City in
some disorder
submit.

And Petitions are set on work on either side, as their constitutions led them, some against the Parliament, others against the Army: others made it their sport to see this confusion in Church and State, and like true *Bautofees* kindled this fire into a flame.

[*Men (they say) that have wasted their Estates in the Kingdoms extremity. Some complain for liberty of Conscience, are now to a new tone and tune, for their Faith are Imprisoned, though nothing can be found worthy of death, or of durance only, for differing in the outside controversies: though blameless in Conversation and Office.*] So that in truth it was apparent to the people, that after such a vast expense of Blood and Treasure, the exchange was of men in Places, but not of Manners, old burthens with new names, new men with old Corruptions; Then in places of new Election for Members, they first made the choice, and then give the Voice: complaining against the Parliamentary proceedings, and pray the Army not to lay down their power, till the Kingdom with its Ruler be committed to the care and charge of such persons as may secure us from fear of future oppression.

The City send 6. Aldermen and 12. Commons with a Letter to the General, and complain [*That the City is suspected, though innocent* from

And treat
with the Ar-
my.

Anno.

1647.

from Acting against the Army, and therefore these their Members they send to be added to their Committee now attending the Council of the Army, and pray the General to forbear the mischief of a new War.]

No sooner come, but they were presented with the Armies Remonstrance and Proposals.

And on *Hownow Heath* they Rendezvouz, twenty thousand Men, Horse and Foot, with a great Train of Artillery to astonish the City: and therefore such of the Parliament as trusted to the Souldiers were there present, the Earls of *Northumberland, Salisbury, Kent*: the Lords *Wark, Howard, Wharton, Say, and Moulgrave* and others, fourteen in all, the Speaker Mr. *Lenthall* of the Commons, and above a hundred more of their Members. The City stand in a maze, unresolved and inconstant: the Army in the mean time send a Brigade under Command of *Rainsborough* and *Hewson* over *Kingstone Bridge*, and all night March to *Southwark*, being called thither in opposition to the City. *Massey* was busie, and knowing his own case desperate, sent out his Scouts, and are met with and taken prisoners, some of the Train-men would needs march out, and were worsted and lost their Colours: for the General, was now near *Brainford*.

And therefore the City meet him with humble Messages: That finding that his desires of Marching so near, is to settle the Members of the Lords and Commons in their Liberties of Parliament, to which the City will contribute all their Power and Service, and pray with all submission that he will please to send such a Guard of several Regiments as may conduct them to the Parliament in safety, and that the Passes and Ports shall be set open for them, and what else, to his Excellencies command. 3. Aug.

The Army
Brigades
come to
Southwark.

But on come the Brigades into *Southwark*, to encompass the City, and *Rainsborough, Hewson, Pride, & Thistlewell* Marched without opposition, but rather heartily welcome, till they came to the Bridge-gate of the City, which was shut and the Portcullis let down, and a Guard within; They make a stand and plant two pieces and set a Guard without: then *Hewson* Marched into *St. Georges Fields*, sends a Summons to the great Fort in the Highway to *Lambeth*, which was suddenly Surrendred by eight a clock that morning.

The Common Council now sitting, post away Messages to the General, who slowly comes on, and demands all the Forts of the West side of the City to be Commanded by him before six a clock at night. To which the City submit. Professing how ready they are to comply with the Army, and have given order to their *Militia* for drawing off all Forces and Ordnance accordingly, and speedily to be effected. And that now next under Almighty God, we doe rely

The Reign of King Charls.

1001

rely upon your Excellencies honourable word for our safety and protection. 4. Aug.

Anno

1647.

The Kings
Letter to the
General for
Protection.

The King this while, fast and loose on all sides, thought it good to be as forward with the Army, professing in his Letter that he acquits himself of the scandal cast upon him concerning the Tumults of London, accounting it a dishonourable action to be brought to his City in Tumult, desiring rather to rely on the General and the Army as more safe and honourable, excusing that this Letter came but now, which was writ the day before this agreement between the General and the City.

But he comes on, and at *Kensington* is met by the City Commissioners, by the Members of both Houses, who had been driven away by tumult. And forthwith a Declaration is published of the mutual joyning of the Parliament and Army, making Null all Acts passed by the Members at *Westminster*, since the 26. of *July* last, and so all March together towards *Westminster*.

The absent
Members are
settled again.

And by the way in *Hide Park* waits the Lord Mayor and his Brethren to congratulate the good compofure between the Army and City, and then to *Westminster* thus;

First, *Hamonds* Regiment of Foot, and *Rich* his Horse, next the Lord General *Cromwells* Regiment of Horse, and then the General on Horseback with his Life Guard, the Lords in Coaches with the Speaker of the Commons and their Members. *Tomlinsons* Regiment of Horse brought up the Rear-Guard; and you must note that each Soldier had a green branch in his hat, and at *Charing Cross* stood the Common Council, humbly ducking to his Excellency, and so went on to the Parliament. And being sat in both Houses, their first duty was to Enact the General to be High Constable of the Tower of *London*. The next was for a Festival day on all sides, which the sorrowful City must nevertheless pay for. Then was the General sent for to receive thanks of both Houses for his preservation of their Liberties. And to caress the Army, a months pay is given to them as a largess for this great grace and favour.

The Army
marches in
State to *West-*
minster,

And the next day the General with the whole Army, Horse and Foot, Marched in Triumph through the City, from eleven a clock till eight at night, the Generals Quarters went to *Croyden*, and the Army all about in *Essex* and *Kent* from this day being Saturday, till Munday.

and in Tri-
umph through
the City.

When the General comes to takes possession of the *Tower*, and the City Guard were turned out, and after Dinner the City Committee did congratulate their happiness in his care of the City, and could wish, that the Records of the *Tower* might in time to

Anno
1647.

come make known to the World this their safety in him, (being now made visible in subjection to the Souldier) they crave pardon for not waiting upon him to the City in such equipage as he merited, nor with such a present as the shortness of preparation could possibly admit, and therefore they were now come to bid him to Dinner. And in the end of all they desired that Mr. West might continue his Deputy Lieutenant.

But they were answered, *He had intrusted it to one of his own, and a Citizen, Colonel Titchburn.*

Then he took view of the Amunition, the strength of the *White Tower*; and last of all, of the Records, where he was told of the great Charter of *England*, which he had a great desire (he said) to see. And being shewed it with some Ceremonies he took off his Hat, *This is that (said he) which we have fought for, and by Gods help we must maintain.*

Some smiled to see his simple and single intention, the sense of all pretenders, which while we fight for, we fly from.

And having done what they would do, they begin again to think of the King, the great expectation of the Kingdom, and so he resides at his Quarters at *Kingston*, August 13.

But first the Parliament must undo what the City had lately done in their *Apprentices Ordinance*, (so called) and voted unwarrantable, and in a word, to unravel and null all Acts in their absence, and to prosecute Examinations, and Punishments against the Actours in the late Insurrections.

And the King is come from *Stoke* to *Oatlands*, August 14.

But the Members were not well at ease, unless some Settlement were made for them by Orders and Ordinances against the usurping Members from *July 26. to Aug. 6. to be forced and no free Parliament.*

At last, after long Debate the Question was put, *Whether the Question should be put or not?* And concluded Affirmative by two Voices.

Then, *Whether the Proceedings were forced, and that Sitting no free Parliament?* And it was carried in the Negative by three Voices, August 17.

And the Army remonstrate the practice of the late force upon the Parliament, *That not any of those Members which did sit in the absence of their Speaker shall presume to continue in the House, till satisfaction be given of their intension to raise a new War, and imbroid the Kingdom by contriving the King to come to the City, and they brought to condign punishment by the judgment of a free Parliament.*

And so they have Letters of Thanks from both Houses for this Remonstrance, August 20. But take it in effect:

Whereas there was a visible, horrid, insolent, and actual force upon the

The forced
Acts of Par-
liament made
null.

The late force
of Parliament
debated.

Armies Re-
monstrance
hereupon.

The Reign of King Charls.

1003

Anno

1647.

the Houses of Parliament Munday the six and twentieth of July last, whereby the Speakers and many Members were forced to absent themselves, and could not return and sit before the sixth of August: and that the Ordinance of the six and twentieth of July for revoking and making void of the Ordinance of the three and twentieth of July for setting the Militia of London, and all other their Votes in this time, to be void. Provided that no persons be impeached for their so acting in these Votes, unless he or they be found guilty of contriving or acting the visible force, or bringing the King to the City, as is mentioned in the Kings Letter of the twelfth of May last, and Committees set a work to examine all these particulars.

Amongst which the Inquisition returns, the apprehending of six of the eleven Members in their passage upon the Sea within two Leagues of *Calais*, and brought back again, the manner thus:

Six of the 11.
Members sur-
prized at Sea.

Major *Redman* upon the Guard at *Gravesend*, having notice that some of them were passed by, and gone to *Margarets* in *Kent*, and ere his Messenger came there they were hoised Sail a Mile at Sea, the Town upon this Allarm muster up forty Men under command of one Captain *Lamming*, put to Sea in a small Vessel, and overtook them within six Miles of *Calais*, and being assisted also by a Frigate, the Members yielded, being *Hollis*, *Stapleton*, *Lewis*, *Clotworthy*, and *Long*, and were brought aboard Captain *Batten* at *Deal*, who dismissed them again and sent them to Sea, and the Seamen for their Service soundly checked by *Batten*.

And another of the Members Mr. *Nichols* being apprehended travelling to the West Countrey was sent to the General, accused by the Army of high Treason, was sent up to the Parliament, and committed to the custody of their Serjeants Deputy one *Denham*, who upon his Parol gave him liberty, and he escaped.

And upon Examination of others Actours in the late Force against the Parliament were impeached of high Treason, these were three Colonels, *Sawton*, *Vaughan*, and *Chapman*, Lieutenant Colonel *Baies*, and Captain *Cox*.

The six of these Members aforesaid that *Batten* remitted landed at *Calais*, and Sir *Philip Stapleton* falling sick in the Town, and as soon as suspected to be of the Plague, for *London* was infected, he and they were hurried out of the Town towards *Flushing*, but *Stapleton* died by the High-way in a Ditch, none willing to receive him under their Roof, a sad Example to the rest, who got safe to *Flushing*.

Sir Philip Sta-
pleton died of
the Plague.

The Armies Head Quarters at *Kingston*, the King at *Hampton Court*, this Moneths Pay ordered to be given in gratuity to the Army for their protection of the Parliament, (in effect against the City) is refused to be lent or raised by the City, excusing them-

Anno
1647.

Excise continued by ordinance of Parliament.

selves of mighty Sums lent, and much Money not repaid, and the great pressures of Taxes; whereupon the Army advance nearer, and are come to *Putney* and *Hamersmith*.

In this time of Distraction of Parliament, Army, and City, the people thought fit to be eased of their Taxes and payments, and specially of some part of Excise; and several Petitions have been to that purpose by several Tradesmen in reference to their respective Interests, and to shew their dislike, have lately committed many Insolencies in opposition against the Officers of Excise; whereupon the Parliament were fain to establish that Duty by a second Ordinance, in effect:

That by their late taking off the Excise from Flesh and all Salt made in this Kingdom, they hoped the People with patience would have excused the Parliament for removal of the rest, and not have insulted with violence and injuries upon their Commissioners and Officers.

And tell them plainly, they cannot as yet ease the people from any part of Paiment thereof, but expect due obedience to their Declarations of the two and twentieth of February, 1646. then occasioned by Tumults and Riots of this kinde now daily increased, so that the Parliament will seriously consider to suppress those Insolencies, and punish the Offenders, and to insist upon the due collection thereof against all opposition whatsoever; and therefore command all Justices of Peace, &c. to assisist their Officers; and desire that the Army would suppress the Tumults and Riots hereabouts.

And do earnestly desire to satisfie the People, that the Service of the Receipts of Excise hitherto hath amounted but unto the Sum of one Million, three hundred thirty four thousand five hundred thirty two pounds ten shillings eleven pence half-penny. The benefit of which hath discharged towards the Relief of Ireland, and satisfaction of their Brethren of Scotland, Maintenance of their Navy, their Army, maimed Souldiers, and other expences of the Parliament for the Kingdoms use.

Besides there is due upon the credit of the Excise divers great Sums of Money yet owing for, and must be paid. And do perswade, that the Excise is the most orderly, equal Tax to the People, and the greatest ease, in raising this way, which otherwise would have been raised with much more difficulty, and in a far more burdensom manner, &c.

August ult.

The King was now come to *Hampton Court* with the Parliament Commissioners, all this time attending upon him, and some of the Army for his Guard. He dines abroad in the Presence-chamber with the same Duty and Ceremonies as heretofore, where any of the Gentry are admitted to kiss his hand. After Dinner he retires to his Chamber, then he walks into the Park, or plays at Tennis, yesterday he killed a Stag and a Buck, and dined with his Children at *Sion*, where they remain as yet, and he returned.

And

King at
*Hampton
Court.*

The Reign of King Charls.

1005

And at this time he was much troubled at a Paper, intituled, *The Kings Declaration*, which he disowned as contrary to his Intentions, and it was publicly professed in writing by Colonel *Whaley* at the Kings desire that he disavowed it. *August ult.*

Anno

1647.

And now was the Marquess of *Ormond* come to *Hampton Court* to the King, and from thence to *Putney* to the General, he had by the Kings command quitted his Government to the Parliaments Commissioners, &c.

During these passages, the *Scottish* Commissioners residing here near the Parliament at *Worcester House* in the *Strand*, and their Masters at home as busie in their Assembly general, to whom the Commissioners send their Secretary with an Expreß to the Parliament of *Scotland*, and he was staid at *Newcastle* by the Governour, and kept prisoner upon some suspition, which after complaint of the Estates of *Scotland*, he was released, and Colonel *Robert Lilburn* the Governour put to his Excuse; as that upon the late great Tumults in the City of *London* against the Parliament, and some jealousy of Imbroils in *Scotland* to follow, and Mr. *Chisley* coming that way towards *Scotland* with a new Speakers Pass, whom he knew not, he onely secured his person untill Major General *Lambert* then in the North satisfied him of his condition, and that all Rumours were now at quiet; and prays that the happy freindship and union betwixt the two Nations may not be obstructed by this his clear Intentions, not to violate it in the least observance.

Scots Commissioners.

And now the old Gang of the Committee of *Militia* (whereabout all this stir had been) was re-established and setled in the persons as heretofore, viz. in *Pennington, Wollaston, Atkins, Warner, Fouk, Gibs, Andrews, Ven, Allen, Foot*; a certain number, or any nine of them.

The old mutinous way of Petitions were now increased, & as they were of mixed natures in each Petition, so were they diverse in the contents, some of which, partly for the Parliament, and much for the Army, those of the Parliament come oft time from the well affected of such a County or Corporation; and booted and spurr'd they must have answer, and the Gentlemen must be called in for to receive thanks, which usually was thus expressed by Mr. Speaker, *That though there be some things in the Petition that the House cannot so well approve of to be presented by Petition, yet because in other things they express their good affections, they have the thanks of the House.* And evermore in the tail of all they are told, *that the House had thoughts to such and such of their particulars expressed, and for others of them the House were now in debate thereof.* And so the Gentlemen Commoners that came of the Errand trot home again no wiser than they were before, onely with thus much honour that they have seen the Parliament sitting.

Sundry secret Petitions of mixed natures.

And

Anno
1647.

And according to the change of the time, one of their Articles is evermore, *to be tender in imposing the Covenant upon any of their own Members, or upon others whose consciences dare not subscribe unto it, that they would provide for succouring tender consciences, and not suffer them to be grieved, and to be brought into bondage by rigid Impositions, who live without offence: and never fail to give a wibe against the King and his Prelatical party.* And last of all, they petition, *that many men of competent gifts, of good life and conversation, who are willing to imploy their talents in the Lords work, and yet are by occasion of some scruples about Ordination discountenanced from engaging in the work of the Gospel, and in the things of our peace; and pray that such men may receive encouragement and protection from both Houses.*

This wrought for them, for as the Protestant reformed from Romes Papacy, the Presbyters from the Prelacy, the Independents from them, and the Libertines from all; in which we sum up numberless Sectaries under the notion of godly gifted men. And indeed the Members were not well pleased at the strictness of the Presbytery, and forbore the House, so that at this time there were absent of the Commons near two hundred Members, in neglect or contempt of their proceedings; so that the House make Orders and Proclamations in every County with Amerciaments by Fine of such as come not by the third of *November next. Octob. 9.*

But the gifted men fall to preaching, and every Libertine began to profess himself of a tender conscience, so suddenly increasing, that the Parliament order, *That they shall have Liberty to meet for religious Duties in any place at any time, and may be excused from the Churches on the Lords Day, if so be they meet elsewhere to hear preaching or expounding.* But with this Proviso, *That the Indulgence as to tender consciences shall not extend to tolerate the use of the Common Prayer in any place whatsoever;* that was the Bug-Bear in all places. *Octob. 16.*

Divers Mem-
bers condemn-
ed for Actors
in the late
Tumult.

Upon Examinations of divers Actors, Fomenters of the late Up-
roar of Parliament and City, sundry were imprisoned, Mr. Glyn the
Recorder of London was charged, *that he had been very active in the
late Actions for a new War, countenanced the Cities last Declaration, en-
couraged the riotous Petitioners, had been very active with the Committee
of safety and new Committee of the Militia of London, &c.* And although
he was able and did make his Defence at the Bar, yet the Commons
were divided as to his guilt; but concluded *to discharge him from be-
ing a Member, and was committed to the Tower during pleasure, and
Mr. Steel was elected Recorder in his place.*

Sir John Mainard a petit busie Member always, and in all
kindes, was impeached of high Treason.

Captain Macquire was condemned at the Old Bailey for the same
matters

The Reign of King Charls.

1007

Anno

1647.

matters, and the Murder and Ryot at *Guild Hall*. But because he had been faithful to his Principles, and but a looker on in the Crowd with his Sword drawn, great means was made for him by Colonel *Sanderson*, his best friend it seems, who Petitioned the Parliament and General for the present, and his very day come of Execution he got to be put off, and afterwards his Reprieve, and lastly his Pardon.

Mr. *Braynton* also was deeply concerned, but being a Member, it was considered how far such Members should be questioned. And because the eleven Members were accounted rotten, Summons was sent to *Hollis, Waller, Clotworthy, Massey, Long, and Nichols* to attend the House the 16. October.

And by President of the Commons, the Members of the Lords were also Involved, and Impeachments of High Treason against the Earls of *Suffolk*, and *Lincoln*, and *Middlesex*, the Lords *Willoughby of Parham, Hunsdon, Maynard, and Berkly*, for Levying War against the King, Parliament, and Kingdom. And the Charge against them sent up by the Commons.

Not long after they fall upon some Citizens, and Impeach them of high Treason, those were Sir *John Gayer* Lord Mayor, *Culham, Bruce, Langham, and Adams* Aldermen, and are all committed to the Tower.

The Citizens of other Rank were Colonel *Lawrence*, Colonel *Hooker*, and Captain *Fones* impeached of high crimes. And Captain *Musgrave*, and about fifteen Citizens, and Mr. *Melton* a Minister were indicted of high Treason at the Kings Bench Bar. And because their Mayor stood committed, the Aldermen and Commons were to consider of a Government of the City according to their Charter.

These confusions brought work to the Printers in spite of all their Orders against Pamphlets, as *No Merling, no Mercury, Bellum Hibernicæ*, and I need not tell you how many more.

The Lords impeached of High Treason, were the Earls of *Suffolk*, *Lincoln*, and *Middlesex*, the Lords, *Willoughby of Parham, Hunsdon, Maynard* and *Berkley*, enduring nasty imprisonment to humble them to submit, and so they escaped.

And now the City were curb'd in their former power of the *Militia*, extending heretofore to the Lines of Communication, which indeed are digged down, and these their particular *Militia* set up, for *Westminster* and the out Parishes, for the Burrough of *Southwark*, and for the *Tower Hamlets*, and the last to be under the immediate command of the Constable, the other of several Committee-men, or any seven.

And an Ordinance passed also for the Citizens and Prentices to demolish the Forts and Guards, and to dig down the Lines of
Com-

Anno.
1647.

Communication, to another more doleful tune then when they were digg'd up.

And yet notwithstanding the burthened City must bear more, and advance fifty thousand pounds to pay the Army by two dayes time, no longer delay, so that upon the same sudden they must advance a Moneths pay of the Army as a gratuity aforesaid: the moneths pay of the Army besides, and fifty thousand pounds also for the necessity of the Army, being inforced to burthen the Country with free Quarter. And therefore the Army declare,

That for what time the Cities fault and delays have occasioned, and shall further occasion the stay of the Army hereabouts, the charge thereof shall be laid upon them and their Adherents about the City.

That the Parliament would consider of their Delinquencie that had a hand in the late Tumult, Engagement, and Design of a new War, that they may be fined according to Justice.

That the Army will dispose themselves for the Levying the money required, in case speedy advancement be not made.

Desires of the
Army.

The City seemed hide bound, and underhand it was conceived that the Army was too high to be hindered, from being their own carvers. The Army suspect that they are too well understood. And therefore not to drindle any longer. And in plain terms Represent their desires to the Parliament with a Letter from the General and his Council. Remembring them that in their former Declaration from St. Albons, it was expressed in General for settling and securing the Kingdom. In order to which they presented their Proposals, and in pursuance thereof, having set forth what their desires are, as Members of the Common-wealth,

They now desire those things which concern themselves as Souldiers, and of satisfactions in relation thereto, to be taken into speedy consideration by the Parliament.

In brief, *That a Committee of the Parliament may reside in the Armie to audite their Accounts of the Armies Arrears, and to give Debenters, as well for the pay respited upon the Publick Faith, as otherwise for their service under this General, or any other respective Commanders in the Parliaments Service, which is to be made an unquestionable debt.*

That Bishops, Dean, and Chapters, and Forrest Lands may be sold for payment of the Armies Arrears.

That an Ordinance be passed, that no person that is, or shall be in this Army, shall not be impressed to any Foreign service, nor any Horseman be ever forced to serve on Foot in any future case.

An Act to pass for Prentices Freedom that have served the Parliament, and provision for their maimed Souldiers, Widows, and Orphans.

An

The Reign of King Charls.

1009

An Act for Indemnity of Souldiers, for any Action, Petition, or Papers, agreed at Waldon in March last, or any thing else in relation to the Army.

Anno
1647.

This begat serious consideration of the Parliament, and present payment of 30000. l. and their gratuity to the Army, and the moneths pay, and all these from their own Treasurers, and for the present they could but leavy the Arrears due from the City, which was done with wonderful regret.

Propositions of Peace were now finished, the consent and approbation of the Estates of Scotland returned, and so they are speeded to the King at Hampton Court 7. Septemb. by the Commissioners, the Earl of Pembroke, the Lord Mountague, Sir James Harrington, Sir Jo. Cook, Sir Jo. Holland, and Major General Brown for the Parliament, and the Earl of Lotherdale, and Sir Charls Erskin for the Scots. And though the Propositions were long, the King told them they should have a speedy Answer, which he delivered to them in writing the next day.

Propositions
sent to the
King, and his
Answer.

C. R.

His Majestie cannot chuse but be passionatelie sensible (as he believes all his good Subjects are) of the late great distractions, and still languishing and unsetled state of this Kingdom; and he calls God to witness, and is willing to give Testimonie to all the world of his readiness to contribute his utmost endeavours for restoring it to a happy and flourishing condition. His Majestie having perused the Propositions now brought to him; finds them the same in effect, which were offered to him at Newcastle. To some of which as he could not then consent without violation of his conscience and honour, so neither can he agree to others now, conceiving them in many respects more disagreeable to the present condition of affairs, than when they were formerly presented unto him, as being destructive to the main principal interests of the Army, and of all those whose affections concur with them. And his Majestie having seen the proposals of the Army to the Commissioners from his two Houses residing with them, and with them to be treated on, in order to the clearing and securing of the Rights and Liberties of the Kingdom, and the settling of a just and lasting Peace. To which proposals, as he conceives his two Houses not to be strangers; So he believes they will think with him, that they much more conduce to the satisfaction of all interests, and may be a fitter foundation for a lasting peace, than the propositions which at this time are tendered unto him. He therefore propounds (as the best way in his judgement in order to a peace) that his two Houses would instantly take into consideration those proposals upon which there may be a personal Treatie with his Majestie, and upon such other Propositions as his Majestie shall make; hoping that the said proposals may be so moderated

The Kings
Message in
Answer to
the Propositions.

Anna.
1647.

rated in the said Treatie, as to render them the more capable of his Majesties full concession: wherein he resolves to give full satisfaction to his people, for whatsoever shall concern the Protestant profession, with liberty to tender Consciences, the securing of the Lawes, Liberties and properties of his Subjects, and all the just Priviledges of Parliaments for the future: and likewise by his present deportment in this Treaty, he will make the world clearly judge of his intentions in matters of future Government. In which Treaty his Majestie will be well pleased (if it be thought fit) that Commissioners from the Army, (whose the propofals are) may likewise be admitted. His Majestie therefore conjures his two Houses of Parliament, by the duty they owe God and his Majesty their King, And by the bowels of Compassion they have to their fellow Subjects, both for relief of their present sufferings, and to prevent future miseries, that they will forthwith accept of this his Majesties offer, whereby the joyful news of Peace may be restored to this distressed Kingdom; And for what concerns the Kingdom of Scotland mentioned in the Propositions, his Majestie will very willingly Treat upon those particulars with the Scottish Commissioners; and doubts not but to give reasonable satisfaction to that his Kingdom.

At Hampton-Court the 9. of September 1647.

For the Speaker of the House of Peers
pro tempore, to be communicated, &c.

Debates here-
upon.

By this Answer we see the King is catch't, to comply with the Army rather in their Propofals for settling of a peace. 1. Aug. for now the design is working: In order thereto Colonel Hamond is sent down to be Governour of the Isle of Wight, an Item to the great fate that followed. And the Kings Answer is Voted a flat denial, *That the King denies in his Answer to give his assent to the Propositions*, and that the King, and those about the King shall speedily be taken into consideration. Then after a dayes time to consider, they debate [Whether to adhere to the Propositions, or fall upon the Propofals, or have a personal Treaty with the King, or not: or whether to send the Propositions again to the King.] But after debates, they resolve [To fall upon the settlement of the Kingdom, by establishing such additional Laws as might make for the present and future good of the Kingdom, and turning the Propositions into Bills and Acts.]

Yet the next day they Vote [To apply themselves once more to his Majesty for his assent to such things in the Propositions as will most make for the good of this Kingdom.] And these were (for the present) concerning the great Seal, Honours, and Titles, taking away Bishops, &c. Declarations and Propositions against the Parliament, raising monies for paying the publick debts of the Kingdom.

The

The Reign of King Charls.

1011

The Head Quarters of the Army continuing at *Putney*, and the King at *Hampton Court*, much business was brewing, and at last it burst out.

Anno
1647.

Agitators of
the Army
present.

There had been of late some Souldiers elected out of each Regiment of Horse and Foot, who meet and consult by the name of Agitators for the Army, and in short time acted in Councils with others of their Commanders, profess nothing more then the peoples Liberty and Power, and appear for the present as a third Faction with the *Presbyter* and *Independent* in the way of Democracie, and these were they that seemingly were for the King, and as yet had indulged many kindnesses to him since his first restraint, the better to bring their purposes to effect: and though their Faction had power sufficient to make their own way, and framed their Remonstrance into a *Case of the Army*: yet they humbly present it in a Letter to his Excellency their General, setting forth.

From the deep sense of our duty to God, to our Countrey, to your Excellency, to this Army, and to our selves, we finde such Obligation upon our Consciences, written naturally by the finger of God in our hearts, that we cannot behold the honour of God to be impaired, the works of his hands, the Land of our Nativity, your Excellency, this Army, our selves or Posterity ready to be swallowed in confusion, and to sit still, and not rise in the strength of his might to contribute our best endeavours for the prevention thereof, &c. and so not to be a strange thing, that we (the means) should state *the Case of the Army*, how declined from its Principles of safety, what mischiefs are threatned, and what remedies are futable for prevention, &c. And from our Consciences we attest and protest in the presence of this all-seeing Deity, as we desire safety in this life, or that which is to come, we have no other then cordial and faithful intents to the meek of this our Native Countries, to the Parliament, your Excellency, and this Army in the business of these Papers presented to you: from which we are resolved not to recede, &c. So humbly craving favourable constructions they remain.

Agitators send
Letters to the
General and
Army.

Signed by the Agitators for Lieutenant Gen. Commissary Gen. Col. Fleetwood, Col. Riches, Col. Whalies Regiments, Hamstead 15. October 1657.

This the General recieved favourably, and resolves to communicate with the General Council.

A man would admire against whom they would complain. They complain in effect,

That the grievances of the Army many moneths since represented to the Parliament, which upon view of our Narratives, Representati-

Anno
1647.

ous, &c. nothing is done either for the Army, or the poor distressed people of the Nation. And so they ravel into all the neglects of the Parliament in references to the Army in general, or in particular to the Widows, Orphans, or Maimed Souldiers, or pay to the Army, not burthening the distressed Countrey.

That there is no period put to this Parliament, the House not sufficiently purged.

The Army not vindicated from the most horrid Injustice of that Declaration against the Army, for Petitioning, nor of suppressing, burning Petitions, and imprisoning Petitioners. And reckon up the burdens, oppressions, arbitrary proceedings of Parliament against the Army, deduced from their severall Remonstrances in ten particular Articles: And conclude, That whilst we look for Peace and Freedom, the Flood-gates of Slavery, Oppression, and Misery are opened upon the Nation.

Then in another Paper they insist upon, The Mischiefs, Evils, and Dangers which are and will be the necessary consequence of the Armies declining, or delaying the effectual fulfilling of its first Engagements, Promises, and Declarations, or of its neglect to insist positively upon its first principles of common Right and Freedom, which is expressed in five particulars. viz.

1. The love of the people to the Army is almost lost, &c.
2. The Army seems a burden to them, whilst their Oppressions are increased, and no relief by the Army.
3. By which means Distractions, Divisions, Tumults thereby increasing, &c.
4. That the People are willing rather to have one Tyrant King, then hundreds of others such, &c.
5. And in the fifth, they enumerate all the Mischiefs, Clamours, & complaints which the people suffer, are (say they) ascribed to the Army, which they conclude is occasioned by the misgovernment of the Parliament.

And amongst their eight particulars of the Armies delaying their promises expressed in severall Declarations, they insist upon.

That through the same Declension of the Armies first Principle for settling the Nation in peace before the Kings business be considered, he is likely to receive his old capacitie, before the peoples Freedoms (which they have redeemed out of his hands and his forces by blood) be cleared and established securely, and likewise before any security be given for Arrears for the Army that conquered him, let any rational man judge? And likewise by the same means, the Armies and their assistants Indemnities propounded to receive its strength from the Kings consent, whereas only his Signing of, or consent to any Act is wholly Null and void in Law, because he is under restraint, but also its the highest disparagement to the Parliament, that when they have commanded an Army upon service against the King, they should not have sufficient power to save them harmless for obedience to their Commands, and also its the highest dishonour

The Reign of King Charls.

1613

Anno
1647.

to the Army, that they should seek to the Conquered Enemy to save them harmlesse for fighting against them, which is to ask him pardon and so will remain a perpetual reproach upon them.

Then they propose certain Rules and Orders for due Election of Members of Parliament, and urge complaints against the late violence upon the Parliament, and to be punished, for voting a new War, or for the Kings coming to London upon his own termes.

And that the people shall of course meet, without any Warrant or Writ once in every two years, upon a day appointed in their respective Counties, for electing of their Representatives in Parliament, and that all the free-born at the age of twenty one years and upwards, be the Electors, excepting Delinquents, and such Parliaments to have a period of time to determine, and before that time, that they may not be adjournable or dissolvable by any power, except themselves: and that their power be declared in the people, and unalterable.

And these particulars being very large, they sum up with their prayers, that seeing God hath clothed this Army with honour in subduing the Common Enemy, may yet be more honourable in the peoples eyes, when they shall be called the Repairers of their Breaches, and the Recoverers of their Peace, Rights and Freedom. And this is the prayer and the earnest endeavours of,

The Armies and all the peoples
most faithful Servants.

The Agitators, &c.

Gilford Octob. 9. 1647.

The sum of the Generals Answer was;

That he judged their Intentions were honest, and desired that every one of a publick spirit would be acting for the Publick, and that he had for his part, freely ventured his life for common right and freedom, and should freely engage it again, and referred it to the General Council.

The Generals
Answer.

And therefore according to the sence of some of these mischiefs, evils and dangers, the Parliament altered some of the Propositions to be sent to the King, concerning the Period of Parliaments; Act of Oblivion, for the King and Queen waived in such others.

Then comes out a further Paper of Proposals from the said Agitators, and also from other Agitators, of four Regiments of Horse and seven Regiments of Foot joyning with them, in very many particulars of Reforming abuses and ordering of the Government, November 1. 1647.

And in truth the Army was as sedulous in these and other such particulars as that we may conclude, they were more busie than the Parliament.

But

Anno
1647.

Scots Com-
missioners
Letter to the
Speaker.

But the *Scots* Commissioners here interrupted these proceedings, with a Letter which they sent the sixth of *November*, to the Speaker of the House of Commons, in effect :

That since the Kings removal by force of the Army from Holmby, and the resentment of the Kingdom of Scotland of that violent action, the Commissioners applied themselves to his Majesty to shew therein his usage, but for his present condition he professeth he cannot, and referreth us to the Parliament and Army.

That the Parliament by many engagements, have declared to have care of his person, power and greatnesse, which both Kingdoms have sworn not to diminish, therefore the Commissioners apply themselves to the Parliament, presuming that the Army is under their command, the rather because they are informed of the Armies intentions to remove the King from Hampton Court, on whose safety their happiness depends, and resolving that no alteration of affairs, shall separate their duty and Allegiance to him, to live and dye in all Loyalty under his Government. Accordingly the votes of Parliament the twenty sixth of October, resolved of sending Propositions to the King, and therefore they desire that there may be a personal Treaty with him, and that he may be invited to come to London, or at least to remain at Hampton Court, with that honour and freedom due to his Majesty, and not to be under the power and restraint of the Souldiers, and that the King be no more carried about at their pleasure, These being the desires of the Kingdom of Scotland.

Worcester-house Nove. 6. 1647.

And now the General excuses the Army, promising his endeavours to settle the distempers there, & to answer the Parliaments desire to receive the Agitators, against whose papers this day presented to the Parliament, called *The case of the Army*, and another stiled *The agreement of the People*; the Parliament voted them to be destructive to the being the Parliaments and the fundamental Government of this Kingdom.

Yet herein the Agitators continued so insolent, that for example one of them (*White*) was shot to death at *Ware* for fomenting the said Papers, *Petition and Agreement*.

The effects of
the Kings
Answer:

The King in his late Answer to the Parliaments Propositions, having therein given greater honour to the Army, then to the Houses; he is therefore caressed by the Camp, which exasperates some Members against him, and plained the way for the Souldiers afterwards, to excuse their not requiring him with sufficient kindness, out of their due reverence to the Members, and regard also to their Agitators, of whom the King takes impressions of fear by private intelligence from the Camp, who set them a work (as also by some of the Members) that they meant his personal dan-

gers.

Anno

1647.

ger, which hazard the Commanders of the Army could not gain stand. To make him more sensible, it is apprehended likewise by three or four of the Kings Instruments (often mixing with the Commanders) and they are led into this construction; That the Army was honest, and more willing that the King should escape, than that his destruction should happen under their Roof. And by many circumstances the Kings Agents get the hint, to prevent the danger by his foreign flight, which yet if he did would Answer the general design of his undoing; for by leaving his Government and People, he should Denude himself of his Crown, forsake the Protection of his Subjects, and give just occasion to the Parliament to settle the peace of the Nation without him.

And so intricate was the Kings affairs to wade through, that a confident of his, intimate also with the councils of the Camp, and at this time looking sadly, the King told him *his face presaged ill News*: He Answered, Sir not for the danger, but that I cannot council you: *Speak it out said the King*; he replied, Sir your person is supposed in some hazard, and yet because the Grandees of the Army advise your escape, I am sure that their design is to ruin you by your own act. *My case is desperate said the King, my condition in a sinking Barke, no help at hand, may I not leap over-board to swim a shoar? Yes! whilst I submit my endeavours to Gods Providence, I am in the best way of security*; Et sic fiat voluntas Dei.

As the scene is laid and taken, the King consults with his confidants, Mr. John Ashburnham, Sir John Berkley and Colonel William Leg, for his escape to the Isle of Ferssey.

The Ship is prepared, the place to Imbarke about Southampton, and all things fitted, his Horses are lodg'd in the evening on the other side of the Thames (Hampton ferry) and these men his attendants: The time, Friday night, the eleventh of November, when about noon that day, a Letter of Intelligence (devised by a Member to startle the King) is conveyed into Colonel Whalies hands, directed for his Majesty as from a dear friend Ignoro, and dated two dayes before, which he instantly communicates to the King, and thus it was.

May it please your Majesty.

In discharge of my duty I cannot omit to acquaint you, that my Brother was at a meeting last night with eight or nine Agitators; who in debate of the obstacle which did most hinder the speedy effecting their design, did conclude it was your Majesty. And as long as your Majesty doth live you would be so: And therefore resolved for the good of the Kingdom, to take your life away; and that to that action they were well assured, that Mr. Dell and Mr. Peters two of their Preachers, would willingly bear them Company, for they had often said to their Agitators, your Majesty is but a dead Dog. My Prayers are for your

Majesties

The Letter of Intelligence.

Anno

1647.

The King's
escapes from
the Court.

Lieutenant
Colonel
Cromwells
Letter to the
Parliament.

The Kings
Letter to Col.
Whaley.

The Letter to
the Lord
Mountague.

Majesties safety, but I do too much fear, it cannot be whilst you are in those hands.

I wish with my soul your Majesty were at my house in Broad street, where I am confident I could keep you private till this Storm were over, but beg your Majesties pardon, and shall not presume to offer it as an advice; it is only constant zeal to your service, who am,

Your most dutiful Subject E. R.

November 9. 1647.

Which the King read without much regret, for he was prepared to prevent the danger. And accordingly, about nine a clock at night their Hub-bub was up at Hampton Court of the Kings escape; which Newes came to the House of Commons early the next morning, in a Letter from L. Colonel Cromwel to the Speaker, and dated at twelve a clock that night: Which intimated no more but, *That the King was this night expected at Supper; and the Commissioners entering his Chamber with Colonel Whaley, found his Cloke carelessly cast upon the ground by the way into the entry Chamber, that leads to the back-stairs down into the Vault to the River side: the King leaving some Letters upon the table of his own hand writing.* 11. Novebm. 1647.

Those Letters were three: The first was directed to Colonel Whaley.

Colonel Whaley,

I have been civilly used by you and Major Huntington: I cannot but by this parting farewell, acknowledg it under my hand, as also to desire your protecting my Household-stuff and movables of all sorts, which I have left behinde me in this House, &c.

I assure you it was not the Letter that you shewed me to day that made me take this resolution, nor any advertisement of that kinde, but I confesse that I am loath to be made a close Prisoner, under pretence of securing my life: So being confident that you wish my preservation and restitution I rest,

Your friend Charles Rex.

The second Letter was directed to the Lord Mountague.

Mountague,

First, I doe hereby give you and the rest of your fellows thanks, for the civilities and good conversation that I have had from you: Next, I command you to send this my Message (which you will finde upon this Table) to the two Houses of Parliament, and likewise to give a Copy of it to Colonel Whaley to be sent to the General: Likewise I desire you to send all my Saddle-Horses to my Son, the Duke of York. As for what concerns

The Reign of King Charls.

1017

concerns the resolution I have taken, my Declaratorie Message saies so much, that I refer you to it; and so I rest,

Your assured friend C. Rex.

Novem. 11. 1647.

Anno

1647.

The Letter or Message to the Parliament was thus.

Charles Rex.

Liberty being that which in all times hath been, but especially now is the common theme and desire of all men; common reason shewes, that Kings lesse than any should endure Captivity. And yet I call God and the World to witnesse, with what patience I have endured a tedious restraint; which so long as I had any hopes that this sort of my suffering might conduce to the peace of my Kingdom, or the hindering of more effusion of blood, I did willingly undergo: But now finding by too certain proofs, that this my continued patience, would not only turn to my personal ruin, but likewise be of much more prejudice, then furtherance to the publick good, I thought I was bound as well by Natural as Political obligations, to seek my safety, by retiring myself for some time from the publick view, both of my friends and enemies. And I appeal to all indifferent men to judge, if I have not just cause, to free myself from the hands of those who change their principles with their conditions, and who are not ashamed openly to intend the destruction of the Nobility, taking away their Negative Voice, and with whom the Levellers doctrine is rather countenanced than punished: And as for their intentions to my person, their changing and putting more strict Guards upon me, with the discharging most of all those Servants of mine, who formerly they willingly admitted to wait upon me, does sufficiently declare. Nor would I have this my retirement misinterpreted, for I shall earnestly and uncessantly endeavour the settling of of a safe and well grounded peace where ever I am or shall be; and that (as much as may be) without the effusion of more Christian blood; for which how many times have I desired, prest to be heard, and yet no ear given to me? And can any reasonable man think; that (according to the ordinary course of affairs) there can be a settled peace without it? Or that God will blesse those, who refuse to hear their King? surely no. Nay I must further add, that (besides what concernes my self) unlesse all other chief interests have not only a hearing, but likewise just satisfaction given unto them (to wit, the Presbyterian, Independents, Army, those that have adhered to me, and even the Scots) I say there cannot (I speak not of Miracles, it being in my opinion a sinful presumption in such cases, to expect or trust to them) be a safe or lasting peace.

The Letter to
the Parlia-
ment.

Now as I cannot deny but that my personal security is the urgent cause of this my retirement; so I take God to witness that the publick peace is no less before my eyes, and I can finde no better way to express this my

Anno
1647.

Profession (I know not what a wiser may do) than by desiring and urging that all chief interests may be heard, to the end each may have just satisfaction. As for example, the Army (for the rest though necessary, yet I suppose are not difficult to content) ought (in my judgment) to enjoy the liberty of their consciences, have an Act of Oblivion or Indemnity (which should extend to all the rest of my Subjects) and that all their Arrears should be speedily and duely paid, which I will undertake to do, so I may be heard, and that I be not hindered from using such Lawful and honest meanes as I shall chuse.

To conclude, let me be heard with freedom, honour and safety, and I shall instantly break through this cloud of retirement, and shew my self really to be Pater Patriæ.

Hampton Court Novem. 11. 1647.

For the Speaker of the House of Peeres pro tempore, &c.

Hereby it appears on whom the King lodgeth the cause of his discontent, those, who change their Principles with their condition; destroy Nobility, &c. and by whose votes, his restraint and sufferings increased.

The next day the twelveth of November, the General writes to the Speaker also, of what Colonel *Whaley* had informed him concerning the Kings escape. Being (says he) the same which the Commissioners can relate to the House, now ready to attend them, and that himself is to go to the Rendezvous of the Army at Ware and shall be there three dayes.

Yours Thomas Fairfax.

Putney Novem. 12. 1647.

These were all the satisfaction that the Parliament as yet could have of the Kings escape, and therefore those his chiefest Servants, *Ashburnham*, *Berkley* and *Legg* were to be enquired after, and voted to be taken in custody. And because they were out of reach, the punishment for the present fell upon Sir *Edward Ford*, whose relations being in the Camp, and he the Kings friend, was therefore seized into custody by Vote of the House. He in truth knew no more in particular, but that the King some time before resolved to be gone, and so he was soon released.

But then followed poasting to all places, and Orders sent out by Sea and Land, and forthwith Resolved, That it should be the confiscation of his estate, and loss of Life, who detains the Kings person in private and reveals it not to the Parliament.

The Minute come, the manner of the Kings Journey was thus. To his Horses and company he gets by Boat, shadowed by a most tempestuous, dark, rainy, uncouth night, Friday the eleventh of November, in which they lost their way in *Windfor Forrest*, till the Morning light guided them through *Farnham Town*, and missing

of

The Generals
Letter to the
Speaker.

Death for any
to conceal
the King.

Anno
1647.

of their former design (what ere it was) the Ship sayling, they were enforced to conclude, That himself and Legg would lodg that night at *Tedsworth*, the House of the Countesse dowager of *Southampton* near the Sea; and that the other two should ferry over to the Isle of *Wight*, and seek out Colonel *Hamond* the Governour there; under whose assurance for his Brothers sake Dr. *Hamond* (his Chaplain) the King might hope of friendship and fidelity; of which he had given some testimonies in the Camp and at the Court. But the Messengers had this expresse Item, that unlesse upon their Oath and Faith of Protection, Secrecie and Freedom to the Kings person at all times, they were not to discover any more, than to signifie in general his escape from eminent danger of Assassination, and that his desire leades him to cast himself and them upon *Hamond's* fidelity; and that if he refuse and yet likely enough to seize their persons, which by their not returning at the time perfixed, the King and Legg might finde the means otherwise to shift for themselves.

They gone, the King disguised staves without the House, whilst Legg tells the Countesse that a person of honour her dear friend, desires the privacie in her House that night without discovery. She will not suspect, it was enough. He takes his chamber with attendance of two of the servants with his Diet to the door, and Legg to lodge on a Pallet by him.

The Messengers got over Sunday the next morning, and met with *Hamond* by the way toward *Newport*. After their errand, he tells them plainly, he wishes the Kings safety as his Soul, nor will he be Inquisitive where he should be, but were he in his custody (his Oath and Interest to the Parliament and Army being in ballance) he should be safe from violence: But for this freedom and liberty of his person, how could he answer it to his Superiors, to leave the King at large to any after mischief that might befall him?

Which not appearing satisfactory enough to them, and *Hamond* not yeilding to more, & they not unwilling to be taken into custody, they all together came over with a guard to the Ladys house: And *Ashburnham* goes up and tells the King that *Hamond* is below in the Parler at Supper, with assurance of his honour for his Majesties safety, but not of liberty to his person: The King strikes his breast, and in passion replies, *and is this all, I am betrayed.* Tis true that *Ashburnham* went out and wept bitterly, and calling up *Berkley* they made an offer of some desperate attempt, which the King abhorred, telling them that he would alwayes humble himself to Gods good pleasure.

But in this extremity, the King with some appearance of a willing consent, casts himself on *Hamonds* Loyalty and Honour; and then being discovered to the Countesse, who with trembling and

Anno
1647.

in tears, took her last leave of her Sovereign Lord the King, who is carried over to *Carisbroke Castle*.

It appears by these passages that *Hamond* was not willing to seize the King, and gave *Ashburnham* and *Berkley* sufficient Items thereof, had they but hazarded either of their persons his Prisoner, the King might at the last hour escaped his hands; for even at the House he commanded all his company to stay without. Nay it hath been credibly reported, that *Hamond* himself hath said it and more to the same purpose, which I list not to mention, and doth evidence that he therein acted according to the former sense of the *Grandees* in the Army.

And from the *Cowes* there, *Hamond* dates his Letter that day, the thirteenth of *Novem.* directed to the Earl of *Manchester*, Speaker of the Lords House; which was received and read two dayes after.

My Lords,

Col. Hamonds
Letter to the
Parliament.

I hold it my duty to give Your Lordships an accompt, of the Kings unexpected coming into this Island. This Morning as I was on my way from *Carisbroke Castle* to *Newport*, Mr. *Ashburnham* and Sir *John Berkley* overtook me, and after a short discourse, told me, *the King was near, and that he would be with me that Night; and that he was come from Hampton Court upon Information, that there were some who intended to destroy his person, and that he could not with safety continue any longer there; and that finding his case thus, chose rather to put himself into my hands, being a Member of the Army (whom he saith he would not have left, could he have had security to his person) than to go to any other place.*

Being herewith exceedingly surpris'd, at present I knew not what course to take, but weighing the great concernment that the person of the King is of, I resolv'd to use my utmost endeavours to preserve his person from any such horrid attempts, and to bring him to a place of safety. Hereupon I went immediately over the Water with them, and taking Captain *Basket* Commander of *Cowes Castle* with us, we found the King near the water side, and by his own desire I chose to bring him over into this Island, where he now is.

My endeavours shall be as for my life to secure his person, and humbly desire the pleasure of the Parliament in this weighty matter, &c.

Your Lordships, &c. Ro. Hamond.

Cowes, Novem. 13. 1647.

Votes to se-
cure the King.

Upon conference with the Commons, it was Resolved and Vo-
ted.

That

The Reign of King Charls.

1021

That his Majesty shall continue at the Isle of Wight, and in the Castle.

That none that have born Arms against the Parliament (but Inhabitants that have compounded) shall remain there in that Island.

That no Delinquent, no Foreigner to be admitted to come to the King without leave of the Parliaments of England and Scotland, and the Propositions to be sent five daies hence, being 22. of November.

That five thousand pounds be advanced for his accommodation.

That his Household be dissolved, and to be considered who shall attend him, 16. Novem. 1647.

Notwithstanding Hamond complains to the Parliament: That the accommodations of the King are no waies suitable to his quality, and desires that his usuall allowance be continued to him whilst he shall reside there at Carisbroke Castle.

The King not to be wanting to the Common-wealth, sends his Message to the Parliament, and therein Concessions even beyond the hopes of most men: and Arguments also why he could not assent to the late Propositions, and desires a personal Treaty, resolving to neglect any thing of his own Right to redeem the Peace of his people.

C. R.

His Majesty is confident that before this time, his two Houses of Parliament have received the Message which he left behind him at Hampton Court the eleventh of this moneth, by which they will have understood the Reasons which enforced him to go from thence, as likewise his constant endeavours for the settling of a safe and well-grounded Peace wheresoever he should be; And being now in a place, where he conceives himself to be at much more freedom and security than formerly; he thinks it necessary (not only for making good of his own professions, but also for the speedy procuring of a peace in these languishing and distressed Kingdoms) at this time to offer such grounds to his two Houses for that effect, which upon due examination of all Interests, may best conduce thereunto.

And because Religion is the best and chiefest foundation of peace, his Majestie will begin with that particular.

That for the abolishing Arch-bishops, Bishops, &c. his Majesty clearly professeth, that he cannot give his consent thereunto, both in Relation as he is a Christian, and a King: For the first, he avows that he is satisfied in his judgement, that this order was placed in the Church by the Apostles themselves; and ever since that time hath continued in all Christian Churches throughout the World, untill this last century of years

The Kings
Message to the
Parliament
from Caris-
broke Castle.

Anno
1647.

years; and in this Church in all times of change and Reformation, it hath been upheld by the wisdom of his Ancestors, as the great preserver of Doctrine, Discipline, and Order in the Service of God, as a King at his Coronation, he hath not only taken a solemn oath, to maintain this Order, but his Majesty and his Predecessors in their confirmations of the great Charter, have inseparably woven the right of the Church into the Liberties of the rest of the Subjects: and yet he is willing it be provided that the particular Bishops perform the several duties of their callings both by their personal residence and frequent Preachings in their Diocesses, as also that they exercise no act of Jurisdiction or Ordination, without the consent of their Presbyter; and will consent, that their powers in all things be so limited, that they be not grievous to tender consciences: Wherefore, since his Majestie is willing to give ease to the consciences of others, he sees no reason why he alone, and those of his judgement, should be pressed to a violation of theirs. Nor can his Majestie consent to the alienation of Church Lands, because it cannot be denied to be a sin of the highest Sacrilege; as also, that it subverts the intentions of so many pious Donors, who have laid a heavy curse upon all such profane violations, which his Majestie is very unwilling to undergo: And besides the matter of conscience, his Majestie believes it to be a prejudice to the publick good, many of his Subjects having the benefit of renewing Leases at much easier Rates, than if those possessions were in the hands of private men; not omitting the discouragement which it will be to all Learning and Industry when such eminent rewards shall be taken away, which now lye open to the Children of meanest persons.

Yet his Majestie considering the great present distempers concerning Church Discipline, and that the Presbyterian Government is now in practice, his Majestie to eschew confusion as much as may be, and for the satisfaction of his two Houses, is content that the said Government be Legally permitted to stand in the same condition it is in for three years; provided, that his Majestie and those of his judgement (or any other who cannot in conscience submit thereunto) be not obliged to comply with the Presbyterian Government, but have free practice of their own profession, without receiving any prejudice thereby; and that a free consultation and debate be had with the Divines at Westminster (twenty of his Majesties nomination being added unto them) whereby it may be determined by his Majesty and the two Houses, how the Church Government after the said time shall be settled, (or sooner, if differences may be agreed) as is most agreeable to the Word of God; with full libertie to all those who shall differ upon Conscientious grounds from that settlement; alwaies provided, that nothing aforesaid be understood to tolerate those of the popish profession, nor the exempting of any Popish Recusant from the penalties of the Laws, or to tolerate the publick profession of Atheism or Blasphemy, contrary to the Doctrine of the Apostles, Nicene and Athanasian Creeds, they having been received by, and had in reverence of all the Christian Churches, and more particularly by this of England, ever since the Reformation.

Next,

The Reign of King Charls.

1023

Anno
1647.

Next, the Militia being that Right, which is inseparably and undoubtedly inherent in the Crown, by the Laws of this Nation and that which former Parliaments, as likewise this, hath acknowledged so to be, his Majesty cannot so much wrong that trust which the Laws of God and this Land have annexed to the Crown for the protection and security of his people, as to divest himself and Successors of the power of the Sword: yet to give an infallible evidence of his desire to secure the performance of such agreements as shall be made in order to a peace, his Majesty will consent to an Act of Parliament, that the whole power of the Militia both by Sea and Land, for and during his whole reign, shall be ordered and disposed by the two Houses of Parliament, or by such persons as they shall appoint, with powers limited for suppressing of Forces within this Kingdom, to the disturbance of the publick peace, and against Foreign invasions; and that they shall have power during his said reign, to raise monies for the purposes aforesaid; and that neither his Majesty that now is, or any other (by any Authoritie derived only from him) shall execute any of the said Powers during his Majesties said reign, but such as shall Act by the consent and approbation of the two Houses of Parliament: nevertheless his Majesty intends that all Patents, Commissions and other Acts concerning the Militia, be made and Acted as formerly; and that after his Majesties Reign, all the power of the Militia shall return intirely to the Crown, as it was in the times of Queen Elizabeth, and King James of blessed memory.

After this head of the Militia, the consideration of the Arrears due to the Army is not improper to follow, for the payment whereof, and the ease of his people, his Majesty is willing to concur in any thing that can be done without the violation of his conscience and honour. Wherefore if his two Houses shall consent to remit unto him such benefit out of Sequestrations from Michaelmas last, and out of Compositions that shall be made before the concluding of the Peace, and the Arrears of such as have been already made, the assistance of the Clergy, And the Arrears of such Rents of his own Revenue as his two Houses shall not have received before the concluding of the Peace, his Majesty will undertake within the space of eighteen moneths, the payment of 400000. pounds for the satisfaction of the Army: And if those means shall not be sufficient, his Majesty intends to give way to the sale of Forest Lands for that purpose, this being the publick Debt which in his Majesties judgment is first to be satisfied; and for other publick Debts already contracted upon Church Lands or other Ingagements, his Majesty will give his consent to such Act or Acts for raising of monies for payment thereof, as both Houses shall hereafter agree upon, so as they be equally laid, whereby his people (already too heavily burthened by these late distempers) may have no more pressres upon them than this absolute necessity requires: And for the further securing of all fears, his Majesty will consent, that an Act of Parliament be passed for the disposing of the great Offices of State, and naming of Privy Councillours for the whole term of his

Anno.

1647.

his Reign by the two Houses of Parliament, their Patents and Commissions being taken from his Majesty, and after to return to the Crown, as is expressed in the Article of the Militia. For the Court of Wards and Liveries, his Majesty very well knows the consequence of taking that away, by returning of all Tenures into common Soccage, as well in point of Revenue to the Crown, as in the protection of many of his Subjects being Infants. Nevertheless if the continuance thereof seem grievous to his Subjects, rather then he will fail on his part in giving satisfaction, He will consent to an Act for taking of it away, so as a full recompence be settled upon his Majesty and his Successours in perpetuity, and that the Arrears now due be reserved unto him towards the payment of the Arrears of the Army.

And that the memory of these late distractions may be wholly wiped away, his Majesty will consent to an Act for the suppressing and making null of all Oaths, Declarations and Proclamations against both or either House of Parliament, and of all Indictments and other proceedings against persons for adhering unto them: and his Majesty proposeth, (as the best expedient to take away all seeds of future differences) that there be an Act of Oblivion to extend to all his Subjects.

As for Ireland, the cessation there is long since determined, but for the future (all other things being fully agreed) his Majesty will give satisfaction to his two Houses concerning that Kingdom.

And although his Majesty cannot consent in Honour and Justice to avoid all his own Grants and Acts past under his great Seal since the two and twentieth of May, 1642. or to the confirming of all the Acts and Grants passed under that made by the two Houses, yet his Majesty is confident, that upon perusal of particulars, he shall give full satisfaction to his two Houses, to what may reasonably be desired in that particular.

And now his Majesty conceives that by these his offers (which he is ready to make good upon the settlement of a Peace) he hath clearly manifested his intentions to give full security and satisfaction to all Interests, for what can justly be desired in order to the future happiness of his people, and for the perfecting of these concessions, as also for such other things as may be proposed by the two Houses, and for such just and reasonable demands, as his Majesty shall finde necessary to propose on his part, he earnestly desires a personal Treaty at London with his two Houses, in Honour, Freedom, and Safety, it being in his Judgement the most proper, and indeed, only means to a firm and settled Peace, and impossible without it to reconcile former, or avoid future misunderstandings.

All these things being by Treaty perfected, his Majesty believes his Houses will think it reasonable, that the Proposals of the Army concerning the Succession of Parliaments and their due elections, should be taken into consideration.

As for what concerns His Kingdom of Scotland, his Majesty will readily apply himself to give all reasonable satisfaction, when the desires of the two Houses of Parliament on their behalf, or of the Commissioners of that Kingdom, or of both joyned together shall be made known unto him.

Anno
1647.

Isle of Wight

C. Rex.

17. Nov. 1647.

For the Speaker of the House of Peers, &c.

And although the King is sufficiently alone from evil Councilours; the Parliament have no minde that he should have any company, and therefore send a Messenger with Warrants to seize those three Servants that waited on him thither. But *Hamond* excuses them, not to be delivered up to the Officer, his reasons are truly noble, and like a Souldier, which he directs to the Speaker of the Lords House, the Earle of *Manchester*.

My Lord,

Yesterday came an Officer with Warrants for apprehending, &c. And finding the matter of very great importance, I have desired the Messenger to forbear the execution of his Warrants, till I have given the Parliament to understand, that in case they should be put in execution, it would be impossible for me to preserve the person of the King in security, to be disposed by the Parliament, unless I should keep him close prisoner, which I concieve neither fit nor safe for me to do, especially of my self.

Which *Hamond* refuses in his Letter to the Parliament.

The ground being this: The King hath declared himself to me, that he came from *Hampton Court* for no other cause but for the preservation of his Person, which was (as he apprehended) in such danger, that he could not with safety continue longer there, otherwise he would not have departed thence, nor from the Army, and that he chose this place rather than any other (where he was at liberty) that he might still continue under protection of the Army, (my self being a member thereof) and that he might have free intercourse with the Parliament for the settlement of Peace, to which he professes greater inclinations and desires than ever. The King saith, that in case these Gentlemen be taken from him, and punished as evil doers, for counselling him not to go out of the Kingdom, but rather to come to the place where he now is, for the ends aforesaid, and for their endeavouring accordingly in attending him hither, he cannot but himself expect to be dealt with accordingly, his case being the same.

My Lord, besides the care I shall alwaies have of these Gentlemen, they have engaged their Honours not to depart from me, and truly were not their ends the same with their pretences (in relation

Anno
1647.

on to the Peace of this Kingdom, they would never have advised and conducted the King hither. There will be none left here for his attendance, which (besides the offence) how great the inconveniencies will be to him, your Lordships cannot be ignorant. And further give me leave to adde (if so unworthy a servant as I am, and that which concerns my honour were at all worthy your consideration) whether it would not much reflect on me in case these Gentlemen should be removed from hence. The King and they have freely thrown themselves upon me for safety, upon confidence (as they please to say) of my honour and honesty, and the satisfaction they expect it would have given the Parliament, the King being necessitated to remove, &c. Yet whatever is commanded by Authority of Parliament, though never so contrary to my sense or honour shall never be disobeyed by, my Lord,

Carisbroke Castle
19. Nov. 1647.

Your Lordships servant
Ro. Hamond.

The King was now at leisure, to bethink himself what advantage a personal Treaty would be to him, and being mindful of what he had lately writ to the Parliament, concerning the same in his last Message to them from *Carisbroke Castle*. He writes to them again, 6. *December* for an Answer.

CHARLES REX.

Had his Majesty thought it possible that his two Houses could be, imployed in things of greater concernment then the peace of this miserable distracted Kingdom; He would have expected with more patience, their leisure in acknowledging the receipt of his Message of the 16. of *November* last. But since there is not in nature, any consideration preceding to that of Peace, his Majesties constant tenderness of the welfare of his Subjects, hath such a prevalence with him, that he cannot forbear the vehement prosecution of a personal Treaty: which is only so much the more desired by his Majesty, as it is superiour to all other means of Peace. And truly, when his Majesty considers the several complaints he daily hears from all parts of this Kingdom, that Trade is so decayed, all Commodities so dear, and Taxes so unsupportable, that even natural subsistence will instantly fail; His Majestie (to perform the trust reposed in him) must use his utmost endeavours for Peace, though he were to have no share in the benefit of it. And hath not his Majesty done his part for it, by divesting himself of so much Power and Authority, as by his last Message he hath promised to doe, upon the concluding of the whole Peace? And hath he met with that acknowledgment from his two Houses, which this great grace and favour justly deserves? Surely the blame of this great retarding of Peace must fall somewhere else, than on his Majesty.

To

The Kings
Message to the
Parliament
for an Answer
to his last
from *Caris-
broke Castle*.

The Reign of King Charls.

1027

Anno
1647.

To conclude, if ye will but consider in how little time this necessary good work will be done, if you the two Houses will wait on his Majesty with the same resolutions for Peace, as he will meet you, he no way doubts, but that ye will willingly agree to this his Majesties earnest desire of a personal Treaty, and speedily desire his presence amongst you: where all things agreed on being digested into Acts (till when, it is most unreasonable for his Majesty or his two Houses to desire each of other the least concession) this Kingdom may at last enjoy the blessing of a long wint for peace.

Carisbrook Casile, Decemb. 6. 1647.

*For the Speaker of the House of Peers
pro tempore, to be communicated
&c.*

And accordingly the monstrous distractions of the State and Army wrought upon both to satisfy the King and peoples desires, and therefore to oppose his demands, they prepare four Bills, as a pledge of trust, to which if he assent, it would draw on a Treaty, touching the rest, which they intended by Propositions to be compleated with speed.

The four Bills were these.

1. *That it be lawful for the future to order the Militia of the Kingdom without the Kings consent, to raise what Armies they please. All others under pain of Treason, are prohibited to assemble to the number of thirty persons without the Authority of Parliament.*
2. *That it be lawful for the Houses to sit, to adjourn their sitting to what place they please, to assemble at what time soever, and at their own discretion.*
3. *That all the Oaths, Interdictions, and Declarations sent forth in publick against either Houses, be accounted and declared void.*
4. *Whomsoever of the Nobility, the King had dignified with Titles from the time himself departed, and carried away the great Seal of the Kingdom, the same be degraded of their Honours.*

And these to be passed into Acts.

The Bills and the Propositions (in effect as before, with some alterations) were thought fitting to be sent together, which were brought to the King by Commissioners, but the *Scottish* Commissioners followed at their heeles, and presented the day before the *Scots* came, 29. of Decem. at Carisbrook Castle, to which he said, though they were long, yet he would shortly give Answer. The next day the *Scots* came, and present a Paper of their dissent in these words.

Four Bills offered to the King with the Proposals.

Anno
1647.

The Scots
Commission-
ers dissent.

That the new Propositions and the Bills therewith presented to your Majesty, are so prejudicial to Religion, the Crown and the Union and Interest of the Kingdoms, and so far different from the former proceedings and engagements betwixt the Kingdoms, as we cannot concur therein. Therefore we do in the Name of the Kindgom of Scotland, dissent from these Propositions and Bills now tendered to your Majesty.

Louderdale, Erskin,
Kenners, Barkey.

And Publish their Reasons in a Declaration : First in the matters of Religion; Next concerning the interest and power of the Crown, which they are bound by Covenant, Allegiance and Duty not to diminish, which power principally consists in making and Enact-
ing Laws, and in protecting and defending his Subjects; and the exercise of that power, are the parts and duties of that function. That the Scepter and Sword, are the Badges of that power. And concerning the Militia, they conceive that in his Majesties Mes-
sage from *Carisbroke* Castle, he hath offered that which is very satisfactory, but that the King, his posterity and Crown should be thereof divested for ever, how can he or his posterity protect either without that power?

Touching confirming of Titles of honour, the King ought not to be deprived of that which hath been held, and is a Flower of his Crown. [See the Kings own Arguments in his Declarations, May 1642. and concerning *Hull*.]

That they had desired a personal Treaty with the King in *London*, *November 5.* and afterwards *November 17.* to all which they never received Answer; and that some things were to be distinguished, but the expresse conditions of their League and Covenant, the duty of their Allegiance and the treaties between the Kingdoms are such strong obligations, as all that Honour or Conscience must acknowledg to be inviolably observed.

That the sending of Propositions without a Treaty, hath been essayed without successe.

That the new Propositions are lesse to the advantage to the Crown, then the former, therefore unlike to have better successe than formerly.

That the Parliament have ever acknowledged the removal of the Kings person from his Parliament, to be the chief cause of all the War, and that then his presence must be the best and only remedy to remove our troubles.

That without a Treaty, the Propositions may be esteemed Impositions.

That the King might have some just desires to move, for the Crown and for himself, and that every thing in the Propositions might

might not be of such importance, as that the not granting it, might hinder a peace.

That a personal Treaty is the best way to beget a mutual confidence between the King and Parliament.

And amongst other Protestations, they aver, That if *Scotland* had apprehended that the least injury or violence would have been committed against his person, or Monarchical Government, had they not received assurances from the Parliament to the contrary; certainly all the threatnings and allurements in the world, could never have perswaded them to have parted from the King; and that it was their brotherly confidence in the Parliament (fellow Subjects) and the assurance that they had from both Houses, that made them leave the King.

Then they complain of a vast deformity or multiformity of Heresies, and sects endangering the ruin of Religion in this Kingdom.

But what ere the *Scots* have said in this Declaration, the Parliament afterwards found out such Members at leisure, that formed into a Committee for that purpose, gave them a sound Answer.

But the King in the general Interest of all, conceived them so unreasonable to be positively assented unto before a Treaty, or dispute of some part or either of them as that he refused: Giving his Reasons in a Letter or Message, sealed up to the Commissioners, for the Parliament to open. But the Earl of *Denbigh*, the cheif Commissioner, desired the King that although they were intrusted only to bring the demands in writing, and not to Treat, yet they hope his Majesty would distinguish them from ordinary Commissioners, and suffer them to see what was written, professing, that his Majesty should not receive disappointment or prejudice thereby. The King Commands *Ashburnham* to read them aloud in these words.

C. R.

[The Necessity of complying with all engaged interests in these great distempers, for a perfect settlement of peace, his Majesty findes to be none of the least difficulties he hath met with since the time of his afflictions. Which is too visible, when at the same time, that the two Houses of the *English* Parliament do present to his Majesty several Bills and Propositions for his consent, the Commissioners for *Scotland* do openly protest against them. So that were there nothing in the case, but the consideration of that difference, his Majesty cannot Imagine how to give such an Answer to what is now proposed, as thereby to promise himself his great end, *A perfect Peace*. And when his Majesty further considers, how impossible

Answer to the
Bills and Pro-
positions.

Anno

1647.

*Anno**1647.*

it is (in the condition he now stands) to fulfil the desires of the two Houses; since the only ancient and known wayes of passing Laws, are either by his Majesties personal assent in the House of Peers, or by Commission under his great Seal of *England*: He cannot but wonder at such failings in the manner of addressse, which is now made unto him: Unlesse his two Houses intend, that his Majesty shall allow of a great Seal made without his Authority, before there be any consideration had thereupon in a Treaty. Which as it may hereafter hazard the security it self, so for the present, it seems very unreasonable to his Majesty.

And though his Majesty is willing to believe, that the intentions of very many in both Houses, in sending these Bills before a Treaty, was only to obtain a trust from him, and not to take any advantage by passing them to force other things from him, which are either against his Conscience or Honour: Yet his Majesty believes it clear to all understandings, that these Bills contain (as they are now penned) not only the divesting himself of all Sovereignty, and that without possibility of recovering it, either to him or his Successors, (except by repeal of those Bills) but also the making his Concessions guilty of the greatest pressures that can be made upon the Subject, as in other particulars, so by giving an arbitrary and unlimited power to the two Houses for ever, to raise and levy Forces for Land or Sea service, of what persons (without distinction or quality) and to what numbers they please. And likewise for the payment of them, to levy what monies, in such sort, and by such wayes and means (and consequently upon the Estates of whatsoever persons) they shall think fit and appoint; which is utterly inconsistent with the Liberty and Property of the Subject, and his Majesties trust in protecting them.

So that if the Major part of both Houses, shall think it necessary to put the rest of the propositions into Bills; his Majesty leaves all the World to judge, how unsafe it would be for him to consent thereunto. And if not, what a strange condition (after the passing of these four Bills) his Majesty and all his Subjects would be cast into.

And here his Majesty thinks it not unfit, to wish his two Houses to consider well the manner of their proceeding: That when his Majesty desires a personal Treaty with them for the settling of a Peace; they in Answer, propose the very subject matter of the most essential part thereof to be the first granted. A thing which will be hardly credible to posterity.

Wherefore his Majesty declares, That neither the desire of being freed from this tedious and Irksome condition of life his Majesty hath so long suffered, nor the apprehension of what may befall him, in case his two Houses shall not attend him a personal Treaty, shall make him change his resolution, of not consenting

The Reign of King Charls.

1631

Anno
1647.

to any Act, till the whole Peace be concluded; yet then he intends not only to give just and reasonable satisfaction in the particulars presented to him, but also to make good all other concessions, mentioned in his Message of the twenty sixth of *November* last: Which he thought would have produced better effects than what he findes in the Bills and Propositions now presented unto him.

And yet his Majesty cannot give over, but now again earnestly presse for a personal Treaty (so passionately is he affected with the advantages which peace will bring to his Majesty and all his Subjects) of which he will not all despair (there being no other visible way to obtain a well grounded peace) How ever his Majesty is very much at ease within himself, for having fulfilled the Offices both of a Christian and of a King, and will patiently wait the good pleasure of Almighty God, to encline the hearts of his two Houses to consider their King, and to compassionate their fellow Subjects miseries.]

Carisbroke Castle

Decem. 28. 1647.

For the Speaker of the Lords House, &c.

Herein the Commissioners found what pinched the Parliament; and no sooner had the Parliaments Commissioners taken their leave and were gone towards *Newport*, but *Hamond* turns out all the Kings Servants out of the Castle: The confusion was so great that the King demands of him whether this suddain change be futable to his Ingagement, or for a man of honour or honesty to deal thus with them, that had so freely cast themselves upon him, and whether the Commissioners were acquainted herewith: he answered, No: but that he had the Parliaments Authority to do it, and that he plainly saw by his Answer to the Propositions, that he acted by other councils, than stood with the good of the Kingdom. Do you inter this (sayes the King) from my Answer? and commanded *Ashburnham* to read the Copy thereof aloud to the company. *Hamond* replied to all, that he hoped of the good liking of the Houses thereto. The King answered, for once I will dare to be a Prophet, for if ever the Parliament return an Answer to this, believe me not; but instead of all, they will give the Governour thanks for his severity, and send him a gratuity, which they did: And all parted with tears and much grief to the King.

Which so exasperated the people of the Island, that somewhat happened like a mutiny, and one Captain *Barley* heated with passion and misjudgment, beat a Drum in *Newport*, crying out, for God, and the King, and the people, but was soon suppressed, interpreting this attempt to be a design, they said, to take away the King, to seize the Castle, and to do such like impossibilities.

Hereupon

The Kings
Servants dismissed.

Anno
1647.

Hereupon the Vice Admiral *Rainsborough* is commanded with a Fleet to surround the Isle, and Land Forces are sent thither to strengthen the places, and Votes passed the House for the trial of the chief Actors in this Mutiny, *Decem. 30.*

And *Baily* was arraigned at *Winchester*, condemned for High Treason, and accordingly hanged, drawn, and quartered, for Sir *Harry Mildmay* sometime Master of the Jewel house to the King, and his Household servant alwaies, had particular thanks of the House for his good service at Southampton upon the Commission of Oyer and determiner for the trial of Captain *Baily*, *Febr. 2.*

The Kings Answer read in the Houses, and the effect known to the Army, that hereby he was in a Gin, and upon ruine, they all piece again, and the Agitators are brought into order, only two Dissenters (in honour to Military Discipline) were shot, and others imprisoned: and all men had leave and liking to exclaim against him even in Pulpits, generally countenancing the opinion of the most exasperated Members to consult of Interdictory Votes against all Commerce with the King, which was set out the tenth of *January*.

Votes of no
further adrefs
to the King.

1. *That the Houses for the future should have no access to, or commerce with the King.*
2. *Nor by any person whatsoever, unless having obtained leave of both Houses.*
3. *That no Messenger, nor Paper should be recieved at any time from the King.*
4. *That he shall incur the pains of High Treason that shall act to the contrary.*

These were long debated below, and the Houses made thin ere they were resolved. And the first Vote held the whole day, the Members wearied perhaps sooner, than perswaded, to the hopes of better events than followed, the latter three were harsh, yet necessarily depending. Howbeit the higher House held to the tugg for many dayes, till the Messengers of the Army came and gave thanks to the Commons, and the old Artifice was set on work by the Rabble, to rail at the Lords, and some other terrors of Guards to the dissenting Peers, made them at last to joyn with the Commons in these Votes, and had thanks from the Army, that the Souldiers would defend the priviledges of the upper House. And for what was done then, and subsequently acted, there were Emissaries ordained to extort gratulatory Petitions from the people for what was done, and to desire some more severe course upon the King.

But

The Reign of King Charls.

1033

But in fine, the Parliament was put to it, to give their Reasons of those Votes in a publick Declaration, 15. Febr.

Anno

1647.

The Parliaments Declaration concerning those Votes.

In which they endeavour to set forth the fruitless addressees formerly made to the King which (besides the suffering of many hundred thousands free-born people) have not moved him. That 7. Applications with Propositions have been tendered, wherein the Parliament have yielded up, not only their will and affections, but reason and judgment, yet he never accepted of any sent him. No not after he was gone from *Oxford*; his Towns and Armies overcome. The last address was but for four Bills, which they judged just, honourable, and necessary for safety, during the after Treaty.

Then they remember many, nay all the passages complainable of his Reign (as hath been particularly set forth heretofore in their severall Remonstrances, whereto the King gave Answers; all which are but the repetition of former observations, sufficiently expressed throughout this History, and to say it over again, will but trouble the Reader, nor make more advantage to either party, than as heretofore hath been) And they conclude [*That he hath not only forgot his duty to the Kingdom, but care and respect to himself and Family, and that they could give many reasons more, why they will make no more addressees, and yet they will use their utmost endeavours to settle the present Government, as may best stand with the Peace and happines of this Kingdom.*]

And hereupon (almost together) comes out the Armies Declaration in reference to the former of the Parliament. [*We finde (say they) That the Parliament have insisted only upon some few things so essential to that interest of the Kingdom, which they have hitherto engaged for, as that without betraying the safety of the Nation, and themselves, and all that had engaged with them in that cause, without denying that which God in the issue of the War hath born such testimony unto, that they could goe no lower: and (these things granted) they have offered to Treat of all the rest, so that by, and with the Kings denial, we can see no hopes of settlement or security that way. And therefore understanding that on Munday last the House of Commons have resolved not to make any further address to the King, nor receive any from him, nor to suffer either in others; We do freely and unanimously declare for our selves and the Army, that we are resolved through the grace of God firmly to adhere with, and stand by the Parliament in their said Votes, and in what shall be further necessary for prosecution thereof, and for the sitting and securing of the Parliament* and

And.

1647.

An Answer
to the Parlia-
ments Decla-
ration.

and Kingdom, without the King and against him, or any other that shall partake with him.] *Windsor Jan. 11.*

It is true, that it cannot be conceived that the King could have any possible means to make Answer to the Parliaments Declaration and Army, there were too many spies upon him. Yet not long after some one so well affected to the Kings Service, that whilst he is a prisoner, takes upon him the Kings Cause, and published an Answer, such as it is, which we submit to censure.

The Title styles it, His Majesties Answer to a Pamphlet, Intituled, a Declaration of the Commons of *England* in Parliament assembled, expressing their Reasons and Grounds of passing their late resolutions touching no further address or application to be made to the King, published by his Majesties appointment.

I believe that it was never heard of untill now, that heavy imputations were laid on any man (I speak not now of Kings, which I confess makes the case yet more strange and unjust) and he not permitted to see, much less to answer them: but so it is now with the K I N G, which does (though silently) yet subject him to as great an imputation, as there is any in the said Declaration; for those who know no better, may think that he cannot, because he does not, Answer it; Wherefore I hold it my duty (knowing these things better than every ordinary man) to doe my best, that the King should not be injured by the ignorance of his people: and albeit, I (lying under persecution, for my Conscience, and Love to Regal Authority) have not the means, in every thing, to make full probations; yet I am confident, in all the most material points, for to make the truth of the K I N G's innocency appear, that I shall satisfy any impartial judicious Reader.

What the issue of former Addresses to the K I N G hath been, is most certainly known to all the World; but where the faults rest, whereby Peace hath not ensued, bare asseverations, without proofs, cannot I am sure, satisfy any judicious Reader. And indeed, it seems to me, that the Penner of this, seeks more to take the ears of the ignorant multitude, with big words, and bold assertions, than to satisfy rational men with real proofs or true arguments. For at the very first he begs the Question; taking it for granted, that the K I N G could ease the *sighs* and *groans*, dry the *tears*, and stanch the *blood* of his distressed Subjects: Alas! is it he that keeps Armies on Foot, when there is none to oppose? Is it he, that will not lay down Excise, Taxations, and Free-Quarterings? But, it is he indeed, who was so far from power, even at that time, (being far worse since) that, in most things, he wanted the liberty of any free-born man: It is he, who never refused to ease his people of their

grievances

The Reign of King Charls.

1035

Anno
1647.

grievances; witness more Acts of grace passed in his Reign, than (to speak within my compass) in any five Kings or Queens times) that ever were before him: moreover, it is he, who, to settle the present unhappy distractions, and (as the best means to it) to obtain a personal Treaty, hath offered so much, that (to say truth) during his own time, he hath left himself little more then the Title of a KING; as it plainly appears by his Message from the Isle of Wight, concerning the Militia, and chusing the Officers of State, and privy Counsellours; besides other points of compliance which is needless here to mention.

Good God! are these *Offers unfit for them to receive*? Have they *tendered such Propositions, that might occasion the world to judge that they have yielded up, not only their wills and affections, but their reasons also, and judgments, for obtaining a true peace or good accommodation*? It is true, that if they can shew, what reasonably they could have asked more; or wherein the KING's offers were deficient (either in point of security, or by with-holding from any of his Subjects a jot of their just priviledges) then, they said somewhat, to challenge belief: But, bare Asseverations, even against what a man sees, will not get credit with any, but such who abandon their judgments to an implicate Faith: Nor can the determinations of all the Parliaments in the World make a thing just or necessary, if it be not so in it self: And can it be imagined, that any, who were ever acquainted with the passages at the Treaties of Oxford and Uxbridge, will believe (though it be said) that *the Propositions tendred at Newcastle, were the same in effect which had been presented to the King before in the midst of all his strength and Forces*? Indeed me thinks such slips as these, should at least make a man be wary, how to believe such things, for which he sees no better proofs: and yet it should seem, that a man must either take their words, for good payment, or remain unsatisfied; for a little after it is said, *That the Kings strange, unexpected, and conditional Answers or Denials might justly have made them consider some other course for settling the Kingdom in peace and safety without any further application*; but never shew wherein the strangeness of his Answers or Denials consists: and I should think that those Reasons, upon which the laying by of a KING'S Authority is grounded (for it is no less) ought to be particularly mentioned for the Worlds satisfaction, and not involved in general words: for it thereby seems, that it is their power more than that of Reason, which they trust to, for procuring of obedience to their Determinations, or belief to what they say: Otherwaies, can it be imagined, that their saying, *That their last Propositions were to be qualified, that (where it might stand with the publick safety) the wonted Scruples or Objections were prevented or removed*, can give satisfaction to any rational man, who hath seen

Anno
1647.

all their former Propositions ? For it is most evident, that their demands have alwaies increased with their good fortune.

And for their great Condescention to a personal Treaty (which under favour, can scarcely be called so ; for the KING though he had granted what was desired, was not to come, neither to nor near *London*, but to stay in the Isle of *Wight*, and there to Treat with Commissioners) upon signing the four Bills ; Surely they incurred therein but little danger : for it is most evident, that they contain the very substance of the most essential parts of their demands ; which being once granted, the KING would neither have had power to deny, nor any thing left worth the refusing ; for after he had confessed that he had taken up Arms, to invade the Liberty of his people, (whereas it was for the defence of his own Rights) and had likewise condemned all those, who had served him ; and that he had totally divested himself, his Heirs, and successors for ever, of the power of the Sword ; whereby the protection of his Subjects (which is one of the most essential and necessary Rights belonging to Regal Authority) is totally torn away from the Crown : and that by a silent confession, he had done himself and Successors, an irreparable prejudice : concerning the great Seal (I speak not of the other two Bills, neither of which are of little importance) what was there more for him to grant (worth the insisting upon) after such Concessions ? or, indeed, what power was left him to deny any thing ; So that the KING'S necessity of giving the Answer he did (for it was no absolute refusal) is most evident ; unless he had resolved to have lived in quiet without honour ; and to have given his people peace, without safety ; by abandoning them to an arbitrary and unlimited power of the two Houses for ever, concerning the Levying of Land or Sea Forces, without stinting of number, or distinction of persons ; and for payments, to leavy such sums of monies in such sort, and by such wayes and means, as they shall think fit and appoint. And now I cannot but ask ; Is this the *Militia* that the KING contends for ? or, did ever any King of *England* pretend to, or seek for such a power ? surely no : But this is a new *Militia*, and take heed, lest this should prove like the Roman *Prætorian Cohorts*, that what they did in chusing and changing Emperours, these do not to this Government, by moulding and altering it according to their fancies. Now, my eagerness to clear this point concerning the four Bills, had almost made me forget a most material Question : I wonder much wherein the danger consists of a personal Treaty with the KING, even since he was last at *Newcastle* ? Surely he cannot bring Forces along with him, to awe his two Houses of Parliament : and it is well known that he hath not money to raise an Army : and truly there is little fear, that the eloquence of his

tongue

tongue should work Miracles; but on the contrary, if he were so ill a man, as you describe him to be, whatsoever he shall say or write, must more prejudice him then you: for let him never flatter himself, it must be clear, not doubtful reason that can prevail against that great visible prevailing power, which now oppresses him: nor do I say it will; but certainly less can do it: Where is then the *Danger*! Believe it Reason will hardly maintain those who are afraid of her.

After this, it is said, That *they had cause enough to remember, that the KING sometimes denied to receive their humble Petitions*: but they never tell where, nor when, which I am most confident they cannot: but I am certain that the KING hath sent divers Messages of peace to them, unto which he hath yet had no Answer; namely his last from *Oxford* of the 15. of *January* 1645. and all the rest since. As for the fight at *Brainford*, whosoever will read the Collection of the Declaration in Print upon that Subject, will clearly finde, that the KING hath more reason to complain, that they under colour of Treaty, sought to environ him with their Forces; than they, for what he then did; and his Retreat was neither for fear, nor with shame; for the appearing of the Enemy made him retard, not hasten his Orders for retiring, which divers hours (before their appearing) he had given: which he did without any loss at all, but (on the contrary) retreated with more Arms, eleven Colours, and fifteen pieces of Ordnance (besides good store of Amunition) than he had before: and for Cruelty, there was not a drop of blood shed, but in the heat of the fight, for I saw above five hundred Prisoners, who (only promising never after to bear Arms against the KING) were freely released.

Again, they seem to have good memories, saying, That the King once sent them a specious Message of renewing a Treaty, when at the same time his Messenger was instructed how to manage that bloody Massacre in London, which was then designed by vertue of the Kings Commission since published. And hath the King sent but one Message for the renewing of a Treaty? then what was that from *Tavestock* in *August* 1644. and five others from *Oxford* the next year? But indeed this that is here mentioned, they knew not how to answer, (for at that time, they knew not the way of silence) but by this forged accusation against the Messenger; who, I dare say knew nothing of that, which might have been (at that time) intended for the Kings service, by some who had more zeal than judgment: But that there was a Massacre intended, or that any Commission from the King should countenance a design, is a most notorious slander. As for the Kings mentioned Letter to the Queen: I am confident that

Anno
1647.

that any judicious Reader, will finde the gloss made upon it, very much wrested; And certainly all Ages will think these Times very Barbarous, wherein private Letters betwixt Man and Wife are published to open view: And in other Countries, there is such respect carried to private Letters of Princes, that (to my knowledge) the last Emperour in the greatest heat of the *Bohemian* War, having intercepted a Packet, wherein were private Letters to King *James* of blessed memory (who was then known no great friend to the Emperour) from his only Daughter, then avowedly the Emperours greatest Enemy, yet he sent them to the KING, without the least offer of violence to the Seals.

And now I come to their determination upon the whole matter, what course they have resolved to take with the K.^d their words are, *but notwithstanding this and other former tenders, we have now received such a Denial, that we are in despair of any good by addresses to the King; neither must we be so injurious to the People in further delaying their settlement, as any more to press his consent to these, or any other Propositions*: Besides, it is resolved upon the Question, *that they will receive no more any Message from the King; and do enjoyn, that no person presume to receive or bring any Message from the King to both or either Houses of Parliament, or any other person*. Thus you see, that the King is laid by; But that is not all; for he must neither justify his innocency against Calumny, nor is there any way left him to amend any Error, that he may have committed: is this a way of proceeding? when truth, though offered must not be heard; and that no way must be left to recant an error? And why all this severity? Because (as I have already shown you) the King will not injure his Conscience or Honour, to which they give the term of such a Denial, though really it was none. But it is no great wonder that they forbid the King to repent him of those faults, which he never committed: and I believe all indifferent men will easily judge of the King, even by their way of accusation: for those who will lay such high crimes to his charge, as the *breach of Oaths, Vows, Protestations*, and *Imprecations*, should not spare to bring their proofs if they had any: But on the contrary, it is known to all the world, that he had not suffered as he has done, if he would have dispensed with that part of his *Coronation Oath*, which he made to the Clergy; which is no great sign that he makes slight of his engagements; of which it is so universally known, that he has been so religiously careful, as I hold it a wrong to his innocency, to seek to clear him, where there are no proofs alleged: for Malice being once detected, is best answered with neglect and silence. And was there ever greater or more apparent Malice, than to offer to put the horrid slander of Parricide upon him, who was eminently known to be as obedient and loving a Son to his blessed Father, as any

History can make mention of? But indeed the losse of *Rochel* doth fitly follow; to shew, how Malice when it is at the height, is ordinarily accompanied; for there are none but ignorant or forgetful men, who know not that it was meerly the want of assistance from the two Houses of Parliament (contrary to their pullick general Engagement) that lost *Rochel*; and there is nothing more clear (to any who hath known French Occurrences) than, that real assistance, which the KING to the utmost of his power, gave to those of the Religion at that time, made the Cardinal of *Richelieu* an irreconcilable enemy to the King; wherefore I cannot but say, that it is a strange forgetfulness to charge the KING with that which was evidently other mens faults.

There as also other things, that, to any knowing man, will rather seem jeers, than Accusations; as the *German Horse* and *Spanish Fleet* in the year 1639. But my affection shall not so blinde me, as to say, that the KING never erred; yet, as when a just debt is paid, Bonds ought to be cancelled: so Grievances be they never so just, being once redressed, ought no more to be objected as Errors. And it is no Paradox to affirm; that truths, this way told, are no better than slanders; and such are the Catalogue of Grievances here enumerated; which when they are well examined, every one of them, will not be found such as here they are described to be.

Now as concerning those discourses which mention the beginnings of these troubles, (which are in two severall places of this Declaration) I will only say this; That what the KING did upon those occasions, was meerly to defend the Rights of his Crown, which were and are evidently sought to be taken from him; nor can I acknowledge all those Relations, such as *private Levies* of men by *Popish Agents*, *Arming of Papists in the North*, *calling in of Danish Forces* and the like: And as for the tale of *calling up the Northern Army*, now renewed, it is well known that the two Houses (even at that time) were not so partial to the KING, as to have concealed a practice of that kinde, if they could have got it sufficiently proved.

But, if the *Irish Rebellion* can be justly charged upon the KING, then I shall not blame any for believing all the rest of the Allegations against him; And, it is no litle wonder, that so grave an assembly as the House of *Commons*, should so slightly examine a business of that great Weight, that the *Scots* great Seal did countenance the *Irish* rebellion, when I know it can be proved by witnesses without exception, that for many moneths before, until the now Lord Chancellour had the keeping of it, there was nothing at all sealed by it: Nor concerning this great point will I only say, that the King is innocent, and bid them prove, (which to most accusations, is a sufficient Answer,) but I can prove that if the KING had

Anno

1647.

had been obeyed in the *Irish* affairs before he went last into *Scotland*, there had been no *Irish Rebellion*; and after it was begun, it had in few moneths been suppressed, if his directions had been observed; for if the KING had been suffered to have performed his engagements to the *Irish Agents*, and had disposed of the discontented *Irish Army* beyond Sea (according to his contracts with the *French* and *Spanish Ambassadors*) there is nothing more clear, than that there could have been no Rebellion in *Ireland*; because they had wanted both pretence and means to have made one: then when it was broken forth, if those vigorous courses had been pursued, which the KING proposed, (first to the *Scots*, then to the *English Parliament*) doubtless that Rebellion had been soon suppressed. But what he proposed took so little effect, that in many moneths after, there was nothing sent into *Ireland*, but what the KING himself sent (assisted by the Duke of *Richmond*.) before he came from *Scotland*, unto Sir *Robert Steward*; which though it were little, will be found to have done much service, as may be seen by the said Sir *Roberts* voluntary Testimony, given in writing to the Parliament Commissioners then attending the King at *Stoak*. And certainly a greater evidence for constancy in Religion there cannot be, than the KING shewed in his *Irish Treaty*; for, in the time that he most needed assistance, it was in his power to have made that Kingdom declare unanimously for him, and have had the whole Forces thereof employed in his Service, if he would have granted their demand in points of Religion, they not insisting in any thing of Civil Government, which his Majesty might not have granted, without prejudice to Regall Authority; and this can be clearly proved, by the Marquess of *Ormonds* Treaties with the *Irish*, not without very good evidence by some of the KING'S Letters to the QUEEN, which were taken at *Naseby*, that are concealed, they too plainly discover the KING'S detestation of that Rebellion, and his rigid firmness to the Protestant profession: Nor can I end this point, without Remarking with wonder, that men should have so ill memories, as again to renew that old slander, of the Kings giving Passes to divers Papists, and persons of quality, who headed the Rebels; of which he so cleared himself, that he demanded reparation for it, but could not have it, albeit no shew of proof could be produced for that allegation: as is most plainly to be seen in the first book of the Collection of all Remonstrances, Declarations, &c. fol. 69. & 70.

Thus having given a particular Answer to the most Material points in this Declaration, the rest are frivolous, and many of them groundless. Yet one thing more I must observe, that they not only endeavour to make Fables passe for currant coin, but likewise seek to blinde mens judgements, with false inferences upon some truths:

The Reign of King Charls.

1041

Anno
1647.

truths: For Example: It is true the King hath said in some of his Speeches or Declarations, that he oweth an account of his actions to none but God alone; and that the Houses of Parliament joynt or separate have no power either to make or declare any Law: But, that this is a fit foundation for all Tyranny, I must utterly deny: indeed, if it had been said, that the King, without the two Houses of Parliament, could make or create Laws, then there might be some strength in the Argument; but, before this Parliament it was never so much as pretended that either or both Houses, without the King, could make or declare any Law, and certainly his Majesty is not the first King of England, that hath not held himself accountable to any Earthly power; besides it will be found, that his Majesties position is most agreeable to all Divine and Humane Laws; so far it is from being Destructive to a Kingdom, or a foundation for Tyranny.

To conclude, I appeal to God, and the World, whether it can be paralleld by example, or warranted by Justice, that any man should be yet denyed the sight of an accusation, and so far from being permitted to Answer, that if he have erred, there is no way left him to acknowledg or mend it; and yet this is the Kings present condition; who is, at this time laid aside, because he will not consent, &c.

Then Jealousies and fears were raised of some designs in London, and therefore the Earl of Cleveland is now remanded into the Tower: Sir Lewis Dives to be close Prisoner, and Sir John Stowel, and Judge Fenkins, to be tryed at the Kings-Bench-Bar. And proceedings to be hastened against the late Mutinies of the City of London, and of Canterbury, and of other Towns and Counties, about keeping the last Christmas-day. And that Serjeant Fermyn, Mr. Bradshaw and Mr. Steel (now Recorder in the place of Serjeant Glyn) are appointed by council of the Parliament, against those Delinquents.

Mutinies about keeping Christmas.

But the King thus sadly set aside, and no more addresse to him, nor Messages to be received from him, or any other in his behalf. He is put upon it in publick to complain to his people, by his Declaration the eighteenth of January, which came privately to many mens hands then, and since very publickly in these words.

Am I thus laid aside (saith the King) and must I not speak for my self? No! I will speak, and that to all my people, (which I would have rather done, by the way of my two Houses of Parliament, but that there is a publick order, neither to make addresses to, or receive Messages from me) and who but you can be judge of the differences betwixt me, and my two Houses? I know none else; for I am sure,

The Kings Declaration to his people after the Vote of no address.

Anno.

1647.

you it is, who will enjoy the happiness, or feel the misery, of good or ill Government; and we all pretend who should run fastest to serve you; without having a regard (at least in the first place) to particular interests: And therefore I desire you to consider the state I am, and have been in this long time, and whether my actions have more tended to the publick, or my own particular good, for whosoever will look upon me barely as I am a Man, without that liberty which the meanest of my Subjects enjoys) of going whither, and conversing with whom I will. As a Husband and Father, without the comfort of my Wife and Children; or lastly, as a King, without the least shew of Authority or Power, to protect my distressed Subjects; must conclude me, not only voyd of all natural Affection, but also to want common understanding; if I should not most cheerfully embrace the readiest way, to the settlement of these distracted Kingdoms. As also on the other side, do but consider the form and draught of the Bills lately presented unto me, and as they are the conditions of a Treaty, ye will conclude, that the same spirit which hath still been able to frustrate all my sincere and constant endeavours for peace, hath had a powerful influence on his Message; for though I was ready to grant the substance, and comply with what they seem to desire; yet as they had framed it, I could not agree thereunto, without deeply wounding my Conscience and Honour, and betraying the trust reposed in me, by abandoning my people to the Arbitrary and unlimited power of the two Houses for ever, for the levying and maintaining of Land or Sea Forces, without distinction of quality, or limitation for money taxes: And if I could have passed them in termes, how unheard of a condition were it for a Treaty, to grant before hand the most considerable part of the Subject matter? How ineffectual were that debate like to prove, wherein the most potent party had nothing of moment left to ask, and the other nothing more to give? So consequently, how hopelesse of mutual compliance? Without which, a settlement is impossible: Besides, if after my Concession, the two Houses should insist on those thing, from which I cannot depart, how desperate would the condition of these Kingdoms be, when the most proper and approved remedy should become ineffectual? Being therefore fully resolved that I could neither in conscience, honour, or prudence, passe those four Bills; I only endeavour'd to make the Reasons and Justice of my denial appear to all the World, as they do to me, intending to give as little dis-satisfaction to the two Houses of Parliament, (without betraying my own cause) as the matter would bear: I was desirous to give my Answer, of the 28. of December last, to the Commissioners sealed, (as I had done others heretofore, and sometimes at the desire of the Commissioners) cheifly, because when my Messages or Answers were publickly known, before they were read in the Houses; prejudicial interpretations were forced on them, much differing, and sometimes contrary to my meaning. For Example, my Answer from Hampton Court, was accused of dividing the two Nations,

tions, because I promised to give satisfaction to the Scots, in all things concerning that Kingdom: And this last suffers in a contrary sense, by making me intend to interest Scotland in the Laws of this Kingdom, (then which nothing was, nor is, further from my thoughts) because I took Notice of the Scots Commissioners protesting against the Bills and Propositions, as contrary to the interests and Engagements of the two Kingdoms: Indeed, if I had not mentioned their dissent; an Objection, not without some probability, might have been made against me, both in respect the Scots are much concern'd in the Bill for the Militia, and in several other Propositions; and my silence might, with some justice, have seem'd to approve of it: But the Commissioners refusing to receive my Answer sealed, I (upon the Engagement of their, and the Governours honour, that no other use should be made, or notice taken of it, then as if it had not been seen) read and deliver'd it open unto them: Whereupon, what hath since passed, either by the Governour, in discharging most of my Servants, redoubling the Guards, and restraining me of my former Liberty, (and all this, as himself confess, meerly out of his own dislike of my Answer, notwithstanding his before said Engagement) or afterwards, by the two Houses, (as the Governour affirms) in confining me within the circuit of this Castle, I appeal to God and the World, whether my said Answer deserved the reply of such proceedings: Besides the unlawfulness for Subjects to Imprison their King: That, by the permission of Almighty God, I am reduced to this sad condition, as I no way repine, so I am not without hope, but that the same God, will in due time, convert these afflictions into my advantage: In the mean time I am confident to bear these crosses with patience and equality of minde: But by what means or occasion I am come to this Relapse in my affairs, I am utterly to seek, especially when I consider, that I have sacrificed to my two Houses of Parliament, for the Peace of the Kingdom, all, but what is much more dear to me than my Life, my Conscience and Honour, desiring nothing more than to perform it, in the most proper and natural way, a personal Treaty.

But that which makes me most at a losse, is, the remembring my signal compliance with the Army, and their interests; and what of importance my compliance was to them, and their often repeated Professions and Engagements, for my Just Rights, in general, at Newmarket and St. Albans; and their particular explanation of those generals, by their Voted and Re-voted Proposals; which I had reason to understand should be the uttermost extremity would be expected from me, and that, in some things therein, I should be eased; (herein appealing to the Consciences of some of the chiefeest Officers in the Army, if what I have said be not punctually true) and how I have failed of their expectations, and my professions to them, I challenge them and the whole World to produce the least colour of Reason.

And now I would know, what is it that is desired: Is it Peace: I

Anno.

1647.

have shewed the way (being both willing and desirous to perform my part in it) which is, a just compli-
 ance with all chief Interests: Is it Plenty and Happinesse? They are the inseparable effects of peace: Is it security? I, who wish that all men would forgive and forget like me, have offered the Militia for my time: Is it liberty of Conscience? he who wants it, is most ready to give: Is it the right administration of Justice? Officers of trust are committed to the choice of my two Houses of Parliament: Is it frequent Parliaments? I have legally, fully concurred therewith: Is it the Arrears of the Army? Vpon a settlement, they will certainly be paid with much ease; but before there will be found much difficulty, if not impossibility in it.

Thus all the world cannot but see my real and unwearied endeavours for Peace, the which (by the grace of God) I shall never repent me of, nor ever be slackned in, notwithstanding my past, present, or future sufferings; but if I may not be heard, let every one judge, who it is that obstructs the good I would or might do: What is it that men are afraid to hear from me? it cannot be Reason (at least, none will declare themselves so unreasonable, as to confess it) and it can less be impertinent or unreasonable discourses; for thereby peradventure I might more justify this my restraint, then the causes themselves can do; so that of all wonders yet this is the greatest to me: but it may be easily gathered how these men intend to govern, who have used me thus: and if it be my hard Fate to fall together with the Liberty of this Kingdom, I shall not blush for myself, but much lament the future miseries of my people; the which I shall still pray to God to avert; what ever becomes of me.

C. R.

And now was the strict custody of the King referred to the care and Command of the General, to place and displace servants, such as to him thought meet, and only eight persons for the present allowed to him. Of which and his strict Guards, he expostulates with Hamond, telling him that he might yet ere long be beholding to one of his Sons for his life; for now was Prince Charles gone from Paris into Holland, from whence we shall hereafter hear more of him. February 4.

The first alteration of Sovereignty was in Title of things properly stiled the Kings, and therefore the Title of the List of his Majesties Ships is but now altered to the List of the Parliaments Ships, and the *Hollanders* refuse to strike Top Sail to the *English*, disputing that they were the Elder States, and indeed so they were, and Elder Brothers in the other also.

The Army resolve of new Modelling themselves to put the Martial power into the best way (for themselves) to appear formidable in the Field, to make good the Garisons, and to take in all confiding persons

The Kings
 Title altered
 in things.

Army Model-
 led.

The Reign of King Charls.

1045

Anno

1647.

persons: and so to make more Officers and fewer Souldiers under their Command, the easier to be governed, and in time of Action soon filled up; by Sir *Thomas Fairfax* who now takes an additional Title of Lord *Fairfax* being the unic Son to his Father, who of a Corn on his great Toe, it turned to a Gangreen and killed him. And so we end the troublesome affairs of State in *England* for this year. But may not pass over those concernments of *Scotland* and *Ireland* contemporary. Nor would we, nor could we handsomly interrupt our History with them, and therefore we insert them here by themselves.

And first of *Scotland*, beginnning where we left before.

The continuation of the Military Actions for the King in *Scotland* under conduct of the Marquess of *Montrose* this year 1647.

The Covenanters held Convention at *St. Andrews* upon the East Sea in *Fife*, carrying their prisoners with them where ever they removed, both of War, or others of the Kings Friends, men of the best note, the Lord *Ogleby*, Sir *William Spotswood*, *William Murrey*, and *Andrew Gutlery*, men of singular merit who here were to be sacrificed. To which purpose they set up a couple of their Kirk men *Kaint* and *Blair* and others also possessed with the same spirit. That God required the blood of these men, nor could the sin of the Nation, be otherwise expiated, or the revenge of heaven diverted, sentencing their very souls to damnation.

But *Ogleby* the most eminent, a *Hamilton* by the Mothers side, and cousin German to *Lindsey*, pretending himself sick, had leave for his Mother, Wife, and Sisters to visit him in prison, and whilst the Jaylors withdrew, he got on his sisters cloths, and put her in his place in bed. And at evening passed out with them for a Lady, and so got out of danger: his sister suffered strict imprisonment in the same Chamber for a long time after, and hastened the execution on the rest of the Prisoners.

The first was *Nathaniel Gordon*, the next Colonel *Gordon*, and then comes Sir *Robert Spotswood*, he had been raised by favour of King *James* to the honour of Knighthood, and Privy Councillor of *Scotland*, King *Charles* made him Lord President of the Session, and of late principal Secretary of *Scotland*. Their Charge against him was not for Arms, being a man of the Gown: but they found Treason in his bringing of the Kings Commission to *Montrose* to be Vice-roy of the Kingdom, and General of all the Kings Forces there. It was no boot, his Eloquent and Learned defence answerable to the fundamental Laws of that nation. But the Earl of *Lanerick* heretofore Principal Secretary (by his revolt against the King) this Office was settled upon *Spotswood*, this was additional to his Charge, which because he was not able to bear out, he was forced to fall under. And on the Scaffold prepared to dye, he made

Continuation
of Military
Actions under
Montrose.

Ogleby escapes

Gordon and
Spotswood executed.

Anno
1647.

made his last Speech to the People, but *Blair* being by; bad the Provost stop his mouth, and privately praying, *Blair* interrupting offered his prayers, which the other refused; adding, That of all the Plagues with which God had scourged this Nation, this was not the least (nay greater than Sword or Pestilence) *that God had sent a lying Spirit in the mouthes of the pretended Prophets*, for which *Blair* basely reproached him, and the memory of his deceased Father. His head on the Block, he ended his life in these words, *Merciful Jesus gather my soul unto thy Saints and Martyrs, who have run before me in this race.* He was learned in the Mystery of things Divine and Humane, and in the knowledge of *Eastern Tongues*, in History, Law, and Politiques, and alike excellent for the integrity of his life. And preferred to this commendation by a neer observer of him, *that he loved the old fashion piety with his soul, & to explain his meaning: he saies, and yet Not a vain and Superstitious professor of it before others; but to distinguish him a sound Protestant Professor, and no new Fangler.* *Hugh Scrimiger* sometime his Servant had leave to bury his body, and continuing sorrowful, ere the Scaffold was taken away, he passing by fell into a swoond, and being carried home dyed at his own door.

Gutlery.

Then followed *Andrew Gutlery*, Son to the deserving Bishop of *Murrey*, and by his Judges hated the more for that, *Blair* fell upon him also to repent for siding in the evil Cause. He answered, *therefore came I here, to suffer for a good Conscience and a good King, which he embraced without fear, and would dye without dread of death, for his sins (he trusted) were satisfied by the merits of his Saviour, to whom he recommends his soul.*

Murrey.

The last was *William Murrey*, brother to the Earl of *Tullibardin*, a youth of 19. years at the most, who told them, *That this his day of suffering he accounted a meer honour to his House; that he descended of that Ancient Family, should deliver up his life for his good King and his Cause, and desires that his Parents would not grieve at the shortness of his life, being abundantly recompensed with the honourable death. And so with his own and good mens prayers, he suffered Execution also.*

Montrose much troubled to hear of their deaths, was extreemly importuned to sacrifice such Prisoners as he had, being (they said) real Traytors indeed, and for which Justice he had Warrant from Gods Vice-gerent the King. But as he nere put any to death in cold blood as yet, so he would never be said to break his word of Quarter by exchange or imprisonment.

All this time had *Huntley* trifled in Plundering as he Marched, and gave way to the relief of *Inverness*, and retreats to the *Spye*, notwithstanding *Montroses* several Messages to him to return to the Siege, or to joyn their Forces, and to descend Southward, and to oppose

Anno
1647.

Middleton
comes from
the Scots Ar-
my in Eng-
land with
Forces.

oppose a new Enemy: Major General *Middleton* Marching with six hundred Horse, and eight hundred Foot as far as *Aberdine*, but *Huntley* would not. Although there came in to *Montrose* many friends and Tenants of the Earl of *Seaford*, the L. *Rose*, and from the farthest Northern Islands, Sir *James Mack-donel*, *Mack-lins* and *Glen-gar* the chief of *Mac-renalds* and many more. And by this means before the end of *March*, he might have Marched *Southward* with a greater Army then ever had been beheld in *Scotland*. But for the present he surrounds and besieges *Inverness* for the commodious Haven, and sent back three Troops of Horse to lodge about the Passes of *Spye*, to have a Watch upon *Middleton* who was now eighty miles off. And had timely warning to draw off from the Siege, and from the Enemies strength of Horse, and to Retreat beyond *Nessa* with some Skirmishes and equal loss, and so passed by *Benly* into *Rose*, and after through *Long-Nasse*, *Strath-glasse*, and *Harrage* into the bank of *Sprey*.

And being now not far from *Huntley*, he takes a Troop of Horse and gallops to him twenty miles, sending word before that he was coming to crave his Council in the Kings affairs: but *Huntley* took Horse and fled, and the other returned the last of *May*. By whose example *Seaford* and others began to falter, which put resolution in *Montrose* to force all the Northern Parts which he could easily doe, having tried all the fairest means and failed therein, for of late *Middleton* was entred into *Aberdine* with five hundred men whom *Huntley* had besieged and taken upon his own score, in revenge to the Town which he plundered, though the Kings friends, and released all Prisoners that were of *Middletons* men.

Montrose busie about his Northern designe, on the last of *May* comes a Herald from the King, whose misfortune had (as you have heard elsewhere) cast himself upon the *Scottish Covenanters Army* at *Newcastle* this time twelve moneth 13. of *May*; and commands *Montrose* to lay down his Arms and Disband, and to pass over to France till his Majesties further pleasure. The valiant man was amazed at this sad news, being assured that they had forced this upon the Kings miserable condition with some secret hint to look to himself also.

Montrose
commanded
by the King
to lay down
Arms.

But *Montrose* must obey, and Summons all his Confederates whom he conceived this disbanding would concern, and principally he sends *Hurrey* to *Huntley* that *Montrose* was willing to come to his Castle, for to be present at this Consultation, he Answered, The K. had written to him of the same, and that his Commands may not admit of second thoughts, but to obey as he would. They replied that it was likely *Montrose* was of that opinion too, how-

ever

Anno

1647.

His Answer
sent to the
King.

ever it might concern them all to provide for prevention of future mischiefs, and the very joynt consult would advantage them even in the Enemies opinion. He replyed, that he had resolved for himself, and would have nothing to doe with any body else.

Montrose sends his Answer to the King by Letters, wherein he humbly presumed to be so far inquisitive of his condition with the Covenanters, if safe in their hands; whether his Majestie was stedfastly resolved to Disband that Army of friends who had exposed their lives and fortunes for his Cause, whilst his Enemies were Armed in both Kingdoms? what course should be taken for them and their safety, not to be left to the mercy of murderous men? and in a word, whether his particular service might be acceptable in any other way.

To these he received no open Answer, but had returned to him some Articles signed by the Covenanters, which he in great regret refused as unconscionable, and not vouchsafing to Treat therein, he speeds the Messenger back to the King: professing that as he had not taken up Arms but by the Kings Commission; so he would have no Conditions prescribed him to lay them down by any mortal man but the King himself. Therefore he humbly belought the King to sign the Conditions, to which (though perhaps very harsh) he promised obediently to submit unto, but disdained the Commands of any other. Many of his Friends had underhand sought their peace with the Enemy, and *Huntley* and his Party to please them, resolved to force *Montrose* submission. *Antrim* was arrived alone from *Ireland* without any Forces, but sought to draw the *Highlanders* to himself, calling *Montrose* in scorn the Governor of the *Low lands*.

Montrose disbandeth his Forces and takes leave of *Scotland*.

But *Montrose* was to depart by the Articles before the first of *September*, that they should furnish him with Shipping, and all things necessary, these things were transacted the 1. of *August*, and to imbarque at a port in *Angus*, but their Ship not ready, being so designed, to engage his neglect, he hired a *Norway* Man of *Birgen*, thither he sends his friends *Sir Jo. Hurrey*, *John Dromond*, *Henry Graham*, *John Spotswood*, *John Lily*, *Patrick Melvin*, *Geo. Wiseheart* Doctor of Divinity, *David Gutlery*, *Pardus La-sound* a Frenchman, *Rodolph* a German, men pickt out for their abilities; he sends them before, and himself clad in a course suit, he passed disguised as a servant to *James Wood* his worthy Chaplain, from the haven of *Montrose*, which flows to *Brechen* in *Angus*.

And from this time the State of *Scotland* had Elbow room without any Enemies at home.

The

The Reign of King Charls.

1049

Anno

1647.

The Scots Army being returned home out of *England*, kept up a Body under colour of Civil dissentions there. And their General *David Lesley* had Command of all, and having notice that his Enemy *Kilketto* was retreated out of *Arguile* into *Cantire*, and the Earl of *Antrim* into the Isles, he drew off from *Perth* and came to *Dundain*, and *Arguile* himself retreated to *Inerne Castle*, quartering between *Sterling* and *Dunkel*.

The general Kirk Assembly of *Scotland* met July 6. and ordered a publick Fast upon these Reasons.

That Gods hand is stretched out against them in the judgement of the Pestilence mainly increasing. The great danger of Religion in the work of Reformation in both Kingdoms, from the number and the Policy of Sectaries in England, like to overturn the Foundation there laid with the expence of so much blood and pains. And therefore they resolve to cleave to the Solemn League and Covenant, against all the purposes and endeavours and underminings of their Enemy: and pray for the Parliament of England, and the Synod of Divines, and the good effects and fruits of Truth and Peace, which they now had, for Montrose was gone.

But in this distempers of *England*, the Scots increased their Forces, and put *England* into fears and jealousies, so that Allarm was often devised, to see in what posture the *English* should be, for seven thousand of the Scots were drawing Southward for fresh Quarters, and are come over *Spey River* with *Lesley*, *Middleton* in the East, and *Arguile's* in the West, and the *Highlanders* keep the Hills. And not long after *Lesley* is come to *Faddard* within forty miles of *Newcastle* with fifteen hundred Horse, and three thousand Foot for his part.

But notwithstanding the States of *Scotland* pretend to Disband, unless their Kingdom be in danger of trouble, the person of the King in any hazard, or their Kingdom thereby dishonour'd, and therefore for the present they raise two hundred thousand pounds *Scotch* for the present, Sept. 27. but having knowledge by their Commissioners in *England* of the affairs here, they will not Disband, for at the beheading of the Lord *Hart-Hill* at *Edenburgh*, one who had been for the King in the time of *Montrose*, He scattered some Papers there to the people, which mention the particulars of great troubles likely to be in *England*.

But to caress them, and to see what they do 2. of the Lords, and 4. of the Commons House are speedily to Post with Instructions to the Estates of *Scotland*, where we leave them till the next year, and proceed to a summary of the affairs of *Ireland* this year.

Anno

1647.

The affairs of
Ireland in
chief.

The Parliaments Commissioners are gon to *Ireland* to take possession of *Dublin* for the Marquess of *Ormond*, and landed them the seventh of *June*, and with them were Colonel *Jones*, Captain *Merridith*, Captain *Parsons*, four hundred and fifty Horse and one thousand Foot, commanded by Colonel *Kinaston* and four Captains, mist at the time that Sir *Charls Coot* defeated a party of the Rebels. The Parliament there now sitting gave good reception to the Commissioners in *June*.

Colonel *Jones* is made Governor of *Dublin*, and much troubled by mutinies for advance mony and pay of arrears, but were appeased, and the old eleven Regiments of Foot reduced to seven, viz. the Earl of *Kildares*, Lord *Moor*, *Tichburn*, *Benlace*, *Willoughby*, *Baily* and *Flowers*, in all about four thousand.

Many skirmishes are daily in several parts of the Provinces; winning and loosing as the fate of war falls out; but the complaint comes sad on the Parliament of *England*, that their monies are gon, their provisions in the field cannot last six daies, and are forced to leave the field and go to garison for want of bread: that *Owen Roe* the Rebel is with great forces in *Connaught*, and *Preston* is marching against *Dublin*, against whom Colonel *Jones* marches out with three thousand Horse and Foot and faced each other about twelve miles from *Dublin*, the Enemy being eight thousand who fell on and forced *Jones* to retreat, and then to fly, and were pursued four miles, taken prisoners and killed many, the whole forces being in very sad condition.

But the eighth of *August* it was revenged by Colonel *Jones* upon *Preston* neer *Trim*, killed five thousand four hundred and seventy Foot Souldiers, three hundred of the Gentry, seven thousand Arms taken, four pieces of ordnance and great pillage with one hundred and fifty Oxen. About twelve a clock the Armies joyned battell continuing two hours, *Jones* his Horse of two wings and some Foot having broken both wings of the Enemies, the main body also advanced and did as much against theirs, then the Enemy about three thousand drew up into a Bog and in a body, whom *Jones* surrounded, the Foot fall in and killed them, those that came forth fell into the Horse and were all slain. It was the greatest overthrow that we can boast of since the first war of the *English* against the *Irish*, but not long after he rallies and joynes with *Owen Oneal*.

But the Lord *Inchequin* and his Souldiers understanding the differences of the Parliament and Army in *England* make their declaration and Remonstrance also, yet they resolve to go on against the Rebels, but will not admit of any alteration in Martial Government, untill their arrears be paid them what is due both in *England* and *Ireland*.

And

The Reign of King Charls.

1051

Anno
1647.

And the Scots are called upon to Recall their forces out of *Ulster* in *Ireland*, there being no further need of their forces, the Parliament of *England* resolving to prosecute that war with the forces of *England* onely, for Colonel *Jones* was successfull and had taken from the second of *October* to the nineteenth, *Castle Ricard*, *Port Castle*, *Athby*, *Grucsfert*, the *Mabber*, *Belliloe*, *Cabbrough*, *Castle War*, *Danmock*, *Carrat*, *Matrose*, *Castle down*, and *Castle Amoin*.

And *Inchequin* hath his share of success in the Province of *Munster* the thirteenth of *November*, neer *Megallo*, and *Clancard*, and killed two thousand five hundred upon the plain, divers wounded and taken prisoners, so that the Enemies loss is reckoned four thousand, but at the close of these events, the *English* cry out for recruit of men, relief of Provisions and oft-times ready to starve, but the Kingdom of *England* are not at better leisure to help them, being in much distemper at home. And the advantage that each party in *Ireland* had of the other, was to burn, kill and devastate the whole nation, so that it appears a very deluge of destruction to the next years actions there.

One word more for the foreign affairs. At *Munster* the Treaty concluded a peace between *Spain* and the united Provinces the 16. of *February*, the circumstances thus, *Pignoranda* and *Le Bran* Plenipotents of *Spain* there (for the Arch-Bishop of *Cambrey* is dead) came and visited the States Ambassadors in the after noon, where, after some conference and debate, both parties signed in the name of their respective Masters viz. those two for *Spain* and seven for the six Provinces, viz. two for *Holland* and one for each of the rest, all but *Nel-shurst* for *Utrecht* who refused, at which time came in a Letter (signed by *Longue Ville* and *Servient* for the *French*) to the State Ambassadors seeking to divert or retard their Pacification, but in vain, the *Dutch* Ambassadors declaring they had hitherto waited for the compliance of *France*, and now at last had given them upon their desire, fifteen daies respite, which expired they have concluded, yet giving them leave to come in within two moneths which is like to be the time of Ratification and Publication; for the Papers must be sent into *Spain* for the Kings own consent, *Nel-shurst* pretended he cannot in conscience sign because of the States confederacy with *France*, without leave of the *French*. Their Treaty bindes them in making peace to go *paripassus*: This Act hath not so much pleased *Spain* as vexed *France* and many more. The *French* Ambassadors *La Tuillery* endeavours to raise men in *Holland* to carry on the war next summer with *Swede* with the greater vigour, and give out that they will call their Ambassadors from *Munster* and break up that meeting which now *Spain* will not fear.

Munster Treaty concluded.

The very day of concluding this Treaty there came in at *Rotterdam*

Anno
1647.

dam one *Rolledo* a *Spanish* Ambassadour coming, as he saith, from *Denmark*, and sent hither for his pass, much debate there was whether he should be prisoner, for the Hostility lasts till the Publication, but sith he came by *England*, and by accident of cross winds, and the peace so near, it was waved and he had a pass. And so we go on to the next year 1648.

Anno.
1648.

Summary of
the affairs of
this year.

The King is laid aside, the People Act for him: And although the Parliaments Declaration against him may not indure any Answer from himself, in his own defence, yet sundry Pamphlets *per ignotos* are scattered abroad endeavouring to clear him by many Apologies, the Preachers coldly execute the publick commands, yet some speeches by others appear gratulatory to the Parliament, but the most of men universally murmur, and Petition, for setting on foot a Treaty with the King, the Parliament in vain opposing multitudes of the Counties Petitions, and other places who are ill intreated. Part of the Parliaments Navy revolt, the *Scots* invade *England* with bad success, and accordingly the Princes Fleet make a kind of defection from him. The Parliament consult of Peace, Repeal their Votes of Non Adresse to the King, and resolve to Treat with him by Commissioners with strict propositions, and do; yet the King grants many things, giving hopes of a good agreement, for the *Grande*s of the Army seem to carress peace, whilst the Souldiers are dissenting, and demand the King to Justice, and to that end Rendezvous neer *London*, and frame a Remonstrance against Peace, in the name of the whole Army, which is approved in a Council of War, and exhibited to both the Houses, the Commons seem to consider of the Kings concessions, which the Army decline, and seiz the King in the Isle of *Wight*, and with him march to *London*, and enquarter about the Parliament, whilst the Members of the Commons debate the Kings concessions, and Vote them a good foundation towards the settling of a peace, to which the Lords assent. The *Grande*s of the Army beleaguer the Houses, and purge the Parliament, and ill intreat the Members by imprisonment, and order the rest, to their intentions, and determine of the chief affaires of the Kingdom, of punishing the King, and of modelling the foundation of Government. And first confirm the Votes of No Adresse to the King, and annull those for commencing a Treaty with him; Promise Votes, reflecting upon his life; Erect a Tribunal, constitute Judgement of all sorts, of the Army, and of the Members. The Higher House neglected, yet they reject the others Votes, and therefore such of them are expunged out of the number of Judges against the King, and all such others as are of their opinion. The Presbyterian Ministry outed of all, declaim against the proceedings, the *Scots* also protest, the States

of

The Reign of King Charls.

1053

Anno
1648.

of *Holland* interpose, the Lords doe their duty, and the people grumble: contrariwise others of the Pulpit pray them to proceed against the King, the High Court of Justice is fitted, the King Arraigned, condemned, and is beheaded.

We will enter this year with a notable Reformation.

The University of *Oxford* was supposed to be in disorder; For upon the Ordinance of Parliament the last year for the Visitation and Reformation thereof: they Ordained certain Gentlemen of several qualities (or any five of them) to be Visitors. Amongst whom were Sir *Nath. Brent*, Mr. *William Prin* of *Lincolns Inn*, Mr. *Reynolds*, Mr. *Cheyne*, Mr. *Wilkinson*, Mr. *Harris*, Mr. *Palmer*, &c. to inquire, hear, and determine all Crimes, Offences, &c.

Univerſity of
Oxford refuses
to be viſited
by the Parlia-
ments Ordi-
nance.

And accordingly they send their Summons. And had Answer of the Delegates, [Wherein their Vice-Chancellor and Proctors (being the Magistrates and publick Officers of this University) have been required to appear, they having imparted the same to us the Delegates of this University, who doe humbly conceive we cannot acknowledge any Visitors but the King, or his immediate Substitutes, which we are bound to defend by Legal Obligation, by our late Protestation as his Majesties undoubted Rights, and also are obliged by divers Statutes and Oathes to maintain also, and cannot submit otherwise, without manifold multiplyed perjuries. And this we hope to make more evident before our proper and competent Judges, and to Answer whatsoever Crimes or misdemeanour shall be laid to our charge.

How violently and active the Resentments of liberty and freedom are in the mindes of men, this late War hath given evidence, wherein the most earthy souls with earnest zeal have sacrificed their blood unto the name and empty shadow of it: and if the bare shape and apparition could actuate these *Icie Spirits*, we may wonder to think that the more free and aërial, who endeavour to restore the soul to its native privilege and Birth-right, should be senceless of their just interest, where Religion addes his Tittle unto Right, and private Liberty, built upon publick privilege, in its fall engages his foundation, and renders the neglect of a single safety, a desertion to the *General*, and *Treason* to *succession*, and therefore they refuse to submit to any Visitors but to the King. And which they make good by Lawes, Statutes, Oaths, Protestations.

But on the Visitors proceed, and inquiry being made of that neglect to take the Solemn League and Covenant, and the Negative Oath: and oppose their obedience to the discipline and directory, or shall not promote them to their several places and callings. Upon which the Masters, Scholars, and other Officers, and Members of this University, not to judge the Consciences of others, but to clear
our

Anno
1648.

Exceptions a-
gainst the gainst Or-
dinance of Par-
liament.

Concerning
the Covenant

Negative
Oath.

our selves before God and the world from all suspicion of obstinacy, whilst we discharge our own: Present to consideration the true Reasons of our present judgement concerning the said *Covenant, Oath, and Ordinances*, expecting so much Justice, and hoping so much Charity, as either not to be pressed to conform to what is required in any of the Premisses, further then our present judgement will warrant us, or not condemned for the refusing so to doe, without real and clear satisfaction given to our just *scruples*.

And first they except against the Preface, as not conceiving the entering into such a League and Covenant *to be a lawful, proper, and probable means to preserve our selves, and our Religion from ruine and destruction*. Nor can believe the same to be according to the commendable practice of these Kingdoms, or the example of Gods people in other Nations, when we finde not the least foot-steps in our Histories of a sworn Covenant ever entered into by the people of this Kingdom, upon any occasion whatsoever: nor can remember any commendable example of the like done in any other Nation, but are rather told by the defenders of this Covenant, *That the world never saw the like before*. Mr. Nye *Covenant with Narrative*, pa. 12.

And of the Covenant in gross, they are not satisfied, first, how they can submit to the taking thereof as it is now imposed under a penalty, as being repugnant to the nature of a covenant, *a voluntary, mutual consent of the Contractors, not compelled. Pactum est duorum plurimve in idem placitum consensus*: Nor can they take it, without betraying the liberty which we swear *with our lives and fortune to preserve*, and is expressed in the *Petition of Right*, and by the Parliaments Declarations acknowledged to be contrary. 3. Without acknowledging in the Imposers a greater power then can consist with our former Protestation. Nor can we in wisdom and duty being Subjects, enter into a Covenant wherein He whose Subjects we are is in any wise concerned, without his consent. It being in his power by the equity of the Law, *Numb. 30.* to Annul and make void the same at his pleasure. And seeing the King hath by his publick Interdict expressly forbidden the taking thereof, *Proclam. 9. Octob. 9. Car.*

Then they except against some Branches in each of the six Articles.

And concerning the Negative Oath. They cannot take it without forfeiture of that Liberty, not to take any Oath unless established by Act of Parliament, without abjuring our National *Allegiance*, violating the Oaths of *Supremacie and Allegiance*, whereby every Subject is bound to *serve and assist his Prince and Sovereign at all seasons when need shall require*, 11. H. 7. 18. and without diminution of his Majesties just power and greatness.

And

The Reign of King Charls.

1055

Anno
1648.

And concerning the *Discipline and Directory* all together, they are not satisfied how they can submit to the Ordinances of Parliament, not having the Royal assent, contrary to the Laws of the Land, and also pretend by repeal to abrogate them, a lesser power to Annul the Act of a greater, especially the whole power of ordering all matters Ecclesiastical, being by the Lawes for ever annexed to the *Imperial Crown of this Kingdom*.

For, as for the Discipline and the Government also, we cannot consent without the eradication of a Government of Reverend Antiquity in the Church, continued and confirmed by the Laws and Charters of the Kingdom, which the successive Kings at their Coronation have sworn to preserve.

And as to the Directory, they cannot (without regret of conscience) consent to the taking away of the *Book of Common Prayer*, which they have subscribed unto, and have used in our Churches, to the comfort of our Souls, and is justly defensible and maintained by godly men, and they shall be able to justify against all Papists and other Oppugners or Depravers thereof. It being established by act of Parliament, expressly commanded to all Ministers to use the same, and severe Sanctions of punishment to the refusers, &c.

And after all they conclude: Thus have we clearly and freely represented our Present judgement concerning the said *Covenant, Oath and Ordinances*; only we desire, That if any one single scruple or reason in any the premisses remain unsatisfied, the Conscience would remain still unsatisfied: And in that case it can neither be reasonable for them that cannot satisfy us, to press us, nor lawful for us that cannot be satisfied, to submit to the said *Covenant, Oath, and Ordinances*.

Quis damnaverit eum qui duabus potentissimis rebus defenditur, Fure & mente? Quintil.

Happy is he that condemneth not himself in that which he alloweth, *Rom. 14. 22.*

These Exceptions were approved by general consent in a full Convocation the last year, 1. *June.* and presented to consideration. But no Answer nor Reply hereto, so that the University thought themselves secure, untill now that the Earl of Pembroke their Chancellor makes his Visitation 17. *April.* At his entrance Mr. Mayor a Member of the Commons House makes a Speech to him, in what Language I need not remember. Another by Mr. *Chenil* at *Martin Coll.* where he lodged.

Earl of Pembroke Chancellor.

His Visitation of Oxford.

The next morning he went to force out Mrs. *Fall* the late Deans Wife to settle Mr. *Reynolds* there, which was done *Vi & Armis*, the

Anno.

1648.

the Souldiers breaking open all at his Lordships command. And in the afternoon he being *Cathedratus* in the Convocation, he delivered over his power to his Vice-Chancellor now made Dr. Reynolds, and so were others, *Cambers*, *Callicot*, *Harris* made Doctors of Divinity, *Palmer* of Physick, *Wilkinson* and *Chenel* Batchelours of Divinity, and many others made Masters.

The next day the Chancellor and his Band brake open the door of the President of *Magdalen* Colledge, and gave possession to *Wilkinson*. The like at *All-souls*, where the Warden Doctor *Shelden* refused to submit, because the Visitors had no Authority from the King, but his Chamber door was broken open upon him, and he confined to a Room in the Town, and *Palmer* put in his place. Then to *Trinity*, where forcing the doors, *Harris* was made the Master. At *St. Johns* Doctor *Bayly* denyed their Authority, and *Chenel* had his place. Next, to *Wodham* Colledge, where breaking open what was shut, *Wilkins* was put in. And to end all, many of the Commons of *Christ-church* were ejected, as Doctor *Hamond* and others, and so ended the Scene, and his Lordship came home again, and had thanks by the Parliament for his wonderful wisdom in rectifying and reforming the University of *Oxford*, and Voted that all such Masters, Fellows, and Officers there, as refused to submit to the power, should be expelled the University: and that all the Colledge Rents be paid to the Visitors appointed.

Col. Poyer revolts in Wales

Although the King be at quiet, the people murmur, all South Wales against the powers that govern the Affairs of State and Army, and supple the one part with Petitions to the Parliament, but quarrel with the other. One Colonel *Poyer* opposes, and being already intrusted by the General with the command of *Pembroke* Castle in South Wales, he refused to surrender to the Generals appointment, nor will he submit to the Letters and Command of the House of Commons to that purpose, and prepares for a Siege in defiance of the Parliaments Order. Against him therefore the General is to send Forces to reduce the Castle, and to bring him to justice, and Vice-Admiral *Rainsborough* is commanded to block up the Harbour. But not only *Poyers* case, who will not surrender without his Arrears: so also Major General *Laughorn* hath the same exceptions of not disbanding his, who now joyn together against the Parliaments Forces under Colonel *Fleming*, and in their Design seised Ordnance, Arms and Ammunition, possessing themselves not only of *Pembroke* Castle, but *Tenby* also. The manner thus.

Major General Laughorn joyns with him, and surprize Tenby.

Laughornes Foot being left without any Officers, but an Ensign whom they forced, the 26. of *March* consented to revolt, and with *Stevens* their Serjeant and a dozen Souldiers came to *Laughorne* into the Castle of *Tenby*, and seized the Commissioners of the Parliament, *Philips*, *Burloe*, *Sedgwick* the Minister, and *Lort*, the rest got

out

The Reign of King Charls.

1057

Anno
1648.

out of Town, these men were guarded into the Castle, and secured for the time, till all things prepared, they were shipped into a boat with some Souldiers, and carried to *Pembroke* Castle, forcing such out of the Town there, with much slaughter on them, that refused to joyn with them: so that *Fleming* was utterly routed and he only escaped: That night they seize a good ship of the Parliaments, being aground, and unlade all her Ammunition. And instantly sent away a Bark of intelligence to *France*. And in that time *Poyer* grows so formidable in the adjacent shires as the General disposes of Forces to reduce him.

Nor is this all; several other places fall into petty insurrections and revolts, which shew the disaffection of the People. Nay at *London* begins the Mutiny and brake out on Sunday the ninth of *April*, the Tumult took rise in *Moore-fields*, who set upon a party of the Trained Bands in *Finsbury* (drawn out to keep the peace) and soon overpowred them with number, and hourly increasing they disperse into multitudes, some to *White-chappel* seizing the Trainbands Colours, others to *Smithfield*, and many to *White-hall*, but these were met with by the *Mewes* guard of Horse, and forced to separate, yet at night they gather head, surprize *Newgate* and *Ludgate*, with the Keys, and shut up the Gates, then, to the Lord Mayors, and force from thence a Drake piece of Ordnance, and some slain: This piece they plant within *Ludgate*; the Mayor betakes himself to the *Tower* for that night. The morning increases their number, who labour to get Arms, break open a sale mans house of Ammunition in *Milk-street* and other places, and being furnished, they march with their mounted Ordnance to *Leaden-hall* and master the Magazine. The mean while drums beat on the River, inviting the watermen and saylers, for *God and King Charls*.

Mutiny in
London.

The General and his Council, keep the head quarters at *White-hall*, spend the whole night in debate, whether they shall hazard their two Regiments at *Whitehall* and the *Mewes*, or stay for more force: but agree to engage with these.

And as early as day they enter *Aldersgate*, and march to *Leaden-hall*, and charge the rabble, who with their Drake hurt Captain *Merriman* in the shoulder, and his Lieutenant in the belly, killd a woman, and hurt some Souldiers: The Waterman that discharged the piece was killd instantly; Many hurt, divers prisoners were seized, but the rabble disperst, the City was quiet by ten a clock at noon.

disperst.

Had a man but observed the general murmur of the City, at this time, the private abetting of this multitude to mutiny, the engaging of friends and forcing of servants, to this outrage, and yet in the very act, at but the sight of some Horsemen with

Anno
1648.

City consult
and crave pardon.

their swords drawn, and pistols cockt, riding up and down in disorder, and commanding the shopmen to keep home. How suddenly they shrunk in, like snails into their shells, and wondrous busie they were, to direct the Souldier how to master their fellows, bringing in their Horse at the new made *Postern* out of *Moor-fields*, and so were brought upon the backs of the Prentices, and subdued them on the sudden.

But however, the City call a Common Council, where this (now) monstrous mutiny is debated, and resolved upon: That the City was in eminent danger of destruction, by this horrid detestable act, that a Committee report to the Parliament their dislike thereof, and request very humbly, that the Actors may be severely punished by Triall of *Oyer* and *Determiner*, that the Ministers give thanks in their Pulpit for this their deliverance under God, by the forces (raised and continued) of his Excellency the Lord General *Fairfax*. And the Common Council do promise for themselves and the City, that they shall never do so any more. And for assurance of their good behaviour hereafter, the Committee are appointed to invite the General to a City feast, which alwaies concludes their frays: And hereupon (as heretofore (the City fortifications were demolished) so now their very Posts and Chains must be pulled down, and given to the Souldiers for their pains therein: besides one thousand pound larges for the Horse Regiments, that quelled the Prentices.

And to prevent the future insurrections in *London*, the *Tower* is reinforced with two thousand Foot, and a Troop of Horse to quarter there, and all manner of provision fitted for their intertainment, being, as it was voted, for the security and service of the City: it may well be so, for they paid for all. And all the Prisoners there (except the Lord Mayor and Aldermen) should be removed to several Castles, *Warwick*, *Windsor*, *Wallingford*, to make the more room for the Souldiers. Indeed the late Mayor *Sir John Geer*, and three Aldermen, *Adams*, *Langham* and *Bunch* refused to kneel at the Lords Bar, or to be tried by them, denying their power to try Commoners but only by the common Law, and were therefore fined five hundred pounds a piece and returned Prisoners to the *Tower*.

But *Poyer* appears formidable in *Pembroke* Castle in *Wales*, having gained the contribution of the neighbour Counties. The Parliaments forces are sent to oppose him, under two Colonels *Horton* and *Fleming*, who are sent with three Troops of Horse and Dragoons to gain a pass, from *Poyer*, who wittingly had quitted the same, but lay in ambuscado and fall upon *Flemings* whole body, and worsted him, followed the flight so neer that they retreat into a Church, the County coming in to *Poyer*, the Church was taken and those within had but poor quarter: Captain *Molloncu*

shot

Poyers power
at *Pembroke*
defeats the
Parliaments
forces.

The Reign of King Charls.

1059

Anno
1648.

shot in the thigh and *Fleming* slain, some say by his own hand, for shame of his ill success: two hundred prisoners. A drum came from *Poyer* to treat about ransom, with a blew and white Ribband and a Motto usual amongst them; *We long to see our King.*

The Cavaliers take heart thereabout, and univerfally in these Countie raise Arms and make a body against the Parliament: Not a Smith but hath left his house and home, and gon to *Poyers* party, who prevailes and is likely to increase in power. But now Lieutenant General *Cromwel* is desired by the General and Council of War, to march upon him with his own Regiments of Horse and Foot, Colonel *Hudson* and *Pride*, in all about eight thousand Horse and Foot.

But ere he got thither, *Chepstow* Castle was taken by the Royalists; Sir *Thomas Keymish*, Mr. *Thomas Lewis*, and other active Cavaliers, by flight and force took the same, and Captain *Herbert*, with divers others prisoners; in the absence of Colonel *Hews* the Governour thereof, the sixth of *May*.

Chepstow
Castle taken.

And thus they prosper till two daies after, when *Poyers* party was defeated by Colonel *Morgan*, his own letter to the Speaker tells how.

Poyers party
defeated and
how.

That after many tedious marches over the mountains, we were engaged with the Cavaliers neer eight thousand Horse and Foot, before St. *Fagons* and *Peters-Town*, and in two hours fight this *Munday* the eight of *May*, we gave them a totall rout, pursuing the flight for seven miles, many slain, three thousand Prisoners, all their Foot Arms and Ammunition: And leaves the further relation to the Messengers in the field, the eighth of *May*, near *Cardiff*.

Yours very humbly *Thomas Horton*.

This is short and like a Souldier, but the story is told for him, and the Talley strook of all the slain and Prisoners: Major *Bothel* comes of the Message, and saies that on *Munday* nine a clock the *Welch* were disordered half a mile from *Fagons*, *Horton* draws to the same distance neer them, and sends out Colonel *Butler* with five hundred Horse to fall upon the Rear, but at a pass the *Welch* were worsted. Then the Bodies encounter, *Laughorn* commands the *Welch* party, and were totally beaten, *Laughorn* wounded is fled with *Powel*: Prisoners, Major General *Stradling*, Colonel *Harris*, Majors *Wogan* and *Philips*, Captain *Batten* and *Mathews* with eight and twenty more Captains, and one hundred and fifty Officers, three thousand Souldiers. And in this defeat but very few (He saies) slain of the Parliaments party.

The Messengers of this good news had great rewards, the officers and Souldiers, all the Lands formerly given to *Laughorn*, and one thousand pounds land *per annum*, out of such Delinquents as were this fight to be given a Largeſs to the Souldiers.

Anno

1647.

Laughorn ef-
capes to Poyer.Tenby surren-
ded.Pembroke be-
sieged.Surrendered
upon Articles.

And a Declaration set forth in publick. That whoever shall engage in a war, commotion or insurrection against the Parliament shall die without mercy. And all the poor Prisoners in this fight to be tried for their lives by *oyer and determiner*, the Officers and chief by a Council of war.

This would not do: *Laughorn* and *Powel* escape to the *Welch* Rebels, hold out their Castles *Pembroke* and *Tenby*, against which, the Lieutenant General *Cromwel* is come, and the sieges for some time continued, he begins to storm *Tenby* with twelve hundred Foot of Colonel *Overtons* Regiment commanded by Lieutenant Colonel *Read*, Major *Wade*, and two Companies of Colonel *Constables* Regiment, and after several storms to some purpose, the Town first and then the Castle surrendered upon mercy, the last of *May*. Those within were two Colonels *Rice Powel* and *Richard Dannel*, four Captains *Vaughan*, *Army*, *Brake* and *Addis*; the Gentlemen were *Heymes*, *Vaughan*, *Culpepper*, *Smith*, *Penry*, *Bruans*, *Fesset*, *Lyson*, *Thomas Stump*, *Brasier*, *Lourday*, *Standen*, *Reynolds* and *Sway* with others.

Pembroke Town and Castle is hotly besieged by *Cromwel* himself: His forces were of *Prides*, *Dean*, *Hortons* horse; *Scroops* and *Okiers* Dragoons, with two whole, and two Demy Culverins and two Drakes.

But this strait siege distresses them within, who are refused conditions unless of mercy: No quarter on either side, and now *Tenbies* forces are come up, the storm is wholly intended, furious, which they endured with resolution and courage, it being a place of strength, of reasonable circuit, well manned, and commanded by persons of quality, the chiefeft of the County. And no doubt in time, the Parliaments forces by Land and Sea, would master the Town, but then the defendants had the Castle to retire unto, their last refuge, all which considered, and the rumour of the *Scots* Army now advancing towards *England*, and now marched as far as *Annan* the sixth of *July*; The Lieutenant General *Cromwel* thought it convenient to offer the besieged reasonable conditions before they should get Intelligence of the *Scots* invasion, which might have encouraged them to hold defiance.

And so the propositions take entertainment as it was intended; the thirteenth of *July*, the Town and Castle were surrendered.

That the chief actors *Laughorn*, *Poyer*, *Mathews*, *Bowen* and *Boyer*, submit to the mercy of Parliament. That the other Commanders *Knights* and *Gentlemen*, do depart the Kingdom within six weeks for two years, the rest to have liberty to return home, The sick and wounded to be carefully provided for, and the Townsmen to enjoy their *Freedoms* and *Liberties* as before. And instantly the Lieutenant General *Cromwel* marches towards the North, to joyn with *Lambert* against

against the Scots : For the General was busie in besieging Colchester (as hereafter.)

Those that submitted to mercy, were to be tryed as Traitors, and were sure to suffer the Execution accordingly, wherefore the Prince aboard his Fleet in the Downs, writes a Letter to the General Fairfax in their behalf, acting under his Highness Commission, desiring that they may have terms and usage as Souldiers of War, otherwise he shall be enforced in order thereto, to proceed against such, as the fortune of War makes his prisoners. 14. August.

The General Answers with all due respect to his Highness; That it is not in his power to Act further, the Parliament having ordered their Trial, as to the sad engaging this Nation in a second bloody War, and therefore he cannot interpose their Justice, but prays for a peace.

Your Highness humble servant

15. Aug. 1658.

Tho. Fairfax.

But let us return to the King. No news from him, closely watched, yet he walks the round upon the Walls, and therefore the other Faction had power in the House. The Kings friends are in fear. Yet now the Parliament pray, and debate the settlement of the State first, and then the Church, and Vote, that the Government shall be still by King, Lords, and Commons, and that the groundwork thereof shall be the Propositions last presented to the King at Hampton Court. What ever they Vote, yet the Royallists pethink what will become of the King: and therefore it is intimated from his friends beyond-sea, of the danger to the Kings children, whom the Parliament keep as a prey for some design; And therefore some are set awork to advise the Duke of Torke's escape, which was thus.

The Royal Family were all at St. James's under government of the Earl of Northumberland and his Lady: the Duke of York had been tampering not long since with Pen and Ink, and framed a Letter in Ciphers to the Queen his Mother, the rather to let her see how capable he was of Intelligence: The Parliament blamed him for meddling with writing without leave of his Governour, but his ingenuity soon confessed his first fault, and promised to offend no more in that kind: nor did he; and therefore had great freedom to walk within the walls in his sisters company the Princess Elizabeth, of whom he seemed very fond. His pretty sport was in the long covered Walk, the Statue Row, in the Privy Garden, where a door opens into the Park, there he walks and sports.

There was one Colonel Bamfield come over from the Queen and closely sent a Message to the Duke, that at the said door in the Walk, he would shadow himself without, and whisper to him

Anno
1648.

The Prince
writes in the
Prisoners be-
half.

Votes con-
cerning the
King and Go-
vernment.

Duke of York
escapes be-
yond Seas to
Holland.

Anno
1648.

at the Key-hole his Mothers Message, to trust his escape to his design. The Duke borrows of the Gardner the Key into the Inner Garden, (because of his being often out of the way) and with safety enough, for it was out of minde the other door into the Park. The evening come, he accompanies his Sister very late, and to have the more freedom, he usually had the sport of *Hide and Keep*, childrens play; which shadowed his missing till very late, and he was gone out at that door, where *Bamfield* receives him on foot to the waterside that night, and instantly habits him in womans apparel, and down the River towards a Barque at Anchor neer *Margates*. By the way in a Barge the Steersman peeps in behinde and sees *Bamfield* take off his Garter *George* under the Petticote, which discovers so much, that the man steers round and demurs, but his mouth was made up, and on they Rowed, and boarded the Barque, already under sail, and safely landed at *Dort* in *Holland*, a welcome guest to his dearest Sister the Royal Princess of *Orange*.

Petition of
Essex for a
Treaty with
the King.

Tumults increafe in severall Counties, and are seasonably allayed, some by force or flattery, others surcease of themselves. But now to the purpose which the people drive at. A Petition of the Grand Jury and many thousands of Knights, Gentlemen, and Freeholders of *Essex* presented to the Parliament 4. of May. [That it is impossible that the sad and direfull effects of this late War should cease, without the principal causes be taken away. His Majesties absence from his Parliament hath been pretended the main cause of increasing Fealousies and misunderstandings between them. And conceive that a timely concession to the King for a personal Treaty might remove, all fears which are yet the only obstacles of peace.

And for the Army they pray, That they may have their Arrears, and so Disband them. And that the Parliament would consider of that unum necessarium, and condescend to the Royal Intimations of his Majesty for a personal Treaty: without which is hope of peace, or quiet of the Kingdom.]

Surrey Petiti-
on very high,

And after them comes another of *Surrey* [That the King may be restored to his due Honour and Rights according to the Oaths of Supremacy and Allegiance, and to be established in his Throne according to the splendor of his Ancestors. To come forthwith to Westminster, that he may Treat personally for composing of the differences. That the Free-born Subjects may be governed by the known Laws now in force. That the War beginning may be prevented, that the Ordinances for preventing free Quarter may be duly executed, and speedily to disband the Army, having their Arrears due, and paid them.]

and quarrel.

The Petitioners were many, and numbers of them at present in the Hall, whilst the Petition was debated, and as usual, some

some slight occasion is taken to Mutiny against the Guard of Subscribers : one or two slain, many hurt, and the Tumult increasing (by Abettors at hand on both sides) more force of Horse and Foot were called from *White-hall* and the *Mews*, but night came and parted the Fray. And therefore to suppress these Tumults about *London*, and in many Counties of the Kingdom and *Wales*, all the Ordinances against Malignants are rigorously pursued against them, and yet would not prevail.

But as these Petitions were conceived Mutinies : So the City thought it time to be serious in one of theirs. And very modestly acknowledge the high favours of Parliament in communicating sundry their Votes to the City, wherein to their great comfort are expressed the Parliaments Resolutions, not to alter the Fundamental Government of the Kingdom, by *King, Lords, and Commons*. And to preserve inviolably the Solemn League and Covenant, and the Treaties between *England* and *Scotland* in the Propositions agreed upon by them both, and preservation of their union according to the Covenant and Treaties. And in the end thereof are much grieved for their Magistrates and fellow Citizens a long time under restraint, and the City thereby deprived of their service.

Praying,

That the Parliament would improve the prosecuting and perfecting the said Votes, and preventing a new and bloody War, and that the Citizens and Recorder now prisoners may be released, 23. May.

The Parliament had proceeded against those of the City, and against some Lords, and other Members of the Commons, who had tart and bold defences, as refusing to be tried by the Lords, or by Councils of War, but stand upon the tryals at the Common Law, and by Juries of their own. And in truth, Tumults increased in each Counties, that the Parliament knew not whether hand to turn unto : so that to begin their clemency, they are over intreated, or rather wearied out to release the City Prisoners first, and by degrees the rest. And to remove the Lieutenant of the *Tower*, and to put in Mr. *West* a Citizen, to afford them their security of their own *Militia*, and to caress them into some quietness, who began to be angry. Indeed the *Presbyter* now takes heart.

But among many Insurrections, that of *Kent* increased formidably, so that the General was desired to march upon them, and was now Rendezvouzed on *Black-heath*. The *Kentish* men for *King, Parliament, and Kingdom*, offer a parley by Letter signed with several hands, Sir *Thomas Payton* their Lieutenant General, and Esquire *Edward Hales* their General, to which they had this Answer from *Fairfax*.

SIRS,

City petition
to this purpose.

Prisoners of
Tumult released.

Kent insurrection.

Anno.

1648.

The Generals
Letter in An-
swer to theirs.

S I R S,

I received a Message from you, for a Pass for some Gentlemen as Commis-
sioners to come & treat according to an Order of Parliament. To which I
Ans. That I know not of any such order, nor any authority in you to appoint
Commissioners for such a purpose. But I finding you and them in Arms
against the Parliament, I cannot admit of Treaty, but if ye shall forth-
with lay down your Arms and retire home, I doubt not of the Parlia-
ments mercy to such as have been deluded into this rebellion, and their
exemplary justice to the chief Actors therein.

Black-heath 30. May 1648.

Tho. Fairfax.

This Answer sticks in their stomachs; they therefore divide their
Forces into Brigades, some of the South besiege Dover Castle, and
are not yet fitted to fight with Fairfax, who endeavours to engage,
which the others avoid, and rather to dispute by Letters in their
Reply to the General.

My Lord,

They reply,

The Laws of Nature are universal and perpetual, amongst which that
of self preservation is one: and you have declared as much, Fudge if it be
not: we have taken up Arms to defend our selves, and Providence hath
blest us with a power to doe it, which we cannot relinquish, but with
the forfeiture of our reason and honour: we invade not your Right, but
stand firm to secure our own, and so to doe is neither Tumult nor Re-
bellion; you are pleased to hold forth conditions of uncertain mercy to the
people, and withall affix menaces of an exemplary and positive pro-
secution upon the principals. To this we must assure you Sir, it is but one
soul that informs this great body, and we are determined to stand or
fall together, being rendered incapable of any fear, save only of relap-
sing into our former slavery. We need no other Arguments (than what
the fair mannage of this business affords) to testifie our love to peace, if
your self stand so inclined also. Be pleased rather to make this County a
Friend than an Enemy. As to the Petition we hope it will be scasonably
considered of: we are

Your servants;

Signed by the name and)
appointment of the Gen-) by us,
try of the Countrey,)

Philip Mafilds Major,
Edward Hales.

and fight.

The first Fight was at a Bridge between Crayford Heath and
Gravensend, which the Countreymen had Baracadoed, yet the Gene-
rals Forces of Horse swam over and put the other to flight, and
Major Child their Commander hardly escaped, his Horse be-
ing shot under him, his Son wounded and taken, twenty others
slain, and thirty prisoners, those were only some of the County
Saylers

The Reign of King Charls.

1065

Anno
1648.

Saylers and City Prentices. The General follows after, and Major *Husbands* advanceth some miles beyond *Gravesend*, and then to *Maulen*, the General now thereabouts at *Mapham*, and there makes a halt to see what the Enemy meant to doe, for they were numerous, near ten thousand, and their chiefs were Sir *Gama-liel Dudley*, Sir *Geo. Lisle*, Sir *William Crompton*, Sir *Robert Tracie*, Colonel *Leigh*, Sir *Fo. Mavy*, Sir *Tho. Payton*, Sir *Tho. Palmer*, Esquire *Hales*, (said to be General) Sir *James Hales*, Sir *William Mavy*, Sir *John Dorrel*, Sir *Thomas Godfrey*, Sir *Rich. Hardress*, Colonel *Washington*, Colonel *Hamond*, Colonel *Le. strange*, Colonel *Culpepper*, Colonel *Hucker*, *James Dorrel*, Colonel *George Newman*, and Mr. *Whelton* sometime Treasurer for the Parliament. I mention them for no dishonour, their pretence was just, I judge none.

But on goes the General and Marches towards *Rocheſter*, and by the way Major *Husbands* disputes a Passage over a Bridge at *Norfield*, maintained by Major *Childe* with six hundred Foot, which was gained, and killed twenty men, and took thirty Prisoners with small loss to the Assailants. This having rouzed the *Kentish* men, it was expected they should imbody and meet their Adversary ere he were further entered upon them, which the General expected, and therefore Marched full bodyed, six thousand Foot, and two thousand Horse, well Ammunitioned, for the City sent after what ever possible could be called for. The County were not so many, ill trained, dispersed, meanly armed, slender Ammunition, and such Commanders as in like cases are more for reputation, then direction or execution; But no opposition appears, the General Advances with his whole Army (now collected near ten thousand men) to *Rocheſter*, where the Bridge is quitted to him, and he goes on towards *Maidstone*, was strengthened with reasonable Force to defend, and valiantly indured the first Assault by Storm, and the second, but the third time got entrance upon disadvantage, for the Streets were well manned, the houses lined, and their case-shot so galled the Assaylants with much loss and long dispute, twelve a clock midnight, and so valiantly defended, that the old Souldiers confess, what ere they got was by Inches, and dearly bought, and that the like desperate service they had never felt before. So then the County men could fight, but overpowred, they lost, two hundred slain, one thousand four hundred Prisoners, four hundred Horse, two thousand Arms, and many men of quality slain and taken. The other lost not many, and this was done the second of *June*. Whilst this was acting the *Rocestrians* drew out into a Body within three miles of *Maidstone*, which weakned the Generals Assault, for he was fain to draw out considerable Forces to attack them at a distance, but the other came not on. And when all was lost, they marched away and left *Rocheſter* to the Generals mercy.

Maidstone
fight.

Anno

1648.

Votes against
the ele-
ven Members,
Lords, and
Aldermen are
discharged.

Kentish men
come to Black
Heath and
Disband.

The County now in desperation, send to the City of *London*, relating their condition, and that in this just quarrel they hoped of Association and help in for the General good of the Nation and people oppressed: but the City refuse, and acquaint the Parliament who return them thanks. And to reward their faithfulness, it was now conceived very seasonable to Answer their late Petitions in behalf of the eleven Members and other Prisoners for the Tumult of Parliament: and as a day of Jubile for the *Kentish* News.

The Parliament Order.

That the Votes whereby Denzil Hollis, Sir Jo. Maynard, Sir William Waller, Sir William Lewis, Sir John Clotworthy, Colonel Edw. Massey, Anthony Nichols, and Walter Long Esquires, stand accused by the House, be fully discharged.

That the Votes whereby the Lord Willoughby of Parham, the Earls of Lindsey, Suffolk and Middlesex, the Lord Barkley, Hunfdon, and Maynard, stand accused by this House, be fully discharged.

That the Votes whereby the Aldermen Gayer, Langham, and Bunce, and Serjeant Glyn accused by this House, be fully discharged, 3. June.

But the *Kentish* men kept in a Body, and marched towards *London* in hope of assistance from hence, and being come to *Blackheath*, and no help afforded, the Generals Horse hastening at their heels,

The *Kentish* men sensible of their misfortune, quit their Commanders, and retire home. And therefore *Goring* (Earl of *Norwich*) one amongst them, tells them plainly that he is no Souldier, but though old, he had a heart to lead them on that would follow him: the Generals Horse in fight, and they no time to Counsel, suddenly they bethink: *Goring* with about 5. hundred gets over the Ferry at *Greenwich* into *Essex* and gathers strength, and Quarter about *Stratford*, *Laughton*, and *Bow*, and joynes with Sir *Charls Lucas* and others of *Essex*, to whom comes the Lord *Capel* with Forces of *Hartfordshire*, and Rendezvouz at *Chelmsford*.

Dover Castle was hardly besieged, but the Parliaments Forces raise that Siege, and the County men retire to *Canterbury*, against whom *Ireton* and *Barkstead* March with their Regiments, and at *Eversham* are met by two Commissioners for Composition to those of *Canterbury*, which were granted; and *Ireton* goes thither to perform them, and *Barkstead* gets over into *Essex*, *Sandwich*, *Deale* and *Weymor Castles* held out against Colonel *Rich* and *Hewson*. And *Kent* thus reduced, the General Ferries his Forces over at *Gravesend* and *Greenwich* into *Essex* where that County was gotten into a Body of six thousand, and but ill Armed, the Earl of *Norwich* makes bold to borrow the Earl of *Warwicks* Armory, served the turn for the present, and the General Marching on, the *Essexians* who get into

Colchester

The Reign of King Charls.

1067

Colchester the seat of War, for their friends in other Counties to come to their aid; For

The General is come and set down to the Siege, and after Skirmishes, and as yet the County men in good heart. They within are Summoned to yield.

My Lord,

I am come hither with the Parliaments Forces to reduce those under your Command to the Parliament: if your Lordship and those under you will lay down Arms, and so prevent much blood, and the Town from Plunder, otherwise the evil will lye upon you, and excuse me

13. June.

You servant *Tho. Fairfax.*

The Generals
Summons.

This Summons was slighted, for the merry Earl of Norwich told the Trumpeter, he heard of the Generals Gout, but he would cure him of all diseases: but the General writes again concerning the harsh usage of some Prisoners of quality, Commissioners of the Parliament.

SIR,

I understand you have in custody Sir William Massam, and others prisoners, I desire this bearer may see in what condution they are, that their wants may be supplied, and to exchange yours for prisoners of mine.

Tho. Fairfax.

Which was Answered and consented unto, and the like from them. And rest your Lordships servants, Norwich, Capel, Lucas,
15. June.

Indeed the Prisoners of each, were of different quality, and so not to be equally exchanged, for many Gentry of the best quality were ingaged in the Town, the remain of many gallant Commanders of the Kings, and of the former Cavaliers, so that during this Siege, and often Sallies, there suffered many of Noble descent and Families. But it was an hard case that the House of Commons voted, to seise into custody twenty persons Cavaliers in lieu of these Committee-men of Essex taken prisoners.

And although the City of London appear not in publick against the Essex Revolters; yet we may guess at the affections of many of them, by a Bill presented to Doctor Burges Lecturer at St. Pauls Cathedral, to be read and subscribed by numbers of Citizens, desiring to give thanks to God for his Protection to the King, in preventing his Majesty from being impoisoned, and to pray for the good success of the Forces under the Command of the Earl of Norwich, the Lord Capel, Sir Charles Lucas, and for Sir Marmaduke Langdale, who was Marching from the North to their relief.

Anno
1648.

Rumour of
impoisoning
the King.

Insurrection
of the Earl of
Holland.

They write to
the City for
assistance.

The King straitned in his imprisonment at Carisbook Castle, his own servants removed, and others of very mean rank put upon him, some of these mutined against each other, and in the dissention a rumour was raised there, of a design to imppoison the King: Osborne an ordinary man, Dowser a Groom of a Lords Chamber, and Babington his Barber, and one Major Rolph. The murmur there made the noise thereof so increase at London, that the Parliament ordered their Commitment. The business was Legally prosecuted to a Tryal at Southampton Assize, where the Evidences were so disagreeing, and the charge so irregular in Law, that the Grand Jury found it Ignoramus, and in truth the King himself gave no credit to the report.

Whilst these businesses were in Action, a fresh Insurrection was devised so near ken of the Parliament as Kingston upon Thames. The chief Actor was the Earl of Holland Commissioned from the Prince of Wales beyond Seas. To this Juncto was drawn in, the Duke of Buckingham and his valiant brother the Lord Francis, the Earl of Peterborough and others. 'Tis true, it broke out into Arms, July 2. but being some time a brewing and weakly mannaged, they were soon dissipated, their former meetings unadvised and too publick; The Parli. had eyes upon their Actions, which were discovered from time to time by false fellows amongst them, and so put to it to appear, before they were ready, they Summon'd a Rendezvous on Kingston Heath, not more coming then five hundred horse, and truly being met, their General was not fitted with Orders of Command, every one asking, who should lead them on. Yet it amazed the Parliament, who in fear of the effects, listed present Forces of Horse at the charge of each Member for security of Whitehall and themselves, subscribing to their abilities. And it was time, for the City had received Letters of Invitation from those of the Insurrection.

To the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, &c.

Having of long time beheld the sad Calamities of these Kingdoms, and finding no other means of redress, we are forced into this undertaking, which we desire may be rightly understood of all well affected, especially of this City, whose actions and good endeavours doe sufficiently evidence their good affections; To this end we have inclosed a brief account of our intentions of peace to the Kingdom, which we hope will give satisfaction to all, whose assistance (with Gods blessing) we desire no further then our desires are real, for the happiness of King, Parliament, and Kingdom, according to Covenant.

July 6.

Your humble servants,
Buckingham, Holland, Peterborough.

Here-

The Reign of King Charls.

1069

Hereupon the Parliament Vote them Traytors, and all others their Adherents, and their Estates instantly to be sequestred.

Anno
1648.

Engage in
fight.

But to the Business, Friday the 7. of *July* the parties March from *Darking* with their whole Force to possesse *Rigat*, which they had quitted the other day, and hither they came too late, for Major *Gibbons*, and Colonel *Riches* Horse entred the Town before: upon which the other March towards *Kingston*, and are pursued so close that divers of them are taken prisoners betwixt *Ewell* and *Non-such* Park, in the very High way to *Kingston*. Then each drew up, and faced one the other, and was disputed by Parties, whilst the Risers sent their Foot before into *Kingston* to secure their Retreat. The Forlornes fought well on both sides, but at last they fly, and were pursued to *Kingston*, where their Foot had made good the *Turn-pike*, and stopt the Career of the Pursuers. That night the Parliament Forces kept Guard without the Town, till morning that their Foot was come, and then give Allarm and enter, but found no Adversary, but one hundred Horse with their Carriages, for the men were fled over the Bridge towards *Harrow* on the Hill, whither they are pursued. But in the former Disputes, that gallant Lord *Francis Villiers* was slain with many wounds, and twenty more, one hundred Prisoners, and two hundred Horses. And truly from henceforth they were hunted, never daring to make a stand or to dispute with any parties though of far less number. And are now so separated that sport was made to finde out the Parties, posting any whither for safety of their lives: *East*, *West*, *North*, and *South*. And the greatest party, following their flying General the Earl of *Holland* to *St. Needs*, and pursued by Colonel *Scroop* from *Hartford*, who being guided by Spyes got the secret waies thither, ere the Defendants were aware; yet some were Mounted and in a Body, but were beaten by a Forlorn and Routed before the rest entered, the Duke with sixty Horse flies away towards *Lincolnshire*, and escapes beyond Seas. Their General not up, or not dressed, was taken in his Chamber, many that fought got away, some slain, others prisoners, persons of good Note, so that the Souldiers said they never met with such golden booties, fine clothes, gallant Horses, and pockets full of Coin. The Parliament say, they lost but three. And for the present the Earl of *Holland* is sent prisoner to *Warwick* Castle, where he continued untill his Arraignment and Execution at *Westminster*, the 9. of *March* as hereafter follows. But the Prisoners of note were, the Earl of *Holland*, Sir *Gilbert Gerard*, Colonel *Skemisher*, Major *Holland*, Major *Slepkyn*, Lieu. Col. *Goodwin*, Colonel *Legg*, and one hundred more, *Dalbier*, and a Son of Sir *Kenelm Digbies* slain, the Lord *Andover* was after taken at *Dover*, and there imprisoned.

Earl of Hol-
land taken
prisoner.

Anno
1647.

The Parliament of Scotland were now sitting since the second of March, and not well pleased with the English proceedings, it was thought fitting here to send English Commissioners to reside there during their Session. And of the Lords House were chosen the Earls of Nottingham and Stanford, the Commons were Mr. Arthurst, Colonel Birch, Mr. Herle, and Mr. Marshall Preachers. For the Scots recruit their Army at home, and the English expect an Invasion of them, being generally dissatisfied there of our proceedings against the King here. However the Commissioners of England resident there, acquainted our Parliament here with Propositions of Scotland, and this their Answer to some Papers sent thither.

[That it was the desire of the Parliament of England to maintain a good correspondency between the two Nations.

2. That this Kingdom would take speedy care for the advance of a hundred thousand pounds due unto that Kingdom, and so long as that sum, or any part should be forborn, they should have Interest after the rate of 8.1. per Cent. for the same.

3. And that concerning the Arrears due to the Scots Army in Ireland, the Parliament of Scotland are desired either to propound a certain sum by the Lump for the service of that Army there, or else to appoint Commissioners on their side, or appoint their Commissioners with ours to repair into Ireland, to audit the accompt of that Army.]

So then we find the outward pretences on both sides to keep a good correspondency, And to Caress them the more, ever and anon the Parliament of England would by debates and Orders, shew an inclination to settle the Presbyterian Government here: by that means to quiet the bawling Spirits of the Scots Ministry in their Kirk and Pulpits, though it was never seriously intended here.

And even at this time Letters of Intelligence came from Scotland, that Sir Tho Glenham, Sir Lewis Dives, Sir Marmaduke Langdale, and others from the Queen in France, are expected in Scotland, and many discontented English flock to Edensburgh from all parts. Captain Wogans Horse Marched thither from the Army with a full Troop and two Companies of Foot landed out of Ireland at Chester and Marched thither likewise.

But as the late Affairs of the English Parliament had suffered under several distractions, so these of Scotland were managed with great disturbance, some of their Members would raise an Army to espouse the Kings quarrel, and to restore him. Another party desire an Army to suppress the Sectaries of both Kingdoms, but are loath thereby to strengthen the hands of Malignants in either

Kingdom,

The Reign of King Charls.

1071

Kingdom. A third would have no Army at all: and to some end or other they frame an Oath.

Anno
1648.

[*That Presbyterial Government be maintained.*

That the King be not restored till he subscribe the Covenant, and endeavour the extirpation of Sectaries.

That Ecclesiastical Power is not subordinate to the Civil.

That the Kings Negative voice in England be taken away.

Scots protestation.

In Debate of these Passages, two of their best Sparks (the Earl of Killmore allied to Hamilton, and the Lord Granston to their General Leven) went out in a Fury and fought a Duel, and most of many are for War.

The Parliament of England confer and Vote that all Members be summoned to attend the Houses on the 24. of the next Moneth, April, for the Estates of Scotland had formed a Committee of danger, who had of themselves voted to raise forty thousand men, and these were Duke Hamilton, Arguile, the Earls of Crawford, Lindsey, Lauderdale, Lanrick, Calandar, Traquair, and Roxborough, the Lords, Eimerpethen, Waneston, Lea, Humbe, Collington, Arneston, Gartland, and Ennis, and eight Burgeses.

Committee of danger in Scotland vote a war.

But against the manner of this Vote (not the matter) a Protestation was made by eighteen Lords, and forty other to this effect.

Whereas we have desired that no Power be granted to any Committee to engage this Kingdom in a War, before the Parliament resolve on a War, and state the cause and ends thereof, it being not agreeable to the Act of Parliament 1640, &c. And protest not to be included, but may be free of all the evil that may follow thereupon to the cause of God, the Covenant, Religion, and to the Kings person, and Authority to this Kirk and Kingdom, or the union of both.

Others dissent

The Scots are come, and their General, Duke Hamilton, consults there with Sir Marmaduke Langdale, whether towards Lancashire or New-castle, the Duke marches himself in the Van, with his Trumpeters before in Scarlet Coats with silver lace, and much state. His life guard proper persons, well cloathed: His Standard and other equipage Prince-like: In the Van marched four Regiments of Horse, seven Colours to a Regiment, and in all of the Van about two thousand. Their body led by Major General Middleton, seven Regiments, ten Colours to a Regiment, and therein neer seven thousand: Some carriages came with them, but their compleat, will be from Carlisle, the only reason of his hasting thither. The Rear is brought up by the Earl of Calander with fifteen hundred

The State of the Scots Army come to Carlisle.

Anno.
1648.

dred; Additional forces they expect from Major General Monroe of three thousand Scots from Ireland under his Command. And for assistance of the English about three thousand now ready to be drawn out into Arms under Langdale in the North.

The Scots Declarations are already passed, to smoothe his passage to the people. And being come thus near as Annan, he Summons Major General Lambert the Parliaments Northern Commander, to this effect.

Noble sir,

The Parliament of Scotland (upon the imminent danger to Religion, his Majesties sacred person, and the peace of his Kingdoms, from the prevailing power of Sectaries in England) did send to the Parliament of England such demands as they conceived necessary, and no Answer, nor satisfaction therein, the danger increasing, by Northern Forces drawn to the Borders. The Committee of Estates in Scotland, have commanded him and other noble Personages his Assistants to pursue the ends of their Covenant, 6. January, 1643. and 1644. for settling Religion, liberating the King from base imprisonment, freeing the Parliament from Forces upon them, Disbanding of all Armies, freedom from Tax and Quarter, for procuring a peace and settlement of the Kingdoms. And in all these, they will faithfully observe on their part their Covenant and Treaties with their dear brethren of England. And hopes that Lambert will not oppose but rather ayd,

Annan 6. July 1648.

Your humble servant

J. Hamilton.

Two dayes after hath Answer in effect.

That he shall not take upon him to Answer his Lordships particulars, seeing the late Ordinances of Parliament concerning the settling of Religion, their severall addresses and Propositions to his Majestie in order to all, are lately published, and which he doubts not are well known to his Excellencie. That the English Northern Forces under his Command, have not acted any prejudice to the Kingdom of Scotland, but rather to suppress the late Rebellion of Sir Marmaduke Langdale against the Parliament, who sit and act without any Force upon them. And concludes (as the other) that being intrusted by the Parliament to oppose all power against them, he hopes the Duke will assist him & address himself in any particular to the Parliament of England.

Castle Sairlo

Your Excellencies most humble servant

8. July.

J. Lambert.

But by the tenth day the Scots were joyned with Langdale at Rosse Castle, and are now numbred twelve thousand Horse and Foot. And therefore the Parliament prepare opposition. Proclaim those that have invited the Scots, or have, or shall assist the Scots Army are Traytors, and send for their Commissioners to return out of Scotland.

The

Summons
Lambert by
Letter.

Lamberts
Answer.

The Reign of King Charls.

1073

Anno

1648.

Scots come to Penreath and engage.

The Scots are come with their whole body to *Penreath* 15. *July*, and *Lambert* withdraws from thence to *Appleby*, not being fitted to fight them, untill their additional Forces from the neighbouring Counties doe come, and lying quiet were rowfed by the near approach of the Scots in a dark misty morning within a mile, and Allarm, appearing in three Bodies upon three Hills, enforcing the *English* Horse Guards to retire into *Appleby* whom the Scots pursue; and Colonel *Harrison* with some Horse, giving them a check, was himself sore wounded and others slain, and so with full career they attempt to enter the Town, for their Foot to follow, but are kept off, untill the *English* embody Horse and Foot, and Retreat to *Kirby Stephen*, and after to *Bowes*, but some of his Forces are Besieged in *Appleby* by Sir *Philip Musgrave*, who took it the seventh of *Aug.* for the King.

The great expectation of Forces to follow from *Scotland* prove to be yet but 150. landed at *Workington*, four hundred also with the Earl of *Kalender*, *Lodowick Lestly* is at *Barwick* with the Artillery, *Cumberland* and *Westmerland* wholly possessed by the Scots, the people fly before them, and having been plundered sufficiently the Scots for want of provision are enforced to March forward South.

Lambert is now at *Barnar Castle* *July* 28. to whom are associated some Forces that make him up nine thousand, and with them and others daily increasing, he is now able to offend, and expects to engage with the Scots: for the Lord General *Cromwells* Horse thirty Troops joyned with him, the twenty seventh of *July*, and forthwith fell to Action, forcing the Scots Scouts to retreat within two miles of *Appleby* to their main Guard, and being too weak or faint, are afraid to engage a fight: for *Cromwells* Foot are in march, & the 17. of *Aug.* at *Nottingham* with forces of that County, *Leicester* and *Derbyshire*, and sends to *Lambert* not to engage till he come in, which need not, for the Scots are drawn off to *Kendal*.

At this time *Tinmouth Castle* revolts to the King August the 9. to Lieutenant Colonel *Harris*: *Lilburn* had the command, and sends out several Officers and Souldiers upon service, and reserves those behind of his own minde, discharges the Prisoners, and calls all in the Castle together, and declares for God and the King, and sends to the Shields and other places for friends to joyn with him.

Tinmouth Castle revolts and is retaken

Sir *Arthur Hasebrig* at *Newcastle* hears of this, instantly with *Ashfield* and *Cobham* draw out sufficient Brigades, Marches thither, Storms and takes it by Force, and all within put to the Sword.

Cromwel himself is come with his Train to *Doncaster*, and marches to *Lambert*, but takes *Pontefract* in his way, where he took fourty prisoners, and had notice that *Lambert* had additional Forces daily,

Lord General *Cromwel* comes against the Scots.

and

Anno
1648.

Scots Army
defeated and
how.

and therefore we desire to fall upon the scattered *Scots* Quarters, the main body not yet removed from *Kendal*.

But no sooner comes *Cromwel*, he defeats the *Scots* whole Army, of which take this account to the Parliament.

That after the conjunction of *Cromwells* party brought from *Wales*, with the Northern Forces about *Knaresborow* and *Weatherby*, hearing that the *Scots* were advanced into *Lancashire* to come the 16. of *Aug.* to *Hodderbridge* over *Ribble*, and being assured that the *Scots* intended towards *London*, and that the *Irish* Forces under Command of *Monroe* of near 2000. seven hundred Horse and Foot came on their March to joyn with them, therefore it was resolved to fight those betimes. And the next morning March over the Bridge to *Preston*, the *Scots* drawing together thereabout from all their Quarters. The *English* Forlorn Horse and foot about six hundred engage the *Scots* Scouts and Out-guards untill the *English* Army came up in a Body, resolved to engage, and pressed upon the Adversary in a Lane, (the place being inclosures and moory) and came to a hedge, dispute, and after some hours fight, forced them from their ground untill they came to the Town, into which *Cromwells* own Troops first entred, and then (seconded by *Harrisons* Regiment) charged the *Scots* in the Town, and cleared the Streets, and without much adoe the *Scots* begin to Rout, then Rally, and at last to run away.

The *Scots* General Duke *Hamilton* with his Horse and such Foot as were left of the slaughter retreated over the Bridge, but at the very bottom of the Bridge were Encountered by the *Lancashire* Regiments and fought well on both sides, even to push of Pike, where many of the *Scots* were slain and taken Prisoners, and have the Bridge and scattered Houses to friend for that night, each party lodging within Musket shot, were shadowed by the darkness from further attempt. In the next dayes encounter, the *Scots* loss was great, their Horse flying in disorder towards *Lancaster*, and were pursued near ten miles with execution of about 1000. men, five hundred Horse taken and many prisoners, four thousand, and five thousand Arms.

In the night the *Scots* General drew off towards *Wiggon*, and was closely followed to the very Town, which the *Scots* recovered, and the *English* lodged without in the dirty fields, and some Skirmishes, took Major General *Van Druske*, and 100. prisoners with Colonel *Hurrey*, Lieutenant Colonel *Ennis* and others. The next morning away the *Scots* march towards *Warrington*, making a stand near *Warwick* assisted by a Pass which they maintained with hot dispute, but were beaten from their stand with the loss of a thousand men, and two thousand prisoners, and were prosecuted to the

very

Anno
1648.

Capitulate
and yield up
on Articles.

very Bridge, where a Message came by a Trumpeter from Lieutenant General Baily for a Capitulation, which Lieutenant General Cromwel yielded unto, and gave the other these terms. To Render himself, his Officers and Souldiers, Prisoners of War, and all his Ammunition and Horses upon quarter for life; and so they yielded, four thousand Prisoners and as many Arms: these were of the infantry, totally defeated. Hamilton got away with three thousand Horse towards Nantwich where the Country folks took five hundred of them. And post news was carried to all the Parliaments Commanders in those Counties adjacent to follow the Hue and Cry after the Scots who haste homewards, intending to meet Monroe now in Cumberland upon his march Southwards. It was concluded that the Scots had ten thousand Foot, and four thousand Horse: Sir Marmaduke Langdales Forces assisting them, were not less then two thousand five hundred Horse and Foot, the English not 10000. in all. What uncertain number soever of the Scots were slain; It was apparent that above eight thousand were taken Prisoners. And this Victory was disputed, and ended in three dayes time in Lancashire, the 17, 18, and 19. of August.

It was said for truth, that so soon as the King was assured that Duke Hamilton commanded in chief, he foretold their doom that they would be undone.

But the Lieutenant General Cromwel thought not fit to rest with this success, whilst he was assured that Monroe was in March, and how the scattered Forces might Rally and joyn together, therefore he takes no rest, but marches to meet him. Having Ordered the Commanders of the Parliaments Forces in all Counties adjacent to follow Hamilton, who with many of his men, were met with at Uxeter, surrounded with power, and made to submit to mercy by the Lord Grey.

Cromwel improves his success.

Hamilton taken and others.

Hamilton is sent to Ashby de la Zouch, the Lord of Loughboroughs strong hold.

And this Defeat of the Scots altered the Prince of Wales his resolution, which was to sail Northwards from the Downs, and to fight with the Parliaments Admiral, and possibly to assist the Scots by landing in some Northern Coast.

The County were troubled with the numbers of prisoners, and therefore a Committee is appointed to Treat with Merchants to convey them over to Foreign service, and not to return back in Arms.

The Scottish Ensigns, Cornets and Colours are brought to Westminster Hall, where they hang up the Trophies of the English Victories against the Scots Nation.

Cromwel is come to Durham, Lambert in his Rear, and in design to meet Monroe supposed to be six thousand strong, and now at Morpeth, where he receives Command from the Estates of Scotland to return home, for indeed the Presbyterian party of Ministers had got the power of the

Anno
1648.

Sword, and set up Arguile their General with four thousand men already raised, and refuse to administer the Eucharist to any for a whole year, till the peoples sinnes for neglect to their Covenant, be repented of by the Sacrifice of the Kirks Prayers and Preachings. Monroe more in fear of Cromwel then obedience to his Masters, hastens back again, leaving his English Confederates to shift for themselves, who make speed to Barwick, but are refused to enter by the Governour Lodowick Lesly, and tells them plainly, the Marques Arguile commands him to keep correspondence with the Parliament of England with whom their is a confederacie.

Several Armies in Scotland.

Indeed they were in mighty disorder in Scotland: Monroe was got home and joyned with Lanerick there, and both together may make eight thousand strong: Arguile with his Forces near as many, lye at Haddington twelve miles behind Edinburgh, and all these lye upon Guard, and suppose that they mean not to engage though they are within four miles of each other. Old Leven is possessed of Edinburgh Castle, David Lesly is Lieutenant General to Arguile, and this is the news from Anwick 14. Septem.

But Cromwel being come to Tweed, sends over Lambert to summon Barwick, who refuse, rather to surrender to Arguiles own party; which the English may not suffer, and yet to keep correspondence, Agents are sent to Arguile to consult about assisting him and his, and to compleat a lasting contract with that party and the Parliament of England.

And to that end Lieutenant General Cromwel publishes his Declaration at his entrance into Scotland.

Lieu. General
Cromwel's
Declaration
in Scotland.

[Whereas We are Marching with the Forces of the Parliament of England into the Kingdom of Scotland in pursuance of the remaining part of the Enemy, who lately invaded the Kingdom of England, and for the recovery of the Garrisons of Barwick and Carlisle. These are to declare that if any Officer or Souldier under my Command, shall take or demand any money, or shall take any Horses, goods or Victuals without order, or shall abuse the people in any sort, it shall be tryed and punished by a Council of War, by death.

Septemb. 20.

Cromwel.

Scots Nobility
contract
with Cromwel

And accordingly came to Cromwel, Arguile, Lowdon, Leven, the Layrd of Gramond, and Major Straughan, disliking of the Armie of Hamiltons coming into England, as also of Monroes raising Forces to continue the laid troubles, and therefore desire the assistance of England to suppress them, to which Cromwel consents, and that the publick enemy subdued, and the English Towns to be delivered, he will return. And in all these particulars he is justified by the Votes of the Parliament of England.

And

The Reign of King Charls.

1077

Anno
1648.

And 27. *Septemb.* relates, that his Van Quarters are within ten miles of *Edenburgh*, and part of his Army is left behind to block up *Barwick*. To which Town, *Arguile* and others of Note had conduct and entrance to treat about the surrender thereof to the *English*; but the Governour refused without Order from *Lanerick* and *Monroe*, and therefore the *English* fell to storming and possessed *Tweed Mouth*, and the Bridge-foot on the *English* side, and blew up the *Scots* House-Guard upon the Bridge.

Then came an expers from *Leven* and Lieutenant General *David Lesly*, certifying *Arguile* that they were like to agree upon the old Treaty which was to hold no longer.

And conclude
in amity upon
conditions.

1. That the Armies under *Arguile*, and the other under *Lanerick*, with all the Forces under any of the Garrisons in Scotland, together with *Barwick* and *Carlsile* be disbanded.
2. That the settling of Religion at home, and promoting Reformation abroad be ordered to the determination of the General Assembly, and all Civil Differences be referred to a Parliament speedily to be called.
3. That no party that were in the late Engagements against England be of the new Parliament, or of the General Assembly.

And so the godly people of *Scotland* are good friends with the godly people of the Army of *England*, acting together in the same Principles, and are perswaded that so much of their power as the Princes of the Earth have lent to the support of that man of Sin, God hath and will suddenly break and destroy. And so much of the success of our *English* Army in *Scotland*, 27. *Sept.*

The *Scots* Armies are accordingly Disbanded: *Barwick* and *Carlsile* delivered up to the *English*, and the Writs gone out for a new Parliament 20. of *January*.

Scots Armies
disbanded.

And a fresh General Assembly of their Kirkmen. Somewhat strange in the capitulation, that the *English* Assistants to the *Scots* in both these Garrisons, are submitted to the mercy of the Parliament of *England*. And a Letter of thanks is sent from the Committee of Estates of *Scotland* to the Lieutenant General *Cromwel* for his orderly government of his Forces, and his many civilities and respects to that Nation: and they excuse themselves from any guilt or connivance in the late engagement against *England*, acknowledging that his Army so near, is the means and occasion of advantage to that Nation, to make peace and to prevent distraction and confusion which otherwise had continued amongst them.

Cromwel is
cared in
Scotland.

And for confirmation of all, he is invited to *Edenburgh* to Feasts and Banquets, with all expressions of Honour of Arms, and so returns homewards *Octo.* 20. & by the way is received with *Hosannah's* of joy by all the Northern Counties, and invited to take in the strong Garrisons

Anno.

1648.

The Prince of
Wales his
Fleet.

sons of *Pomfreit* and *Scarborough* which infested the County all about them.

But let us return to Sea affairs.

This while the Prince was put aboard the Revolted Ships which with some others of his own were formed into a Fleet, and with him his brother the Duke of *York*, Prince *Rupert*, Lords, *Hopton*, *Wilmot* and *Willoughby*, Earls, of *Branford*, and *Ruthen*, (formerly General for the King) the Lord *Culpepper* and Sir *Henry Palmer*, and increasing number came into *Tarmouth Rode* with twenty Sail, and two thousand men, the Town being much divided in affection, some would have him land and march to *Colchester* (then besieged) with such as will come to his assistance: To prevent him, Colonel *Scroop* is coming not forty miles off, with Horse and Foot to attend his motion if he land, some hopes he had of landing, and therefore provided a Declaration his forerunner 27. *July*.

The establishing of Religion according to his Majesties agreement,
26. December last.

The performance of the said Agreement and pursuance of all Concessions on the Kings part.

The restoring the King to a personal Treaty.

The maintenance of the just priviledges of Parliament.

The liberty of the Subject, abolishing of Excise, contribution for quarter, &c. with an Act of Oblivion.

The Disbanding of all Armies, settling Peace.

The defence of the Narrow Seas, securing Trade, support of the Navy and Sea-men.

His Commissions to his Commanders were thus stiled.

Charls Prince of great Britain, Duke of Cornwall and Albany, Highest Captain General under his Majesty, of all Forces both by Sea and Land within the Kingdom of England, Dominion of Wales, and Town of Barwick, &c. Whereas we hold it convenient to Arm and set forth to Sea, for the weakning and suppressing the usurped power, &c. Bearing date heretofore from St Germin in Laye, 6. June 1648.

A correspondence likewise we finde fixed with the State of *Scotland* by Letters intercepted and directed to Sir *Alexander Gibson* Clerk of the Signet at *Edenburgh* from *London* 26. *July*, telling him, that we are here in the City very right: only *Skippon* makes disturbance by lifting Horse and Foot, whom we hope to out of his Office: The Lords wait for some further encouragement from the City, to which purpose the Common Council are framing petitions. Our Design to free *Colchester* is not yet ready, &c.

But

The Reign of King Charls.

1079

Anno

1648.

But the Prince finding no footing in *Norfolk*, sailed back Southwards to the *Downs* in *Kent*, seizing what Merchants Ships and goods that he could light upon, sending Letters to the City of *London*, together with his Declaration, and that if the City will redeem their goods, they must send him two hundred thousand pound.

But Anchoring in the *Downs*, he hath a Design upon the *Parl. Bessiegers* of *Deal Castle* in which were Royalists, and Lands five hundred men who March forwards and at first beat off the Horse which Colonel *Rich* and *Hewson* had drawn out to Encounter them, untill some more Forces of Foot followed, routed the Princes Forces, killed many, and took others Prisoners, and the rest hardly got aboard again.

Whilst the Prince Anchors with his Fleet in the *Downs*, the States of *Scotland* invite him.

May it please your Highness,

Amongst all the Calamities which this Nation these late years hath wrastled under, none doth more wound and afflict us, next to his Majesty your royal Fathers sad condition and restraint, then your Highness long absence from this Kingdom, whereunto your right & Title is so just and unquestionable, and seeing our Forces are now again in England in pursuance of their duty to Religion, and his Majesties rescue, we humbly beg, That your Highness would be pleased to honour and countenance with your presence and assistance, our pious and Loyal endeavours, which we look upon as the only means of uniting us in this great work, being confident that your Highness will effectually apply your self to procure from his Majesty just satisfaction to the desires of Parliaments. And if your Highness will grant these our humble requests, and trust your person amongst us, we doe ingage the publick Faith of this Kingdom for your well being in honour, freedom and safety, either here in Scotland, or with our Army in England, and to remove from us or the Army, when, or whither you please.

The States of Scotland invite the Prince thither.

And these they send by the Earl of Louderdale with Letters of Credence in what he shall further communicate to the Prince.

From the Estates of the Parliament of Scotland in whose Name and Warrant are signed

Aug. 10. *Crawford, Lindsey.*

The Parliaments Vice-Admiral *Batten*, having heretofore served them with faithfulness and good success, was by the Army Voted out of his place, and *Rainsborough* a Land Captain put into his Command. Not long after being Governour of *Deal Castle* (which cost him six hundred pound repair) He was turned out and made a Delinquent, upon the old quarrel for suffering some of the eleven Members to pass beyond Seas. *Rainsborough* was refused by the Sea-

Parliaments Vice-Admiral *Batten* goes to the Prince.

Anno

1648.

Colchester
siege resolute-
ly defended.

Sea-men, not suffering him to come aboard, then they carefs *Batten* to take up his Commission again, which he disdained, & the Parliament being in distress for a Commander, they Vote in the Earl of *Warwick* who was served so before.

And now *Batten* comes to the Prince in *Holland*, who receives him with favour, and honours him with Knight-hood, where he publishes the reasons of his declining the Parliaments Service, and was faithfull to the Prince for ever after.

It was the middle of *June* (as aforesaid) that the *Kentish* Insurrectors got over to *Essex*, and from thence into the Town of *Colchester*, and with such Forces as they could gather, they strengthen the place and prepare for a Siege.

The Commanders in chief were the E. of *Norwich* (old *Goring*) the Lord *Capel*, Sir *Charles Lucas* and others in opposition to Gen. *Fairfax*, and all the Force that could be spared from all the Southern County, and the City of *London* also.

It was vigorously assaulted, and gallantly defended with such Sallies at several times, and successes, as rendred the General not very prosperous; At last the whole City was surrounded, and by often Skirmishes they within grew weak of fighting men, provisions of all sorts spent, both for Ammunition and Victuals, and whilst they within had hopes to their hearts, they neglected, nay disdained offers of Treaty, or capitulation for almost three moneths: when horrid necessity inforceth them to consider of a Treaty: when Horse-flesh, and Dogs, Cats and Vermin failed for Food; No hope of succour, the Princes Fleet part fell from him: the *Welsh* reduced, the Earl of *Hollands* Insurrection suppressed, Revolts, Mutinies, Allarms in several Counties quieted; the *Scots* whole Army of Invasion totally defeated, and the King himself lay'd aside, for whose sake all these pretended. And of all which the Besieged had continual intelligence, then the Horror waxed high.

And therefore the chief Commanders within, capitulate with the Camp without; [That they, at the desire of the Inhabitants, think fit to send to the General, they are constrained to turn out the Towns-people for better accommodation of the Souldiery, whereby their houses and goods would be left lyable to ruine, for prevention, they think fit to Treat with the General for surrender of the City, to which purpose they would send out Officers to Parley.]

To whose Letter they have this Answer.

That the General believes their extream pressure upon the Inhabitants and all the rest, but he clears himself from the occasion of their sufferings, he is compassionately willing to allow the proper Inhabitants only to come forth, provided the Committee of *Essex* now prisoners within be first sent out, and excepting the wives & children of such as remain behinde in

Arms.

They capitulate by Letters.

Answer.

The Reign of King Charls.

1081

Arms. And concerning the Rendition of the Town, he offers that all Souldiers under the degree of a Captain shall have free pass to their homes: and all Captains and other Officers superiour, with Lords and Gentlemen to submit to mercy.

Anno
1648.

These Conditions would not go down with *Goring*: therefore the next day five hundred women are forced out upon the powder-charged Cannon and Muskets, to frighten them back, but better so to dye then to return to Famine, and thus they make a stand, and crave rather sudden destruction. They within make a Sally for a dead horse, and one slain, yet after two dayes stink, it is got in for food.

And to the Generals Letter they within Reply; *That they would not Render themselves to mercy to any, but to God alone. And therefore to spare blood, they send out their utmost offer, the lowest conditions they could yield unto, 24. Aug. Which in truth were too high for the General to grant. And therefore he is peremptory not to give Answer.*

Then they within send out a Drum with *Mr. Barnardeson* one of the Committee prisoners, and *Colonel Take*, desiring a Treaty upon what the General offered heretofore, and concerning the explanation of the words *to submit to mercy*, how far they would extend, and in reference to the *Officers and Souldiers and Townsmen*; And had Answer, that in respect the Officers and Souldiers, &c. had neglected that former offer, that now they should have only fair Quarter, the rest to submit to mercy.

But however the Treaty should succeed, the misery was much within, and therefore the private Souldiers were resolved to deliver up their Commanders, who cares the Souldiers with Wine and Vi-ctuals, and fair words, to joyn with them to break through the Be-siegers over the North-bridge, the way to escape, but that De-sign shrunk, for it was soon apprehended by the Souldiers, that whilst they should fight, the Commanders would fly. And there-fore in this high distemper they all submit to mercy, the twenty seventh of *August*.

The Inhabitants of the Town were fined fourteen thousand pounds to be preserved from Plunder, and two dayes after *Sir Charls Lucas* and *Sir Geo. Lisle* were shot to death; they disputed this kinde of Justice to be in cold blood, without any Tryal, without president of men at Arms, and unsouldier-like, but seeing no remedy, *Lucas* was said to dye like a Christian, justified his taking up Arms in de-fence of the King his Sovereign, and bad them doe their worst, he was prepared; *Lisle* came to the stake, kissed the others warm Corps wreaking in blood, and was shot to death also.

*Lucas and
Lisle shot to
death.*

But why this unusual Execution was so acted, I cannot be satis-fied, which the General in his Letter to the Parliament calls *Mili-*

Anno
1648.

tary Execution, and hopes that your Lordships will not think your honour or justice prejudiced; had he put it to the question before their death, the Lords would have resolved him; but it was now too late, and must be submitted to the worlds censure. The rest of the Lords, Officers, Gentlemen and Souldiers are referred to the Parliaments mercy or justice.

Indeed the Commissioners that treated, put the question what is meant by fair Quarter, what by rendering to mercy? It was resolved to the first;

That with Quarter for their lives, they shall be free from wounding or beating, shall enjoy warm clothes to cover them, shall be maintained with Victuals fit for prisoners while they be prisoners.

For the second,

That they be rendered to mercy, or render themselves to the General, or to whom he shall appoint, without certain assurance of Quarter: so as the General may be free to put some immediately to the Sword. Although the General intends chiefly, and for the generality of those under that condition, to surrender themselves to the mercy of the Parliament. Neither hath the General given cause to doubt of his civility to such as render to mercy.

The list of
their prisoners

The chief Commanders deserve to be mentioned, (Some amends for their sufferings) they were Valiant men,

The Earl of Norwich, the Lord Capel, Lord Loughborough, Sir Charles Lucas, Sir William Compton, Colonel Sir Geo. Lisle, Sir Bernard Gascoigne, Sir Abraham Shipman, Sir John Watts, Sir Lodowick Dyer, Sir Henry Appleton, Sir Denart Strutt, Sir Hugh Ovelly, Sir Rich. Maliverer, Colonels, Garter, Gilburn, Farr, Till, Hamond, Chester, Heath, Tuke, Ayloff and Sawyer. Eight Lieutenant Colonels, nine Majors, thirty Captains, Commissary General Francis Lovelace Master of the Ordnance, Major Gen. Graveston, Gentlemen sixty five, Lieutenants seventy two, Ensigns and Corners sixty nine, Serjeants a hundred eighty three, private Souldiers, three thousand sixty seven.

The Gen. Fairfax having done his Work, Marches Northwards to Yarmouth, and up and down these Counties to settle Peace, & cares his Garrisons, receiving testimonies of thanks for his Victorious Successes, and returns to St. Albans his Head Quarters, in the beginning of October, from which time we shall hear more of him and his hereafter.

Distempers in
the Kingdom.

The universal distractions of the Parliament and Kingdom, by Insurrections, Revolts, Tumults and Disorders both on Land, and also in the Fleet at Sea, made the City of London sensible of the sufferings which fell heavily upon their purses at all times of need.

The general opinion of the people was never to have other, but
Upvotes

The Reign of King Charls.

1683

Anno
1648.

Petitions
from all parts
for a Treaty
of Peace.

Uprores and Disorders untill the King were treated with. To that end after sundry Petitions from several Counties had led the way, The City also exhibit theirs for a *personal treaty with the King to be at London.*

Upon which Petition now so seasonable, Committees are appointed to Treat. That of the Parliament interrogate the Cities; What was meant by these words of their Petition, *Viz.*

That the King and Parliament may meet and treat with freedom, honour, and safety, according to the Ancient Fundamental constitutions of the Kingdom?

They Answer, *Free from force and violence to the King.*

What was meant, *That the City will defend his Royal person and the Parliament during the Treaty according to the Covenant?*

Answer, As much as in us lyeth, free from all fear and violence.

Whether will the City maintain their Guards during the Treaty there?

Answer, They will, and after the Treaty refer themselves to the King and Parliament for satisfaction thereof.

In case the King doe not consent in the Treaty: whether the City will engage that the person of the King shall be disposed of by Parliament.

Answer, They, in such a case (which God forbid) will submit to the wisdom of Parliament.

By what means, and in what manner will they make good their Engagement by defending the King and Parliament against all violence.

Answer, As much as in us lyeth by the Trained Bands of the City, and Lines of Communication.

To that end they desire that the *Militia* of the out places of the City may by the Ordinance of our intire *Militia* be speedily passed, and no other Forces to be made use of within the City.

That no Forces in Arms may come within thirty miles thereof during the Treaty: and that it shall be death for any within the City to make Tumult. And desire the Treaty may speedily commence.

To which consent and engagement the Common Councel men get subscription of the chief of each Parish, which was done to purpose.

But then how long did it last true? some two dayes; in which time a Rabble of Subscribers to another Petition sang to a contrary tune, for which they had thanks, but however the Parliament go on, and made hast whilst the Officers of the Army were busied abroad.

The Propositions are ready the fourth of August, a seasonable time to hasten them to the King, for whilst the *General, Lieutenant General, Major General, Comissary General,* and the most of

Voted to send
to the King
for a Treaty.

the

Anno
1648.

The Princes
Letter to the
Lords.

the chiefest Commanders are abroad in active service; others are encouraged thereby, and Major *Huntington* gave in his Narrative to the Lords House, why he left the Army, complaining against the most eminent Officers and their carriage since the Parliaments Orders to Disband the Army, and in relation to Overtures made with the King, and concerning the proceedings against the Lords, and Commons, and Aldermen. These were large, and being but Complaints, not proved, we shall forbear. Yet *Huntington* delivered them in upon Oath, and had the protection of that House for so doing.

The Prince of *Wales* also with his Fleet then in the *Downs*, and in good condition, and some bustling by the Prince of *Orange* for his assistance with Land Souldiers out of *Holland*, gave hopes of success for the King. And the Prince writes to the Speaker of the House of Peers, (not naming the Commons) taking notice of the progress of the Parliament with the King, and desires,

[That the Treaty may be in place and manner, as may consist with the Kings Honour, and safety of his person, so that the agreement be not blemished with any face of restraint.

That the Treaty include the Kingdom of Scotland.

That during the Treaty, there may be a Cessation of Arms, and that an orderly moderate subsistence may be agreed upon for all Forces on foot, and the Scots Army now in England, as may be with the least pressure on the Northern parts.

And that some course may be taken to give content to his Ships in the Downs, that common Trade be not hindered by them, and to discharge the Ships which he hath lately taken into hold.]

And joyntly with these Letters are presented Petitions to the Commons House of the very same nature with the others, and have a fair Answer, and great thanks.

The like from the reduced Officers of the Army, (according to the late desires of the City of London.)

And in Order to the publick effects, the Parliament Vote,

That the Houses desire a Treaty with his Majesties person, in what place of the Isle of Wight that he shall appoint: upon the Propositions tendered to him at Hampton Court, and concerning Wards and Liveries, and to treat with Honour, Freedom, and safety to his person, and to the Commissioners of Parliament.

2. To receive such other Propositions to be treated on as shall be presented to his Majestie.

3. The Commissioners sent with this Message to return in ten dayes.

The Messengers were the Earl of *Middlesex*. Sir *Fo. Hepsly*, and Mr. *Bulkley*, who arrived there Sunday the 6, of Aug. delivering their Votes, first to be agreed unto, and then for a Treaty.

The

The King told them no man desired Peace so much as he, in his several Relations, as a King, a Husband, a Father, and a Master, for who ever gained by these troubles, He was like to lose. And so without a Secretary, he said, he would frame an Answer to the Parliament, with which the Messengers returned the tenth of August. It was thus.

C. R.

If the peace of my Dominions were not much dearer to me, then any particular interest whatsoever; I had too much reason to take notice of the several Votes which passed against me, and the sad condition I have been in now above these seven moneths.

The Kings
Message in
Answer to the
Votes and a
Treaty.

But since you my two Houses of Parliament have opened (as it seems to me) a fair beginning to a happy peace, I shall heartily apply my self thereunto; and to that end, I will as clearly and shortly as I may, set you down those things which I conceive necessary to this blessed work, so that we together may remove all impediments, that may hinder a happy conclusion of this Treaty, which with all chearfulness I doe embrace.

And to this wished end, your selves have laid most excellent grounds; for what can I reasonably expect more than to treat with honour, Freedom, and Safety, upon such Propositions as you have, or shall present unto me, and such as I shall make to you? But withall remember, that it is the definition, not names of things which make them rightly known; and that without means to perform, no Proposition can take effect: And truly my present condition is such that I can no more treat, than a blinde man judge of colours, or one run a race who hath both his feet fast tied together; wherefore my first necessary demand is,

That you will recall all such Votes and Orders, by which people are frighted from coming, writing, or speaking freely to me.

Next, that such men of all professions, whom I shall send for, as of necessary use to me in this Treaty, may be admitted to wait upon me. In a word, that I may be in the same state of freedom I was in when I was last at Hampton-Court. And indeed less cannot in any reasonable measure make good those offers which you have made me by your Votes, for how can I treat with honour, so long as people are terrified with Votes and Orders against coming to speak, or write to me? And am I honourably treated, so long as there is none about me (except a Barber who came now with the Commissioners) that ever I named to wait upon me, or with freedom, (untill I may call such unto me, of whose services I shall have use in so great and difficult a work?) And for safety (I speak not of my person, having no apprehension on that way) how can I judge to make a safe and well-grounded peace, untill I may know (without disguise) the true present state of all my Dominions, and particularly of all those whose interests are necessarily concerned in the peace of these Kingdoms: which leads me naturally to the last necessary demand

Anno.

1648.

mand, I shall make for the bringing of this Treaty to a happy end, which is;

That you alone, or you and I jointly, doe invite the Scots to send some persons Authorized by them to treat upon such Propositions as they shall make; for certainly the publick and necessary Interest they have in this great settlement is so clearly plain to all the World; that I believe no body will deny the necessity of their concurrence in this Treaty, in order to a durable peace. Wherefore I will only say, that as I am King of both nations, so I will yeeld to none in either Kingdom for being truly and zealously affected for the good and honour of both: my resolution being never to be partial for either, to the prejudice of the other.

Now as to the place (because I conceive it to be rather a circumstantial than real part of this Treaty, I shall not much insist upon it) I name Newport in this Isle: yet the fervent zeal I have that a speedy end be put to these unhappy distractions, doth force me earnestly to desire you to consider what a great loss of time it will be to treat so far from the body of my two Houses, when every small debate (of which doubtless there will be many) must be transmitted to Westminster before it be concluded: And really I think (though to some it may seem a Paradox) that peoples mindes will be much more apt to settle, seeing me treat in or near London, then in this Isle, because so long as I am here, it will never be believed by many, that I am really so free, as before this Treaty begin I expect to be; And so I leave and recommend this point to your serious consideration: And thus I have not only fully accepted of the Treaty, which you have proposed to me by your Votes of the third of this moneth; but also given it all the furtherance that lies in me, by demanding the necessary means, for the effectual performance thereof: All which are so necessary implied by, though not particularly mentioned in your Votes, as I can no wayes doubt of your readie compliance with me herein: I have now no more to say, but to conjure you, by all that is dear to Christians, honest men, or good Patriots that ye will make all the expedition possible to begin this happie work, by hasting down your Commissioners fullie Authorized and well instructed, and by enabling me (as I have shewed you) to treat; praying the God of peace so to bless our endeavours, that all my Dominions may speedily enjoy a safe and well-grounded peace.

Caresbrook Castle

16. Aug. 1648.

Charles R.

For the Speaker of the Lords House pro tempore, to be communicated to the Lords and Commons in the Parliament of England at Westminster.

Here we see the Commissioners of Scotland are not to be communicated, for they dissent.

And

The Reign of King Charls.

1087

And the King desired two of his Chaplains might be allowed to attend him, which were appointed, viz. Doctor Sheldon, and Doctor Hamond.

Anno
1648.

Upon Debate of the Kings Answer, the Lords Vote,

[That the Votes of non addresse to the King be recalled.

That such persons as he shall send for, as necessary to him in the Treaty, be admitted.

And that he be in the state of freedom as at *Hampton-Court*, with such servants as he desires.

That the Treaty be at *Newport*.

That the *Scots* be invited to treat with his Majesty upon the Propositions of both Kingdoms delivered to him at *Hampton-Court*.

That his Majesty be admitted to invite the *Scots* thereto.

That the Instructions of Parliament to Colonel *Hamond* be recalled.

That five Lords and ten Commons be chosen Commissioners to treat with the King.

That it be referred to a Committee of Lords and Commons for peace, to prepare all things in readiness hereto.]

To all those the Commons agree with this Proviso, *That the King invite the Scots to treat only concerning that Kingdom.*

And these *Votes* were sent to the King, who returns Answer.

My Lord, and Mr. Speaker,

[I have received your Letter of the 25. present, and Votes, which though not so full as I could wish for the perfecting of a Treaty, yet because I perceive by what you have done, that I am in some measure fit to begin one; Such is my incessant and earnest desire to give a peace to these my now distracted Dominions, as I accept the Treaty, and therefore desire that such five Lords and ten Commons, as my two Houses shall appoint be speedily sent, fully Authorized and instructed to treat with me, not doubting but what is now wanting, will at our meeting upon debate be fully supplied, not only to the furtherance of this Treaty, but also to the consummating of a safe and well-grounded Peace.] *So I rest*

your friend Charles Rex.

His answer. =

I have sent you inclosed the List you desired, and wish that according to one of your Votes, you would send me a Pass for *Parsons* a Messenger of my Presence Chamber to go to *Scotland*, and to receive his dispatch from me.

Carisbrook 28. August.

The List inclosed names these, which I mention for the honour they had in their Masters esteem.

Gentle-

Anno.
1648.

Gentlemen of my Bed-chamber, Duke of *Richmond*, Marquess *Hartford*, the Earls of *Lindsey* and *Southampton*. Grooms of my Bed-chamber, *George Kirke*, *James Leviston*, *Wil. Murrey*, *John Ashburnham*, *Wil. Legg*. Barber, *Tho. Davis*. Pages of my back stairs, *Hugh Hern*, *Humphery Rogers*, *Wil. Levit*. Yeomen of my Robes, *Rever*, *Queries* (with four or six Footmen as they shall finde fittest to wait) Mr. *Ro. Ternhit*, Mr. *Jo. Hensden*, Mrs *Laundress* with her Maid-servants. A Groom of my Presence, Parsons: to wait as they did, or as I shall appoint them, these, Sir *Foulk Greenvil*, Captain *Tyus*, Captain *Burroughs*, Mr. *Cresset*, Mr. *Hansted*, *Firebrace*. Chaplains, the Bishop of *London*, Bishop of *Salisbury*. Doctors, *Sander-son*, *Shelden*, *Hamond*, *Oldsworth*, *Turner*, *Haywood*. Lawyers, Sir *Tho. Gardner*, Sir *Orlando Bridgman*, Sir *R. Holburn*, Mr. *Jefferly Palmer*, Mr. *Tho. Cook*, Mr. *Jo. Vaughan*. Clerks and Writers, Sir *Edward Walker*, Mr. *Phil. Warwick*, Mr. *Nich. Oudart*, Mr. *Charles Whittine*. To make ready the House for Treating, *Peter Newton*.

Commissioners to treat for the Parliament.

The Commissioners nominated to attend the Treaty for the Parliament, were the Earls of *Salisbury*, *Pembroke*, *Middlesex*, *Northumberland*, and the Lord *Say*. And of the Commons were the Lord *Wainman*, Mr. *Hollis* (lately re-admitted into the House) Mr. *Perpoint*, Sir *Harry Vane Jun.* Sir *Harbottle Grimston*, Mr. *Brown*, Mr. *Crew*, Mr. *Glin*, (lately re-admitted into the House) Sir *Jo. Potts*, and Mr. *Bulkley*.

And the King desired a safe conduct for Commissioners to come out of *Scotland* to joyn in the Treaty with him, viz. the Lord *Carnagy*, Sir *Alexander Gibson*, the Lord *Clerk*, *Register*, and Sir *James Carmichel*. The two first were refused; as having been in arms against the Parliament of *England*. And that four Bishops might attend him, *Armagh*, *Exeter*, *Rochester*, and *Worcester*, and for Doctor *Ferne*, and Doctor *Morley*. And for his Advocate Sir *Thomas Reeves*, and for Doctor *Duck* Civil Lawyers; but none of these aforesaid the Kings friends were intromitted into the Scene, or to speech, but to stand behind the Hangings, and in the Tiring-room, so that the Kings single solitary self opposed all the other party.

And Order is given to Colonel *Hamond* to free the King of his imprisonment, to ride abroad where he pleaseth, upon his engagement to return at night to Sir *William Hodges* House the place appointed to Treat, where galloping down a steep Hill 14. *Septem.* and reining his Horse too hard, the Bridle broke, and he without a Curb ran with speed, endangering the King, whose excellent Horsemanship saved him from the terrible effects, which amazed the beholders. And it is remarkable, that long before this, *Lilly* had foretold in his Astrological Predictions, pag. 15. lin. 31. And were his

his Majesty at liberty, it shews or threatens danger to his person by inordinate Horsmanship, or some fall from on high.

Anno
1648.

The King
and his, fast
and pray.

Friday the 15. of September the Commissioners of Parliament are come to the King, and Saturday was kept a fast by him and all his Family and Friends assistant, with the ancient service of the Book of Common Prayer and preaching, with this particular Prayer for a blessing on the Treaty.

O Most merciful Father, Lord God of Peace and truth, we a people sorely afflicted by the scourge of an unnatural war; do here earnestly beseech thee to command a blessing from Heaven upon this Treaty, brought about by thy providence, and the only visible remedy left for the establishment of an happy peace. Soften the most obdurate hearts, with a true Christian desire of saving those mens blood, for whom Christ himself hath shed his. O Lord let not the guilt of our sins cause this Treaty to break off, but let the Truth of thy Spirit so clearly shine in our mindes, that all private ends laid aside, we may every one of us heartily and sincerely pursue the publick good, and that thy people may be no longer so blindly miserable as not to see at least in this their day the things that belong unto their peace. Grant this gracious God for his sake who is our peace it self, even Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

The King told the Commissioners that he was glad of their coming to treat with him for a Peace, and desired God to perfect that good work, professing, that he was in charity with all men, nor willing to revenge upon any, nor to delay the hopes of a blessed issue, and concludes to begin the Treaty on Munday morning 9. a clock, 18. Septemb.

The Treaty begins, and to make it more difficult to Peace, Occasion is given to oppose four Demands or Bills to the Kings demands, which as a pledge of trust should be granted before, where-to if the King assent, they promise to commence a Treaty to the rest.

Four Bills or
demands.

Anno
1648.

1. *To order for the future the Militia without the Kings consent, to raise what Arms they please, and that all others (upon the pain of Treason) shall not assemble to the number of thirty persons without the Authority of Parliament.*
2. *That the Houses may sit and adjourn and assemble, to what place, and at what time at their own discretions.*
3. *All Oaths, Interdictions and declarations against the Parliament to be declared void.*
4. *Whomsoever the King had dignified with Titles from the time himself departed and conveyed away the great Seal of England, be degraded of their honours.*

And these must be first ratified, and to command them to be passed into Laws.

Then they go on with the *Preface* the matter of the Treaty.

For as much as both Houses of Parliament have been necessitated to undertake a War for their just defence, and for the prosecuting thereof, have bound themselves in a Covenant, be it enacted by the Kings command.

The Propositions were in number eleven.

Parliaments
Propositions.

1. That all Declarations, and Proclamations against the two Houses of Parliament or their Adherents, and all Judgments and Indictments, &c. against them be declared Null.
2. That a Satute be Enacted for abolishing of all Arch Bishops, and Bishops out of the Churches of *England* and *Ireland*, for the selling of their Lands and Revenues. As also that the calling and sitting in Synod of the Divines be approved by the Royal assent, the Reformation of Religion for *England* and *Ireland*, according to such Models as the Members of Parliament have or shall decree, consultations first had with the said Divines. In particular that the King grant his assent that the Act of both Houses formerly made concerning the Directory, as concerning the publick Celebration of Gods worship throughout *England* and *Ireland*, for the abolishing the Ancient Liturgie, for the form of Church Government and Articles of Religion, with the Catechisms the great and the less, for the more Religious observation of the Lords day, for supressing of Innovations in Churches and Chappels, for the encouraging of the publick Preachers to their duties, by a just reward, for prohibiting of Pluralities of Benefices, and non-residence to Clergy-men, henceforth pass into Statutes or Laws; That the King would set his hand to the National League and Covenant, and suffer himself to be bound by the same, that by publick Act it be enjoined all the Subjects of both the Kingdoms of *England* and *Scotland* to be bound thereby under a penalty to be imposed at the

the pleasure of both Houses, That it may belong to the Houses of Parliament to visit and reform the Universities of *Oxford* and *Cambridge*, the Colledges also of *Westminster*, *Winchester* and *Eaton*. That it be provided by Statutes, that Jesuites, Priests and Papists disturb not the Common-wealth, nor elude the Laws, as also for the discriminating of them, an Oath be administered to them, wherein they shall abjure the Pope of *Romes* Supremacie, Transubstantiation, Purgatory, Image-worship, and other Superstitious errors of the Church of *Rome*; That provision be made for the education of the Children of Papists in the faith and Religion of Protestants; for the imposing of Mulcts on Papists, and disposing the benefit thereof at the discretion of the Parliament. That provision be made for suppressing the practises of Papists against the Common-wealth, for the executing the Laws against them without fraud, and for the stricter forbidding of administering and frequenting Mass, whether in the Court, or whatsoever place within *England* and *Ireland*.

3. That the power of the *Militia* by Land and Sea throughout *England* and *Ireland*, reside in the Parliament solely, to raise, train as many Souldiers as they please, to lead them whither they please, to levy what monies they think fit for their pay, whereby they may encounter intestine troubles and invasions foreign; and that the King and his successors shall not claim any right therein for the space of twenty years; after the expiration whereof, if the Parliam. shall think the safety of the Commonwealth to be concerned, that an Army, whether for Land or Sea service, be raised, and pay allotted them, and exact the same by their Authority, that such Votes shall have the force of a Law or Statute even though the King refuse. If persons of what quality soever to the number of thirty be gathered together in Arms, and (at the command of the Lords and Commons) shall not lay down Arms, they shall be accounted guilty of high Treason, without hope of pardon from the King.

To these by way of Corollarie were added, some provisions touching the City of London, Priviledges and ordinary power of Ministers of Justice, in executing sentence given.

4. That by an Act the Cessation of *Ireland* and all Treaties and Articles there made without the consent of Parliament be voided. That the right of prosecuting the *Irish* War depend upon the discretion of Parliament; That the Deputy and all Ministers whether of the Martial or Civil Government be nominated by Parliament, the Chancellor of *Ireland*, Keep. of the great Seal, Treasurer, all Officers of the Kingdom, all the Judges, the places, offices, ho-

Anno.
1648.

Titles, Donations of Lands granted by the King since the Cessation made, be nulled.

5. That all Honours, and Titles since the second of May 1642. (*at which time the Keeper of the great Seal carried away the Seal with himself from the Parliament*) be declared Null. No man likewise hereafter chosen into the Order of Peerage, shall sit in the House of Lords without the consent of both Houses.
6. That the Parliament raise what moneys they please for payment of the publick debts and dammages, and for whatsoever publick uses they shall see hereafter needfull.
7. In the first rank of Delinquents be reckoned, to whom no hope of pardon shall be left, either for life or fortune with the Kings consent, The two Princes Palatine of the *Rhine*, *Rupert* and *Maurice*, three Earls, five Lords, two Bishops, two Judges of the Kingdom, twenty two Knights, (*whose names to remember were too large, but these persons were those who had done the King the most acceptable service.*) All Papists which had been in Arms, namely the Marquees of *Winchester*, with two Earls, two Lords, and six Knights, as also all that raised or fomented the Rebellion in *Ireland*.

In the 2. Rank were placed fifty Noblemen and Knights, all Members of the lower Houle, who deserting the Parliament passed over to the Kings Party, as also all the Judges, Lawyers, Clergy-men be banished from the Kings Court, and abstain from publick Offices, and that under penalty of Treason, loss of life and fortunes, that the Judges and Lawyers be proscribed from Courts and their practice, the Clergy interdicted their Benefices and liberty of Preaching.

Such fell upon the third Rank as had committed or counselled ought against the Parliament, none whereof shall obtain in future the Office of Justice of Peace, or Judge, or Sheriff, or publick Officer.

To the fourth Rank are reckoned the *Common* Souldier, and all persons of baser rank, whose fortunes were narrower then two hundred pounds.

All the Lands and goods of those of the first Rank be publickly sold to pay publick debts, but of the Members, which in the new Parliament held at *Oxford* pronounced those guilty of High Treason which adhered to *Westminster*, two parts in three of their lands and goods; The Moity of others of the Judges, Lawyers, & Clergy-men the third part; and the sixth of all the third Rank be sold for the foresaid points. The rest be let goe without *Censure*, Provided they have ingaged themselves in the National Covenant. All in the second and third Rank after the payment of their Fines, the pardon of Parliament being sued & granted, be entirely restored.

8. That all Offices of the Kingdom, and chief Magistracies for twenty

twenty years next ensuing, be collated and constituted according to the pleasure of Parliament.

9. That the new Seal framed at the Houses appointment, pass by the King into the Seal of *England*, and that no other hereafter be used. That all Grants and Commissions sealed by this new one remain firm, all under the old Seal (*which was with the King*) be voided from such time as the Keeper *Littleton* conveyed it away from the Parliament.
10. That all Priviledges, Grants, Charters, and Immunities of the City of *London* be confirmed with iterated Acts; That the Tower of *London* and *Militia* be ordered at the discretion of the Mayor of the City, Members and Common Council therein. That no Citizen be compelled to *Military* service out of the Liberties of the City, unless at the Parliaments appointment; and *the last was*;
11. That the Court of Wards with all Offices and Employments thereto belonging be exterminated. That all services likewise on that accompt imposed cease, all inheritances (*which formerly were held of the King in Capite, &c. namely by Knights service*) being freed from burden and charges; *fifty thousand pounds, notwithstanding being paid the King yearly in compensation.*

These were the conditions of peace propounded by the Parliament, for the *Argument* or *Matter* of the *Treaty* to be commenced, so vehemently fought after by the desires of all men, and by the Arms of many. Nothing changed from those, which being formerly sent to the King whilst he remained at *Hampton Court*, were not only rejected by the King, but also of the Army, as being somewhat too unequal. In this one thing they differed, that in these last, the *Scots* are unconsidered.

The Parliament Commissioners are vested with no other Authority then to reply to the Kings Arguments, & rejoyne Reasons to force his assent, having no power to sweeten or alter a word, nay not to pass over the Preface, but are forthwith to advertise the Parliament touching the Kings Concessions to transact all in writing, and to debate the Propositions one by one in order, not to descend to another, before agreement touching the precedent, and the time limited to dispatch within fourty dayes.

The Treaty goes on for a good while, when suddenly advice comes to the Parliament that *Ormond* was arrived in *Ireland* with the Kings Commission, and dignified with the Title of Deputy, to establish a common peace on the best terms he might, and so might raise Arms and deliver the King out of Prison. The Commissioners therefore are directed to require the King to recall *Ormonds* Commission and annull his Authority. And this is Answered also amongst the Propositions hereafter.

This while the transactions are reported to the Parliament by
piece-

The Commissioners tyed up to conditions.

Anno
1648.

The Kings
concessions
in most
things.

Propositions
answered.

piece-meal, where such as were averse to peace carp at all particulars, unless they were assented to in their own terms; yet at last the King (unlookt for) grants many things.

And first to the *Preamble*, he hardly and not without caution assents, with this, That nothing in the Treaty should be taken for granted, unless upon a full agreement in all things.

1. *The King assents to the first Proposition, for the calling in of Declarations.*

3. *To the third, touching the Militia.*

4. *Touching the Government of Ireland.*

5. *Touching publick payments (provided that those debts be audited and ascertained within two years.)*

6. *For nulling all Titles of Honour.*

8. *Touching the chief Magistrates of the Kingdom.*

9. *Touching the great Seal.*

10. *Touching the Priviledges of London.*

11. *Touching the Court of Wards (Provided that one hundred thousand pounds be yearly paid by way of compensation.)*

Secondly, He assents to all the Articles of the second Proposition, except only one, touching Bishops and their Revenues, yet not altogether wanting to the desires of the Parliament, for whatsoever did appear not to have clearly proceeded from divine Institution, he gives way to be totally abolished, and so the dignity of Arch-Bishops to fall, Episcopal Jurisdiction also, *viz.* of exercising Ecclesiastical Discipline or Gubernation, he suffers to be taken away, but not (likewise) the power of Ordination, standing in the right of ordaining Priests and Deacons as being Apostolical.

But at length, hoping the Members would agree to him in other things, he condescends that the Office of Ordination for three years should not be exercised by the Bishops, without the assent of the *Presbytery*, yet to be suspended untill by twenty Divines of his own nomination consulting with the Synod, something of certainty should be determined touching Ecclesiastical Government, whereto (together with the Parliament) he promiseth to consent. In the mean time that *Presbytery* be settled for experiment sake, he doth not much gain-stand.

The Bishops Lands and Revenues he (affrighted with the horrour of Sacriledge) would not suffer to be sold and alienated from the Church; yet he would [*permit them to be let out for 99, years, paying a small price yearly in testimony of their hereditary right, and for maintenance of the Bishops; Provided that after this term be expired, they return to the right of the Crown to be employed, or to the use of the Church.*]

In

In the interim determining with himself, being redeemed by their own Revenues, to return thence for Ecclesiastical uses.

The seventh Proposition touching *Delinquents* in his own dangers, not unmindful of his friends he could not confirm: but condescends;

1. That moderate pecuniary fines be imposed on them.
2. That they be prohibited access to the King and Court, that some of them be banished the Kingdom, but not under the brand of Treason, nor with loss of life and possessions, but with a pecuniary Mulet to be awarded in case they should do otherwise.
3. That they be deprived for three years of their right of sitting in the Parliament.
4. That they be brought to trial, if the Parliament think fit, and if they have committed ought against the established Laws of England, that they suffer according to their deserts.]

Nevertheless he was contented to grant the other Articles of the same Proposition with this salvo, if so be such of the Clergy as were honest, learned, and free from scandal, might enjoy the third part of their Benefices, And that such might not be wholly put by the Office Preaching.

The Authority committed to Ormond in that instant when he was delivered into custody, the King cannot recall unless the Houses and he agree in other matters, if this come to pass, then (according to his Concessions to the fourth Proposition) he will be content the Irish affairs be managed according to the discretion of the Houses only. In the mean time he writes Letters to Ormond to act nothing in the execution of that power as long as the Treaty, or any hopes of peace lasted.

Concerning
Ormond.

During the Treaty, that the King might feel the pulse of the Members how they stood affected to him, He exhibits Proposals, equal, he conceived in Conscience, and for the publick good to be transmitted to the Parliament.

First, That he may have liberty to reside in London, or in whatsoever of his own Houses, and act at a nearer distance with the Parliament, with Freedom, Honour, and safety. The which demand (the Propositions conceded) the Parliament engage should be granted him, but having first tasted the palate of the Citizens, and been encouraged by the subscriptions of many the ablest Citizens, but of worst affections.

Secondly, The King demands, He may receive all the Revenues and Emoluments of the Crown.

Thirdly, That he may receive a compensation for the lawful Rights which

Anno

1648.

which the Parliament shall think fit to abolish. These likewise the Houses consented unto.

Fourthly, That an Act of Amnetie or Oblivion be passed, the very means of all traverses which happened in the heat of War may be utterly deleted. This Demand they liked not, but with cautely and limitations, by the benefit whereof the Parliament might persecute many of the Royallists.

In fine, most things were accommodated beyond expectation, the Commissioners promised the King also the peace, which they fancied, supposing belike that the Houses would something recede from their rigid demands: for indeed the King upon the matter of his Concessions had almost quitted the Rule of both his Kingdoms *England and Ireland*. And in truth the hopes of (almost) all good men were thereto, had not Factionous persons choaked the wished fruit of that Treaty, and given a check to peace ready to cement.

For concerning the Church, the Kings Concessions had brought things into so narrow a compass, that the chief visible obstruction is that, wherein really in conscience he is not satisfied, and yet hopes that time and debate may happily reconcile these small differences. And if his Parliament shall not think fit to recede from the strictness of their demands in these particulars, He can with more comfort cast himself upon his *Saviours* goodness to support and defend him from all afflictions that may befall him, rather then for any politick consideration which may seem to be a means to restore him, to deprive himself of the inward tranquillity of a quiet mind, wherefore as to these and others before mentioned particulars, he adheres to his former Answers, and hopes that his Reasons will sufficiently satisfie, 20. *Novem.*

These Reasons were referred to the Ministers Assistants to the Commissioners, Mr. *Marshal*, Mr. *Vines*, Mr. *Carrol*, and Mr. *Seyman*, which held a weeks debate, and being very prolix, we shall refer the Reader to the Papers on each particular then set forth by the Kings friends, and since imprinted and bound up together with other Writings and Papers of the Kings annexed to his *Eikon Basilike* where the dispute is set out at large.

But the time limited in the Treaty being now consummate, the Commissioners return and make their report to the Parliament of the Kings Concessions, no waies answerable to their desires, and so are voted unsatisfactory. And at an instand *Hamond* renders up the charge of the Kings person to Col. *Ewers*, as hereafter.

And whilst the Treaty is likely to conclude in peace, the Commanders of the Army seem to entertain the hopes with gladness, and profess [That they will obey the Acts of the Houses, that publick peace will be welcom to them above others, that being free from the toyls of War, they might settle their own private affairs, and after the end of their tedious labours sit down to rest.]

But

But what ere they said (their intermingled friends in the Houses advizing) some Commanders and common Souldiers hold meetings, and frame Petitions ; That the Treaty with the King might be broken off, and punishment on all without distinction (*glancing at the Kings person*) the Enemies of the Common-wealth, and these are Printed and dispersed, and which taking flame, the Souldiers Rendezvouz near *London* to frighten their adverse party, and a Remonstrance is conceiving by an able pen-man, who under colour of dislike with the General, takes time in private for the present, only to frame a large Remonstrance of the Army.

But to usher it in with County Petitions, one the most pertinent from thousands of the County of *Leicester*, minding the Parliament in this time of Treaty of two Declarations, the one from the Assembly of *Scotland*, charging the King with *spilling of the blood of many thousands in his three Kingdoms*.

And the other Declaration of Parliament, *An. 1647*. wherein they give *Reasons of their no further address to the King, and speak as high as these of Scotland*, they add also the *Houses Answer to the Scots Commissioners Papers, 1647*. All which have made their hearts to tremble, expecting with amazement what satisfaction they may have to these loud cryings, and Heaven-provoking crimes, *viz. The death of his Father, betraying Rochel, the Spanish Fleet with an Army in it, Proclamations to cry down Parliaments, his correspondency with Rome, the private Articles of his marriage, his Commissions to the Rebels in Ireland, his violent attempt upon his House of Commons, inviting Foreigners to enslave the three Nations, his proclaiming the Parliament of England Rebels, the designed bloody Massacre in London by his Commission, his destructive principle of yielding accompt to none but God, his inviting over of the Irish Rebels to subdue this Parliament and such like, together with this eight years miseries of these three Kingdoms. And that these are but a few of the many Reasons why they cannot repose any more trust in him.* And pray that proceedings against him may be accordingly, least they build their peace upon ruined foundations, that they may neither fear Treating with him, nor trusting him with great and weighty affairs of the three Kingdoms ; And conclude as most charitable and Christian, that speedy justice be executed on all prisoners, the Parliaments Enemies ; *And had thanks for this Petition.*

But the Tide began to turn in *October*, whilst they were Treating, for now we are almost at quiet abroad, and the Army at leisure ; Insurrections calmed, Garrisons in opposition surrendered : *Scotland* invaders overcome, the two Kingdoms brought in confederacy in Arms. And the House of Commons bethinks of raising vast sums for composition of Delinquents, and accessaries in the late Insurrections : and in executing such persons prisoners as are fitted for Justice.

To which end they have Petitions from the Mayor, Aldermen,

Anno
1648.

and Common Council of *London*, and the like unchristian charity from the prayers and Preachings of the *Presbyterian*, and accordingly the Parliament proceed.

They begin with the Earl of *Norwich* and the Lord *Capell*, as to impeaching them of Treason and Rebellion, who Petitioned the House of Lords, with the sense of their condition, and of the quarter consented unto by the General *Fairfax* at the Surrender of *Colchester*.

The Lords send to the Commons, assuring them that by the Generals Letter to them, all others were to have quarter, after some were shot to death.

And upon great debate the Houses were fain to desire the General to explain his Letter of the 29. of *Septem*.

He was now at his Head Quarters at *St. Albans*: and long after they had this Answer.

The General does not take upon him to conclude, but stating the business, leaves them to the Civil power, and so in effect to tryal for life.

Arrears of the
Army de-
manded.

But ere they had Answer, they are troubled at a demand of the Army for present payment of their Arrears, amounting to the sum of *three hundred fourteen thousand three hundred fifty one pounds and five pence*, whereof near fifty thousand pounds is due from the City of *London*.

Besides one hundred thousand pounds to be advanced in part of the Arrears due to the reduced Officers and Souldiers in a List remaining in the House of Commons, and the debate was, whether the new Sequestrations in the County of *Essex* should be exempted from being part of the money assigned for this purpose, and conclude in the Negative.

This made a hubbub over all *England*, the reduced Officers of all Counties are coming up to *London*, under pretence for their Arrears.

Parliament
Vote payment

The Parliament bustle how to avoid the inconvenience, and declare [*That the Houses are upon passing an Ordinance for their satisfaction, and that their coming up to London will much impede this and other the great affairs of the Kingdom, and therefore they are commanded to forbear upon that, or any pretence whatsoever: and so had an Ordinance passed for payment of 23000. l. part of their Arrears.*] 9. October.

New Judges,
and Serjeants
at Law.

The Courts of *Westminster Hall* were thin, and were to be filled with Judges: And in order thereto, a new call of Serjeants at Law.

Out of *Greys Inn* these to be Serjeants; Sir *Tho. Widdrington*, Sir *Tho. Bednifield*, Mr. *Kebble*, Mr. *Thorpe*, and Mr. *Bradshaw*.

Out of *Lincolns Inn*, Mr. Solicitor *St. John*, Mr. *Sam. Brown*, Mr. Recorder *Glyn*, and Mr *Erle*. Our

The Reign of King Charls.

1099

Anno

1648.

Out of the Middle-Temple, Mr. *Whitlock*, Mr. *Coniers*, Mr. *Puleston*.

Out of the Inner-Temple, Mr. *Chapman*, Mr. *Gales*, and Mr. *Will. Littleton*: And not long after were called *Will. Powel*, *Jo. Clark*, *John Elcontread*, *Ro. Nichols*, *Jo. Parker*, and *Rob. Barnard*, and were made Serjeants at Law.

Serjeant *Rollis* is to be chief Justice of the Kings Bench, *Fermin* and *Brown* Justices there: Mr. Solicitor chief Justice of the Common-pleas, *Sir Tho. Bedingfield* and *Creswel* Justices there.

Serjeant *Wild*, chief Baron of the Exchequer, Mr. *Gates* a Baron there, Mr. *Whitlock* Attorney Gen. of the *Dutchy*, Mr. *Prideaux* Solicitor Gen. Mr. *Widrington* one of the Kings Serjeants. And thus by degrees they are preferred, and the Courts filled.

And whilst the Treaty is in some likelyhood to conclude fair, the Armies Petitions speak home, for a scrutiny to be taken for discovery of contrivers and actors in the late bloody Wars, that speedy Justice be done upon them, *That the same fault may have the same justice and punishment in the person of the King or Lord, as in the person of the poorest Commoner.*

That such as speak, or act in the Kings behalf (till he be acquitted of shedding innocent blood) be proceeded against as Traytors.

These and other such like Petitions set the wheele on going towards the Kings after destruction.

Petitions against the King and Treaty.

The Head Quarters were now at *Windfor*, where the Army concluded the large Remonstrance commended by the Generals Letter, and brought up to the Parliament, by half a dozen Officers. It was of the greatest length, which we must abbreviate.

A large Remonstrance of the Army.

[The Preamble shews the miscarriages of the King and Parliament in former Treaties. And therefore urge Reasons to lay aside any further proceedings therein, and to return to their former Votes of Non-address, and to settle the Government, that he may not be more useful, and that they proceed against the King by way of justice for evils done by him, and in order thereunto that he be kept in safe custody.

2. To lay aside that bargaining Proposition with Delinquents, which will present the thing done by contract with the King, and not in a way judicially.

3. And in order to all they offer;

First, That the King be brought to justice as the capital cause of all.

Secondly, That a peremptory day be set for summoning the Prince of Wales and Duke of York, and if they refuse, to declare them incapable of Government or Succession, and stand exiled as Traytors: and if they render themselves; yet they to be proceeded against for satisfaction, that the Revenues of the Crown be sequestred.

Thirdly, That publick justice be done against the Actors in the late Wars.

Anno.

1648.

Fourthly, *And others upon submission may have mercy: and conclude as usual; That the Armies Arrears may be paid, the County eased of free-quarter, publick debts paid, a period to be put to this Parliament, A new Representative of the people, for governing and preservation of the whole body of people in this Nation. That no King be admitted hereafter but upon election of, and as upon trust for the people, who is to be limited by the Representative, &c.*] 16. Novem.

Hamond delivers the King to Col. Ewers

The Parliament read this *Remonstrance* which endured a high debate, and was referred to be further discussed some dayes after.

In the mean time the General sends his Letters to Colonel *Hamond* to render up his Command to Colonel *Ewers*, who is to take charge of the King, but the Parliament Vote him hereupon to stay there, of which the General hath notice, 27. Novem.

The Army fast and pray, and receive Petitions from several Counties, in order to what they intend to resolve.

And therefore *Hamond* submits, and delivers up the King to *Ewers*, and comes towards the Army.

Armies Declaration.

The Parliament are angry, and Vote a Letter to the General, [*That his Orders and Instruction to Colonel Ewers for securing the Kings person, are contrary to their resolutions and instructions to Colonel Hamond. And that it is the pleasure of the House that his Excellency recall his Orders, and that Colonel Hamond be free to take his charge in the Isle of Wight, the Treaty being ended.*]

But in stead of an obedience hereto, he salutes them with a sharp Letter, for money to pay Arrears of the Army: to spare free Quarter upon the County, or he must be forced to change his quarters, and come nearer *London*. And withall is published a *Declaration* of the Army in confirmation of their late *Remonstrance*, Windfor 30. Novem. Which Declaration the Parliament are resolved not to take into consideration.

They come to White-hall.

Hereupon the Army Marches to *London* and Quarter at *Whitchall*, *St. James's*, the *Mewes*, and in several Towns and Hamlets about the City. The King is removed by *Ewers* out of the Isle of *Wight* to *Hurst Castle*: and the City in fear, are raising 40000. l. forthwith for the Army.

At the reading of the *Remonstrance* to the King at *Newport*, and concerning the intended Tryal of him, he propounded four Queries.

Four Queries of the King concerning his Tryal.

First, *Whether this Remonstrance be agreeable to the former Declarations of the Army? and if not, whether the Parliament would make good their Votes, that after he had consented to what they desired he should be in a capacity of Honour, Freedom, and Safety.*

Secondly,

The Reign of King Charls.

1101

Anno
1648.

Secondly, Whether his acknowledgment of the guilt of the blood that hath been spilt in the late Wars (nothing being as yet absolutely concluded or binding) could be urged so far, as to be made use of by way of evidence against him, or any of his party?

Thirdly, Whether the Arguments that he hath used in a free and personal Treaty, to lessen or extenuate, and avoid the exactness of any of the conditions, though in manner and form only, might be charged against him as an Act of Obstinacy or wilfull persistence in what is alleged against him, in that he goes on in a destructive course of enmity against the people, and the Laws of the Land, when he hath declared, that his Conscience was not satisfied, concerning divers particulars in the Propositions?

Fourthly, Whereas by the Letter of the Law all persons charged to offend against the Law, ought to be tryed by their Peers or equals, what the Law is if the person questioned is without a Peer, and if the Law which of it self is but a dead Letter, seems to condemn him, by what power shall judgement be given? and who shall give it? or from whence shall the administrators of such judgement derive their power, which may (by the same Law be deemed the Supream power or Authority of Magistracy in the Kingdom?

At at his removal from the Isle of Wight, he framed a Declaration concerning the Treaty, and his dislike of the Armies proceeding, commanding one of his servants to see it published for satisfaction to all his Subjects. Decemb. 1648.

When large pretences prove but the shadows of weak performances, then the greatest labours produce the smallest effects: and when a period is put to a work of great concernment, all mens ears doe as it were hunger till they are satisfied in their expectations.

The Kings
Declaration
concerning
the Treaty.

Hath not this distracted Nation groaned a long time under the burden of Tyranny and oppression? and hath not all the blood that hath been spilt these seven years been cast upon my head, who am the greatest sufferer, though the least guilty?

And was it not requisite to endeavour the stopping of that flux, which if not stopt, will bring an absolute destruction to this Nation? And what more speedy way was there to consummate these distractions, than by a personal Treaty, being agreed upon by my two Houses of Parliament, and condescended to by me?

And I might declare, that I conceive it had been the best physick, had not the operation been hindered by the interposition of this imperious Army, who were so audacious as to stile me in their unparallel'd Remonstrance, their capital Enemy; but let the world judge, whether mine endeavours have not been attended with reality in this late Treaty; and whether I was not as ready to grant, as they were to ask, and yet all this is not satisfaction to them that pursue their own ambitions ends
more

Anno
1648.

more than the welfare of a miserable Land. Were not the dying hearts of my poor distressed people much revived with the hopes of a happiness from this Treaty? and how suddenly are they frustrated in their expectations!

Have not I formerly been condemned for yeelding too little to my two Houses of Parliament; and shall I now be condemned for yeelding too much?

Have I not formerly been imprisoned for making War, and shall I now be condemned for making peace?

Have I not formerly ruled like a KING, and shall I now be ruled like a slave?

Have I not formerly enjoyed the society of my dear Wife and Children in peace and quietness, and shall I now neither enjoy them, nor peace?

Have not my Subjects formerly obeyed me, and shall I now be obedient to my Subjects?

Have I not been condemned for evil Councillers, and shall I now be condemned for having no Council but God? These are unutterable miseries, that the more I endeavour for Peace, the less my endeavours are respected: and how shall I know hereafter what to grant, when your selves know not what to ask? I refer it to your consciences, whether I have not satisfied your desires in every particular since this Treaty; If you finde I have not, then let me bear the burden of the fault: but if I have given you ample satisfaction (as I am sure I have) then you are bound to vindicate me from the fury of those whose thoughts are filled with blood: though they pretend zeal, yet they are but Wolves in sheeps cloathing.

I must further declare, that I conceive there is nothing can more obstruct the long hoped for peace of this Nation, than the illegal proceedings of them that presume from servants to become Masters, and labour to bring in Democracy, and to abolish Monarchy.

Needs must the total alteration of Fundamentals be, not only destructive to others, but in conclusion to themselves: for they that endeavour to rule by the sword, shall at last fall by it; for faction is the Mother of Ruine, and it is the humour of those who are of this Weathercock-like disposition to love nothing but mutabilities, neither will that please them but onely pro tempore, for the too much variety doth but confound the senses, and makes them still hate one folly, and fall in love with another.

Time is the best cure for Faction; for it will at length (like a spreading leprosie) infect the whole body of the Kingdom, and make it so odious, that at last they will hate themselves for love of that, and like the Fish, for love of the bait, be catcht with the hook.

I once more declare to all my loving Subjects, and God knows whether or no this may be my last, that I have earnestly laboured for peace, and that my thoughts were sincere and absolute, without any sinister ends,
and

and there was nothing left undone by me, that my conscience would permit me to do. And I call God to witness that I do firmly conceive that the interposition of the Army (that cloud of malice) hath altogether eclipsed the glory of that peace which began again to shine in this Land.

And let the world judge whether it be expedient for an Army to contradict the Votes of a Kingdom, endeavouring, by pretending for Laws and Liberties to subvert both. Such actions as these must produce strange consequences, and set open the Flood-gates of ruine to overflow this Kingdom in a moment.

Had this Treaty been only mine own seeking, then they might have had fairer pretences to have stopt the course of it; but I being importun'd by my two Houses, and they by most part of the Kingdom, could not but with a great deal of alacrity concur with them in their desires, for the performance of so commodious a work: and I hope by this time that the hearts and eyes of my people are opened so much that they plainly discover who are the underminers of this Treaty.

For mine own part, I here protest before the face of Heaven, that mine own afflictions (though they need no addition) afflict me not so much as my peoples sufferings: for, I know what to trust to already, and they know not: God comfort both them and me, and proportion our patience to our sufferings!

And when the malice of mine enemies is span out to the smallest thread, let them know, that I will, by the grace of God, be as contented to suffer, as they are active to advance my sufferings: and mine own soul tells me, that the time will come when the very clouds shall drop down vengeance upon the heads of those that Barricado themselves against the proceedings of peace: for if God hath proclaimed a blessing to the peace-makers, needs must the Peace-breakers draw down curses upon their heads.

I thank my God I have armed my self against their fury: and now let the arrows of their envy fly at me, I have a breast to receive them, and a heart possess'd with patience to sustain them: for God is my Rock and my Shield, therefore I will not fear what man can do unto me. I will expect the worst, and if any thing happen beyond my expectation, I will give God the glory, for vain is the help of man.

The manner of the seisure of the King by the Army, and removing him to Hurst Castle, was by special Order under the Generals Hand and Seal, 30. Novem.

There came from the Army Lieu. Col. Cobbet, and Captain Meriman to the Commander in chief there, to secure the person of the King in Carisbrook Castle, as before the Treaty (for as yet he was at Newport) untill they should receive resolution of the Parliament upon their Remonstrance.

These Officers understanding that the Command was committed by Hamond to Major Ralph, Cap. Boreman, and Captain Hawes, or any

The King is
seized by the
Army.

Anno

1648.

any two of them, desired their concurrence : whilst these Officers were in debate, comes a Messenger from the General to the Officers, commanding them immediately to take the person of the King into their charge, and to remove him into *Hurst* Castle, a strong place, the neck of land in *Hampshire* against the Isle of *Wight*, and all Officers and Souldiers in the Isle to assist them. *Rolph* and *Hawes* obeyed, *Boreman* said his duty depended on *Hamonds* directions immediately, and contrary to his Commission he would not Act, but was not in a capacity to oppose all them.

But the other, *Cobbet* and *Merriman* being assisted with a fresh Troop of Horse, and a Company of Foot which landed in the night, seized the King at six in the morning, Friday the first of *December*, hurrying him from *Newport* out of the Isle of *Wight*, shut him up close in *Hurst* Castle, a strong place upon a neck of Land into the Sea, opposite to the West corner of the Island, a most scanty, and by reason the sea surrounds it, an unhealthy place.

And this relation comes to the Speaker in a Letter signed by *Boreman* and *Hawes*, Decemb. 1.

Upon the reading whereof the Houses Vote, *That the seizing upon the person of the King, and carrying him prisoner to Hurst Castle, was without the advice and consent of the Houses.*

The Parliament being in a wood before, are now at their wits end, debate the particulars and are divided, some for the Parliament and their proceedings, other stick to the interest of the Army, but the major part Vote, [*That his Majesties Concessions to the Propositions of Parliament are sufficient grounds for settling the Peace of the Kingdom.*] And Sir *Fohn Evelin*, Sir *Tho. Widrington*, *Pierpoint*, *Ashurst*, *Maynard*, Col. *Birch*, and Mr. *Sollicitor* are appointed a Committee to confer with the General, for continuance of a good correspondence between them.

Divers Members seized by the Souldiers.

The Trained Bands are discharged the Guard to the Parliament, and *Pride* and *Riches* Regiments take it upon them. And the Members coming to the House were seized and kept in custody by the Generals Command in the Queens Court, and Court of Wards.

The House hears of this, and send their Serjeant for their Members, but *Pride* keeps them secured. And presently comes from the Army Lieutenant Colonel *Axtel* and others, and tels the House that he had in Command from the Army to say that they had somewhat unto them, ready for their present view, to which the House answered, *that they would be ready to receive it.*

Then comes Colonel *Whaley* with other Officers and presents the House with *Proposals*, which whilst they consider ;
the

The Reign of King Charls.

1105

the House sends Messengers to the Army for release of their Members: They were between fourty and fifty of the old stamp.

Anno
1648.

Sir Robert Harlow,
Col. Harlow,
Sir Will. Waller,
Sir Walter Earl,
Sir Samuel Luke,
Sir Jo. Merrick,
Sir Martin Lister,
Lo. Wenman,
Mr. Knightly,
Sir Gilbert Gerard,
Sir Ben. Ruddiard,
Mr. Fran. Gerard,
Mr. Swinfin,
Sir Edw. Partridge,
Mr. Crew,
Mr. Edw. Stephens,
Mr. Butler,
Sir Harb. Grimston,
Mr. Bunckley,
M. Gen. Massey,
Mr. Walker,
Sir Rob. Pye,

Mr. Pelham,
Col. Leigh,
Sir An. Erbyr,
Sir Tho. Soam,
Col Birch,
Mr. Lane,
Mr. Doderidge,
Mr. Wheeler,
Mr. Drake,
Mr. Green,
Mr. Bowton,
Mr. Prin.
Mr. Vaughan,
Mr. Nath. Fines,
Com. Copley,
Col. Stroode,
Mr. Priestly,
Sir Simon Dews,
Sir Will. Lewes,
Sir Jo. Clotworthy,
Sir Rich Onslow,
Sir Tho. Dacres.

These Members were at last sent all to Hell, and there remained till night, and then removed to the Kings Head Inn near *Charing Cross*, and to the *Swan Inn* in the *Strand* under Guard of Souldiers.

The House Fasted and Prayed, nay more, gave Alms, a voluntary Collection of each Member remaining, which the Serjeant received and distributed to the poor Widows and Orphans of the deceased Souldiers, we knew not the sum, but the design was very certain. Yet this would not serve the turn, though a Committee was sent to the General for release of their Members. And because the Parliament knew not what to do: they Adjourned this Friday till Munday following.

In the mean time he sends some Forces to Quarter at *Ludgate*, *Black-friers*, the West Gate of *St. Pauls*, and in the Church, where the Horse and Foot made it a Stable.

But not to frighten the City, the General writes to my Lord Mayor, That he hath sent Colonel *Dean* to seize the Treasuries of *Haberdasher*, *Goldsmith*, and *Weavers Hall*, (where they light upon twenty thousand pounds) that by the monies he may pay his Armies Arrears, for which he must forthwith have 40000. l. the

Anno
1648.

Countries having been thereby over burthened a long time with free Quarter, and tells them plainly, That if the City supply him with the fourty thousand pounds advance, which he so often hath desired, and take order for all the Armies Arrears, the Forces shall draw off, it not, thank themselves for what may follow, *Westm.*
8. Decem. 1648.

Tho. Fairfax.

But the Souldiers took so much delight in this Errrand, that besides the Halls, they mistook their Warrant and went to the *Excise Office*, which made such a Hubbub in *London*, that it was presently divulged, That no more *Excise* should be levied or paid, but that was soon considered, and an excuse by Letter sent to that Office, that by mistake the Souldiers mist their way, and so that place was secured.

The City assemble a Common Council, who send *Propositions* to his Excellencie: They will advance the fourty thousand pounds by Munday, and discharge the twenty thousand pounds to the Receivers of the Halls. And hasten the collecting the rest of the Arrears, and discharge some certain engagements of the Army for money borrowed, provided that the Army withdraw this night out of the City, Saturday 9. Decem.

This did not satisfie, nor would the Army remove, but gave the City time to collect their money in fourteen daies, or sooner if they please, and shall have the aid of the Souldier to force payment of the Inhabitants; and after this Message follows a Regiment of Horse this night quartered in Inns, and some Foot in private houses.

This while the Parliament ponder upon the late Proposals of the Army, which in brief were these.

The Army complain of the sad effects of Councils divided and corrupted by Faction and personal interest, to the betraying of the publick good, the continuance and widening of the issues of blood and ruine to all. Wherefore they propound and demand, whereas *Denzil Hollis*, *Lyonel Copley*, Major Gen. *Massey* and others your Members were in Anno 1647. impeached by you selves for treason, in relation to the treasonable engagement of the City of *London*, violence upon the Parliament levying a new War, &c. and were upon Proofs expelled the House. And yet by prevalency of their Faction, [When in the last Summer divers faithful Members were engaged in the publick service, and others by Tumults could not attend] the same persons were afterwards re-admitted, &c. where by the confederacy of Major Genral *Brown* now Sheriff of *London* and others, the *Scots* were invited and drawn in to invade this Kingdom. Insomuch that when the House proceeded to declare them enemies, and these their

The Reign of King Charls.

1107

Anno
1648.

their Adherents Traytors ; Yet the said Confederates, and other treacherous Members to the number of ninety and odd, did by their Votes endeavour to hinder the House from declaring against them.

Therefore they desire that Major Gen. *Brown* and the other ninety and odd persons dissenting against the said Votes, may be excluded the House, &c.

The continued *Series* of the proceedings for many moneths have been prevalent by the same treacherous corrupt and divided Councils from any good, precipitating into treacherous compliances with the Enemies, as in the Votes of *No more address to the King*, (the necessity whereof you had once so cleared to the world.) Also for entertaining (after all this) a personal Treaty, and lastly, declaring the Kings Concessions to be a ground for settlement of a peace, notwithstanding the visible defects of them in the Essentials concerning the liberties of the Kingdom, &c.

And therefore desire that all such faithful Members who are innocent will protest against the said Votes by publick Declaration, and the rest to be expelled the House, that so the well-affected may proceed to set a short period to your own power, to provide for a speedy succession of equal Representatives according to the Armies late Remonstrance.

But (as we said) the Parliament adjourning till this Munday 11. Decem. and not sitting that day neither: the Army D-clare a new Representative, which they call an *Agreement of the people*, for future Government of the Nation to be subscribed by all the people.

The Preamble whereof was in effect, [*We having by our late labours made it appear at what rate we value our freedom, and God owning our cause, hath delivered our enemies into our hands, we ought as bound in mutual duty to each other, to avoid the danger of returning into a slavish condition, and another chargeable war: so that when our common rights shall be cleared, their endeavours will be disappointed that seek to be our Masters. Our troubles having been occasioned either by want of National meetings in Council, by the undue or unequal constitution thereof, or by rendring those meetings uneffectual. And therefore we are agreed to provide that hereafter our Representatives be neither uncertain for time, nor unequally constituted, nor be made useless to the end for which they are intended.*

Agreement of
the people.

In order hereunto they declare,

That this Parliament be dissolved the last of April next.

The Representatives of the whole Nation to consist of three hundred persons.

The Manner of the election they propound,

1. *That the Electors be Natives, such as have subscribed this agreement,*

Anno.
1648.

such as are assessed for the relief of the poor, men of 21. years of age and House-keepers in that Division, and for seven years no person that hath adhered to the King, or shall oppose this agreement, or not subscribe hereto, shall have voice in Election.

2. That after 14. years such persons may be elected that have voice in Elections, and for the present none shall be Eligible, who have not voluntarily assisted against the King, either before June 1645. or in money, Plate, or Arms lent upon the Propositions May 1643. or have abetted the treasonable design in London 1647. or who declared for a Cessation of Arms with the Scots, or ingaged in the last Summers Wars against the Parliament.

3. That whoever is incapable by the former Rules, and yet shall Vote in Elections, or sit in Representative, shall lose the moiety of his Estate, he having above 50. l. and if under, then three moneths imprisonment. And if any oppose the Elections, then to lose his whole Estate, or a years imprisonment if under 50. l. per an.

4. That 150. Members at least shall make an Act of Law: And these shall within twenty dayes after their first sitting, appoint a Council of State to continue untill the second Representative, and the Council to Act as they shall direct by instructions.

5. That no Officer of State, Treasurer, or Receiver (while such) shall be a Representative.

6. No Lawyer shall practice whilst he is of any Representative or Council of State.

7. That the Representative only (without the consent of any other person) shall Enact, Alter, Repeal and declare any Laws, to the erecting and abolishing of Officers of Courts of Justice, but with these Exceptions following.

Exceptions,

Not to compel tender Consciences in matters of Religion or Worship.

No person to be impressed to Serve in War by Land or Sea.

No person after the dissolution of this present Parliament shall be questioned concerning the late War, otherwise then in execution or pursuance of the determination of the present House of Commons against such as have adhered to the King, and also Accomptants for money.

That all manner of persons be subject to the publick Laws, and such as have now priviledge shall be nulled, and none priviledged hereafter.

That the Representatives meddle not with the execution of Laws, nor give Judgement upon any mans person.

That no Representative shall take away Common Right, or Level mens Estates, destroy proprieties or make all things common.

8. That

The Reign of King Charls.

1109

Anno
1648.

8. That the Council of State in case of danger may summon a Representative for a Session of fourty daies, and to dissolve two moneths before the next appointed Representative.

9. The publick faith of the Nation shall be made good, save that the next Representative may continue, or Null all gifts of money made by the present House of Commons to themselves or any Lords.

10. If any Officer or Leader in any Army or Garrison shall resist the Orders of any Representative, shall forthwith lose the protection of the Law, and dye without mercy.

The House moulded as others would have it, yet many of the Members could not digest the Choake-paer Proposals, Declaration, Engagement, Agreements, but somewhat must be done, they debate that point of Proposal of the eleven Members formerly put out and since re-admitted, and to please the Army, Vote and un-vote, and conclude of these Votes now.

That the Vote of 3. Jan. 1647. for revoking the Order of 9. Septem. 1647. for disabling Com. Copley to be a Member, is of dangerous consequence, and is hereby repealed.

Vote against
Vote.

That the receiving the other ten Members was unparliamentary, and is therefore Null.

That the Vote of 30. June 1648. for the opening a way to the Treaty with the King be Null.

That the Votes of 3. of Jan. 1647, forbidding all address to the King to be taken off, was aparantly destructive to the Kingdom.

Divers of the proscribed Members were made Prisoners, as Brown, Clotworthy, Waller, Massey, Copley to St. Jame's.

And now both Houses Vote no Address to be made to the King, nor Message from him, upon pain of Treason. And that the Vote of 28 July to Treat with the King, was destructive to the Kingdom.

The King in a very sad condition by his stricter imprisonment in Hurst Castle, and hearing of these Votes, prepares his Soliloquies for comfort in death, meditating thereon in these words.

[As I have leasure enough saies the King, so I have cause more then enough to meditate upon, and prepare for my death : for I know there are but a few steps between the Prisons and the Graves of Princes.

Eikon Bas.
cap. 28.

It is Gods indulgence, which gives me the space; but mans cruelty that gives me the sad occasions for these thoughts.

For, besides the common burthen of mortality, which lies upon me as a man: I now bear the heavy load of other mens ambitions, fears, jealousies, and cruel passions, whose envy, or enmity against me, makes their own lives seem deadly to them, while I enjoy any part of mine.

Anno
1648.

I thank God, my prosperity made me not wholly a stranger to the contemplations of mortality ;

Those are never unseasonable , since this is alwaies uncertain : death being an eclipse, which oft happeneth as well in clear as cloudy daies.

But my now long and sharp adversity hath so reconciled in me those natural Antipathies between Life and Death, which are in all men , that I thank God the common terrors of it are dispelled ; and the special horror of it, as to my particular, much allaied : for, although my death at present may justly be represented to me with all those terrible aggravations, which the policy of cruel and implacable enemies can put upon it, (affairs being drawn to the very dregs of malice) yet I bleſs God I can look upon all those stings , as unpoisonous, though sharp ; since my Redeemer hath either pulled them out, or given me the Antidote of his death against them ; which as to the immaturity, unjustice, shame, scorn , and cruelty of it exceeded whatever I can fear.

Indeed, I never did finde so much the life of Religion , the feast of a good conscience, and the brazen wall of a judicious integritie and constancie, as since I came to these closer conflicts with the thoughts of death.

I am not so old as to be weary of life ; nor (I hope) so bad , as to be either afraid to dye, or ashamed to live : true, I am so afflicted as might make me sometime even desire to dye, if I did not consider, That it is the greatest glory of a Christian's life to *die daily*, in conquering by a lively faith, and patient hopes of a better life, those partial and quotidian deaths, which kill vs (as it were) by piece-meals, and make us over-live our Fates: while we are deprived of health, honour, liberty, power, credit, safety or estate, and those other comforts of dearest relations, which are as the life of our lives.

Though as a KING, I think my self to live in nothing temporal so much, as in the love and good will of my people ; for which as I have suffered many deaths, so I hope I am not in that point as yet wholly dead: notwithstanding my enemies have used all the poison of falſitie and violence of hostility to destroy , first the love and Loyalty, which is in my Subjects ; and then all that content of life in me, which from these I chiefly enjoyed.

Indeed, they have left me but little of life , and only the husk and shell (as it were) which their further malice and cruelty can take from me ; having bereaved me of all those worldly comforts, for which life it self seems desirable to men.

But O my Soul ! think not that life too long, or tedious, wherein God gives thee any opportunities, if not to doe, yet to suffer with such Christian patience and magnanimity in a good cause, as are
the

The Reign of King Charls.

IIII

the greatest honour of our lives, and best improvement of our deaths.

I know that, in point of true Christian valour, it argues pusillanimity to desire to die, out of wearinesse of life; and a want of that Heroick greatness of spirit which becomes a Christian in the patient and generous sustaining those afflictions, which as shadows necessarily attend us; while we are in this body; and which are lessened or enlarged as the Sun of our prosperity moves higher, or lower: whose total absence is best recompensed with the dew of Heaven.

The assaults of affliction may be terrible, like *Sampsons* Lion, but they yeeld much sweetness to those that dare to encounter and overcome them; who know how to overlive the witherings of their Gourds without discontent or peevishness, while they may yet converse with God.

That I must die as a man, is certain; that I may dye a King, by the hands of mine own Subjects, a violent, sudden, and barbarous death, in the strength of my years, in the midst of my Kingdoms, my Friends and loving Subjects being helpless Spectators, my Enemies insolent Revilers and triumphers over me, living, dying, and dead, is so probable in humane reason, that hath God taught me not to hope otherwise, as to mans cruelty; however, I despair not of God's infinite mercy.

I know my life is the object of the Devils and wicked mens malice; but yet under Gods sole custody and disposal; Whom I do not think to flatter for longer life by seeming prepared to die; but I humbly desire to depend upon him, and to submit to his will both in life and death, in what order soever he is pleased to lay them out to me.

I confess it is not easie for me to contend with those many horrors of death, wherewith God suffers me to be tempted; which are equally horrid, either in the suddenness of a barbarous Affination; or in those greater formalities, whereby my Enemies (being more solemnly cruel) will, it may be, seek to add (as those did who crucified Christ) the mockerie of Justice, to the cruelty of malice: that I may be destroyed, as with greater pomp and artifice, so with less pitty, it will be but a necessary policy to make my death appear as an Act of Justice done by Subjects upon their Sovereign; who know that no Law of God or man invests them with any power of Judicature without me, much less against me: and who being sworn and bound by all that is sacred before God and man to endeavour my preservation, must pretend Justice to cover their perjury.

It is indeed, a sad fate for any man to have his Enemies to be accusers, parties, and judges; but most desperate, when this is acted by the insolence of Subjects against their Sovereign: wherein those
who

Anno

1648.

Anno.
1648.

who have had the chiefeſt hand, and are moſt guilty of contriving the publick troubles, muſt by ſhedding my blood ſeem to waſh their own hands of that innocent blood, whereof they are now moſt evidently guilty before God and man; and I believe in their own conſciences too; while they carried on unreaſonable demands, firſt by Tumults, after by Armies.

Nothing makes mean ſpirits more cowardly cruel in managing their uſurped power againſt their lawful Superiours then this, the *Guilt of their unjuſt uſurpation*; notwithstanding thoſe ſpecious and popular pretenſions of Juſtice againſt delinquents, applied only to diſguiſe at firſt the monſtrouſneſs of their deſigns, who deſpaired indeed of poſſeſſing the power and profits of the Vineyard, till the heir, whoſe right it is, be caſt out and ſlain.

With them my greateſt fault muſt be, that I would not either deſtroy my ſelf with the Church and State by my word; or not ſuffer them to do it, unrefiſted by the Sword; whoſe covetous ambition no Conceſſions of mine could ever yet, either ſatiſſie, or abate.

Nor is it likely they will ever think, that Kingdom of brambles, which ſome men ſeek to erect (at once, weak, ſharp, and fruitleſs either to God or man) is like to thrive till watered with the Royal blood of thoſe, whoſe right the Kingdom is.

Well, God's will be done: I doubt not but my innocency will finde him both my Protector and my Advocate, who is my only Judge; whom I own as King of Kings, not only for the Eminency of his power and Majeſty above them; but alſo for that ſingular care and protection, which he hath over them: who knows them to be expoſed to as many dangers (being the greateſt Patrons of Law, Juſtice, Order, and Religion on earth) as there be either men or Devils, which love conſuſion.

Nor will he ſuffer thoſe men long to proſper in their *Babel*, who build it with the bones, and cement it with the bloud of their Kings.

I am confident they will finde Avengers of my death among themſelves: the injuries I have ſuſtained from them ſhall be firſt puniſhed by them, who agreed in nothing ſo much as in oppoſing me.

Their impatience to bear the loud cry of my bloud ſhall make them think no way better to expiate it, then by ſhedding theirs, who with them moſt thirſted after mine.

The ſad conſuſions following my deſtruction, are already preſaged and confirmed to Me by thoſe I have lived to ſee ſince my troubles; in which God alone (who only could) hath many waies pleaded my cauſe; not ſuffering them to go unpuniſhed, whoſe confederacie in ſin was their only ſecurity; who have cauſe to fear that God will both further divide, and by mutual vengeance, afterward deſtroy them.

My

The Reign of King Charls.

1113

Anno
1648.

My greatest conquest of death is from the power and love of Christ, who hath swallowed up death in the victory of his Resurrection, and the glory of his Ascension.

My next comfort is, that he gives me not only the honour to imitate his example *in suffering for righteousness-sake*, (though obscured by the foulest charges of Tyranny and Injustice) but also that charity, which is the noblest revenge upon, and victory over my Destroyers: by which I thank God I can both forgive them, and pray for them, that God would not impute my blood to them, further then to convince them what need they have of Christs blood to wash their souls from the guilt of shedding mine.

At present the will of my enemies seems to be their only rule, their power the measure, and their success the exactor of what they please to call Justice; while they flatter themselves with the Fancy of their own safety by my danger, and the security of their lives and designs by my death: forgetting that, as the greatest temptations to sin are wrapped up in seeming prosperities; so the severest vengeance of God are then most accomplished, when men are suffered to complete their wicked purposes.

I bless God, I pray not so much, that this bitter cup of a violent death may pass from me, as that of his wrath may pass from all those, whose hands, by deserting me, are sprinkled, or, by acting and consenting to my death, are embrewed with my blood.

The will of God hath confined and concluded mine; I shall have the pleasure of dying, without any pleasure of desired vengeance.

This, I think, becomes a Christian toward his enemies; and a King toward his Subjects.

They cannot deprive me of more then I am content to lose, when God sees fit by their hands to take it from me; whose mercy, I believe, will more then infinitely recompense what ever by mans injustice he is pleased to deprive me of.

The glory attending my death will far surpass all I could enjoy, or conceive in life.

I shall not want the heavy and envied Crowns of this world, when my God hath mercifully crowned and consummated his graces with glory, and exchanged the shadows of my earthly Kingdoms among men, for the substance of that heavenly Kingdom with himself.

For the censures of the world; I know the sharp and necessary Tyranny of my destroyers will sufficiently confute the Calumnies of Tyranny against me; I am perswaded I am happy in the judicious love of the ablest and best of my Subjects, who doe not only pitty and pray for me, but would be content even to dye with me, or for me.

These know, how to excuse my failings, as a man: and yet to retain

The Reign of King Charls.

retain, and pay their duty to me as their King ; there being no Religious necessity binding any Subjects, by pretending to punish, infinitely to exceed the faults and errors of their Princes ; especially there, where more then sufficient satisfaction hath been made to the publick ; the enjoyment of which, private ambitions have hitherto frustrated.

Others, I believe, of softer tempers, and less advantaged by my ruine, do already feel sharp convictions, and some remorse in their consciences ; where they cannot but see the proportions of their evil dealings against me in the measure of Gods retaliations upon them ; who cannot hope long to enjoy their own thumbs and toes, having under pretence of pairing others nailes, been so cruel as to cut off their chiefest strength.

The punishment of the more insolent and obstinate may be like that of *Korah* and his complices (at once mutining against both Prince and Priest) in such a method of divine justice, as is not ordinary ; the earth of the lowest and meanest people opening upon them, and swallowing them up in a just disdain of their ill-gotten and worse used Authority : upon whose support and strength they chiefly depended for their building and establishing their designs against me, the Church, and State.

My chiefest comfort in death consists in my peace, which, I trust is made with God ; before whose exact Tribunal I shall not fear to appear, as to the cause so long disputed by the Sword between me and my causeless enemies : where, I doubt not, but his righteous judgment will confute their fallacy, who from worldly success (rather like Sophisters, then sound Christians) draw those popular conclusions for Gods approbation of their actions ; whose wise providence (we know) oft permits many events, which his revealed word (the only clear, safe, and fixed Rule of good actions and good consciences) in no sort approves.

I am confident the Justice of my Cause, and clearness of my conscience before God and towards my people, will carry me, as much above them in Gods decision, as their successes have lifted them above me in the vulgar opinion : who consider not, that many times those undertakings of men are lifted up to Heaven in the prosperity and applause of the world, whose rise is from Hell, as to the injuriousness and oppression of the design. The prosperous windes which oft fill the sails of Pirats, do not justifie their Piracie and rapine.

I look upon it, with infinite more content and quiet of soul, to have been worsted in my enforced contestation for, and vindication of the Laws of the Land, the freedom and honour of Parliaments, the Rights of my Crown, the just liberty of my Subjects, and the true Christian Religion in its Doctrine, Government and due encouragements, then if I had, with the greatest advantages of success,

The Reign of King Charls.

III 5

Anno
1648.

ceis, over-born them all; as some men have now evidently done, what ever designs they at first pretended.

The prayers and patience of my friends and loving Subjects will contribute much to the sweetning of this bitter Cup, which I doubt not but I shall more chearfully take, and drink as from Gods hand, (if it must be so) then they can give it to me, whose hands are unjustly and barbarously lifted up against me.

And as to the last event, I may seem to owe more to my Enemies, then my friends' while those will put a period to the sins and sorrows attending this miserable life, wherewith these desire I might still contend.

I shall be more then Conquerour through Christ enabling me; for whom I have hitherto suffered, as he is the Author of Truth, Order, and Peace; for all which I have been forced to contend against Error, Faction, and Confusion.

If I must suffer a violent death, with my Saviour, it is but mortality crowned with Martyrdom, where the debt of death, which I owe for sin to nature, shall be raised as a gift of faith and patience offered to God.

Which I humbly beseech him mercifully to accept; and although death be the wages of my own sin, as from God, and the effect of others sins, as men, both against God and me; yet, as I hope, my own sins are so remitted, that they may be no ingredients to imbitter the cup of my death; so I desire God to pardon their sins, who are most guilty of my destruction.

The Trophies of my charity will be more glorious and durable over them, then their ill-mannaged victories over me.

Though their sin be prosperous, yet they had need to be penitent, that they may be pardoned: both which I pray God they may obtain; that my temporal death, unjustly inflicted by them, may not be revenged by Gods just inflicting eternal death upon them: for I look upon the temporal destruction of the greatest King, as far less deprecable, then the eternal damnation of the meanest Subject.

Nor do I wish other, then the safe bringing of the ship to shore, when they have cast me over-board; though it be very strange, that Mariners can finde no other means to appease the storm themselves have raised, but by drowning their Pilot.

I thank God my enemies cruelty cannot prevent my Preparation; whose malice in this I shall defeat, that they shall not have the satisfaction to have destroyed my soul with my body; of whose salvation while some of them have themselves seemed, and taught others to despair, they have only discovered this, that they do not much desire it.

Whose uncharitable and cruel restraints, denying me even

Anno

1648.

the assistance of any of my Chaplains, hath rather enlarged, then any way obstructed my access to the throne of Heaven.]

And for his better preparation, he is a suitor to the Governour, that he might have two of his own Chaplains to preach and pray with him. And that he might have liberty to write to his Queen in France, and to the Prince of Wales, to acquaint them with his sad condition, but not granted.

For the General hath ordered that the King be brought up with a Guard Prisoner to *Windsor Castle*, and came to *Winchester* Tuesday 21. *December*, where the honourable Mayor and Aldermen met him at the Towns end, and as in duty heretofore, presented him with a Speech, and then with their mace: The Governour of the Guard told them that by the Act of *No address to the King* they were all Traytors, which not a little troubled the well meaning Mayor.

The next night, Friday, to *Farnham*: and after dinner at *Bagshot*, calling for his Coach, he was told it was gone before (and indeed so designed) then ready to mount an excellent horse, he had been newly prickt with a nail stark lame, the King was troubled, which being perceived, a Gentleman lent him a swift Gelding, but being observed, the Guards were commanded for Flankers till the King came off the Downs: and so he came to *Windsor*, Saturday night 23. *Decemb.* Colonel *Thomlingson* commanding the Guards when Colonel *Harrison* left him. And here they refuse to afford his Majesty any Ceremony of State, upon the knee, and hardly the Cap: his attendance taken away, and he clapt up close.

And because *William Prinne* of *Lincolns Inn* Barrester, puts himself in Print, the first man that brings in his Charge, whether to his eternal shame or otherwise, we shall give you his title, wherein we finde in this case (as very often in other his Pamphlets) more matter in the Title Page, then all that follows in the Book besides. He calls it

Mr. Prinns Charge against the King, shewing,

That the Kings Design, Purpose, Resolution, his Endeavours, Practice, Conversation, have alwayes been engaged, byassed, tended, to settle, establish, confirm Popery, Tyranny, Slavery, in, among, over his Dominions, Subjects, People, and in order to that Design, End, Purpose, he writ to the Pope of Rome, (stiling him His most Holy Father, Catholique Majesty, thrice honoured Lord and Father) engaging himself to the
said.

The King
brought to
Windsor.

said Pope, to endeavour to settle the Popish Religion only in his Dominions;

And since his coming to the Crown, hath extended extraordinary favours upon, protection of notorious Papists, Priests, Jesuites, against all prosecution of Laws enacted against them; notwithstanding all his Protestations to the contrary, hath raised up a most horrid, unnatural and bloody War, arming his Roman Catholique Subject to Massacre, Plunder, Torture; Imprison, Ruine his Loyal, Faithful, pious Protestant Subjects, to burn, sack, spoil their Cities, Towns, Villages; collected from the Books written,

By *William Prinne* of *Lincolns Inne*, Esq.

Being but a very small taste from that main Ocean of that which he hath written concerning the King, and his ill behaviour since his coming to the Crown;

As also with references unto clear, satisfactory, convincing Answers unto several Objections, concerning resisting, censuring, suspending, depriving Kings for their Tyranny, yea capitally proceeding against them, By the said Author.

Thus he belches up the Charge, and his proofs are plain, from himself the only Author and witness, directing us by his Margin, to the third part of the *Sovereign power of Parliaments*, wherein he pretends to overthrow all Scripture proofs against killing Kings and Princes.

His proofs against the Kings person is cited out of *Prynns Popish Royal Favourite, Romes Master-piece*. To which we refer the Reader without censuring them as some have done, to be a *Rhapsodie of Nonsense*.

But then also, we (not to be partial) refer the Reader to the History of *Him, Bastwick and Burton* their Crimes, Charge, Indictments, Censure, Sentence, and Execution.

And to second *Prinne*, there follows Petitions pretended from the well-affected of the County of *Norfolk* from several Garrisons and other such in compliance with the Armies Remonstrance and Declarations, and therein praying for justice against the King.

And yet not long after, the 10. of *January* Mr. *Prinne* Imprints a *Memento*, for which he refuses to answer the Commons Summons,

untill

Anno
1648.

untill he be sent to in a Legal way and by a lawful and sufficient Authority, for he was not long before turned out of being a Member, and continued now a prisoner to the Army, and ever since out of date or use.

This man an indefatigable Author of most vast pieces in the Parliaments defence should now with others be ill intreated by their own stipendaries in the inscrutable judgement of God.

The appearance in Parliament is yet thin, for *Oligarchy* gets up, and *Anarchy* goes down: yet rather then to sink, the *Presbyter* complies, and the Houses agree, whom the Army resolve so to balance, as by their Authority for the present, to doe the great work and to dissolve *Monarchy*.

Some Members out of honour and conscience forbearing, the rest of them receive the Report of the 38. Committee-men, and their general Charge against the King.

The Charge
against the
King.

That Charls Stuart hath acted contrary to his trust, in departing from the Parliament, setting up his standard, making war against them, and thereby, been the occasion of much bloodshed, and misery to the people whom he was set over for good. That he gave Commissions to Irish Rebels, &c. and since was occasion of a second War, &c. besides what done contrary to the Liberties of the Subject, and tending to the destruction of the Fundamental Laws and Liberties of the Kingdom, 27. December.

The Queen
writes to the
King and General.

The Queen of England now at Paris in France, writes to the King, which was conveyed to him by one *Wheeler*, imployed by Major *Boswells* man, where the Queen expresseth her deep sence and sorrow for the Kings sad condition, with whom she bears an equal share, and wishes to dye for him: nor will she live without him, for whose interest she hath and will doe her utmost in all possible waies and means to help him.

Then another Letter was delivered by the French Ambassador to the General from the Queen, and directed To her trusty and welbeloved Tho. Lord Fairfax General, imploring his help and assistance, that she may have leave (as the Ambassador untold) to come over to the King her Husband, to see him before he be proceeded against by any Tryal or Charge, and to have a Pass for her secure coming and returning: which letter the General sent to the House, and they laid it aside.

Votes of the
Commons.

And to confirm the present intended Tryal, the Commons House declare, *That by the Fundamental Laws of the Realm, it is Treason in the King of England for the time to come, to levy War against the Parliament and Kingdom.*

The

The Reign of King Charls.

III 9

The Ordinance for the Kings tryal was refused by the Lords, *Jan. 2.* but they will send answer, and presently adjourn for ten daies. The Commons examining the Lords Journal Books, finde three Votes, 1. *To send an Answer.* 2. *That their Lordships do not concur to the Declaration.* 3. *That their Lordships reject the Ordinance for tryal of the King.*

Anno
1648.

The Lords
dissent.

Upon which the Commons Vote, *That all Members and others appointed to act in any Ordinance, are impowred and enjoyned to Sit, Act, and Execute, notwithstanding the House of Peers joyn not with them.*

The House 4. *January* turned into a grand Committee, resolve and declare.

1. *That the People under God are the Original of all just power.*
2. *That the Commons of England assembled in Parliament, being chosen by, and representing the People, have the Supream Authority of this Nation.*
3. *That whatsoever is enacted and declared for Law by the Commons of England assembled in Parliament hath the force of a Law.*
4. *That all the people of this Nation are included thereby, although the consent and concurrence of the King and House of Peers be not had thereunto.*
5. *That to raise Arms against the Peoples Representative, or Parliament, and to make War upon them is high Treason.*
6. *That the King himself took Arms against the Parliament, and on that account is guilty of the bloodshed throughout the Civil War, and that he ought to expiate the crime with his own blood.*

Votes of the
power of the
Commons
house.

Thus they prepare for the design, which must be attempted by degrees. *The Tryal of the King.*

The Ordinance for his Tryal was 6. *Jan.* ingrossed and read, and the manner is referred to the Commissioners who are to try him, and meet in the Painted Chamber, Munday 8. *January*, and resolved that Proclamation be made in *Westminster Hall*, that the Commissioners are to sit again to morrow, and that those who had any thing to say against the King shall be heard. In this manner Mr. *Denby* the younger, a Serjeant at Arms to the Commissioners, rid into the Hall with his Mace, and some Officers all bare, six Trumpetters on Horseback sounded in the midst of the Hall, and the Drums of the Guard beat without in the Pallace Yard, and in like manner at the Old Exchange, and in Cheapside, 9. *Jan.*

Proclamaion
for any to ac-
cuse the King.

The Commons Vote the Title in Writs *Carolus Dei Gratiâ*, &c. to be altered and referred to a Committee. That the great Seal of *England* be broken, and ordered a new Seal with the Arms of *England*, and the Harp for *Ireland*, with this word *The great Seal of England.* And on the reverse the picture of the House of Commons sitting, with these words: *In the first year of freedom by Gods blessing restored, 1648.*

New great
Seal.

And

Anno.
1648.

The Scots
dissent.

And in *perpetuam rei memoriam*, the Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Council petitioned the House of Commons for justice against the King, to settle the Votes, that the Supreme power is in them, and the City resolving to stand by them to the utmost: And this Petition was ordered to be Recorded in the Books amongst the Acts of the Common Council.

And in respect of the Kings intended Tryal, *Hillary* Term beginning the 23. of *Jan.* was adjourned for 14. dayes after, and proclaimed in *London* and *Westminster*, and all Market Towns.

The Scots Parliament began *Janu.* 4. and the proceedings of the Parliament of *England* being reported to them, they unanimously did dissent, First, in the toleration of Religion in reference to the Covenant, in the Tryal of the King, and in the alteration of the form of Government. And in order hereunto, some Papers were brought to the House of Commons at *Westminster* directed: To *William Lenthal Esquire Speaker of the House of Commons*, and no more; where they use to say, to be communicated to the House of Commons, by which they acknowledge them an House; and so the House thought not fit to read them; but Voted to send Commissioners to *Scotland* to preserve a good correspondence between both Nations.

The Commissioners for the Kings Trial debated and concluded; That the Sword and the Mace, although with the Kings Arms thereon, should be ordered to be in Court at his Tryal. And the King to be brought from *St. James's* (whither he was come a prisoner) to *Sir Robert Cottons* House at *Westminster*.

The Higher House sat, and sent a Message to the Commons (grounded upon the dissent of the Lords Commissioners of the great Seal joyned with the Commons) That they could not agree to pass the Act of the Commons for adjourning the Term without the Lords concurrence first to be had.

And that by the instructions given to the said Commissioners, the Commons Commissioners could do nothing without assent of one of the Lords.

The Message therefore was to the Commons to concur with the Lords, for adjourning the Term for a fortnight, and that the Commissioners of the great Seal may be required to passe the same under seal.

This Message crossed the Commons late Votes. That the Supreme power of *England* is immediately invested only in the people and their Representatives, and had Voted therefore, that all Committees which before consisted of Lords and Commons, should have power to Act, though the Lords joyn not herein.

After much debate, the Commons resolved that the House would not agree with their Lordships.

This

The Reign of King Charls.

1121

This day, Friday 19. of Jan. the King was brought from *Windſor* to *St. James's*. And the *Argument of the people* thus long a hammering was perfected by the Commonwealth of the Army at *White-hall*, and presented to the House of Commons by Sir *Hardress Waller*, and 16. Officers.

Anno

1648.

The King brought to *St. James's*.

Nay more, there came a Woman-witch out of *Hartfordshire*, who justified the Armies proceedings by her Revelations from God; which was well accepted of the Council, as coming from an humble spirit, and her advice taken as very seasonable.

Form of the High Court of Justice.

The Commons House being possessed of this great power (as great as they list to take) erect a new Tribunal for Tryal of the King, which is called *the high Court of Justice*, and so to gain reverence from the Name, over which are appointed 150. Judges, or Tryers, that so in number they might represent the people, who are impowered to *Convent, Hear, Judge, and Execute Charls Stuart King of England*.

Into this number are Elected Members of both Houses, and others of neither, men of several conditions and professions. Nay if it were necessary to prove it, it was reported for truth, there was one man and No-man, or rather of double Sex, an Hermophrodite.

But amongst the number were six Earls of the upper House, the Judges of the Kingdom, Commanders of the Army, Members of the Commons, and no Members, of the City of *London*, of Lawyers, nay of several Trades and Professions. And all these supposed themselves to deserve much for this desperate enterprize: and twenty of them made up the *Quorum*.

Little regard is had of the higher House, unless of a few Lords, whose Authority there was deemed sufficient for Acting.

Yet when the Vote of the Commons House against the King was carried up, there were (unwittingly) 17. Lords, and the major part refused to assent, and did reject the Vote, as not grounded upon Law.

The Lords and others against the Vote for Tryal.

Hereupon, such Lords which were to be Tryers of the King, are expunged the Roll.

And afterwards the Judges of the Kingdom are put out, as deeming *That it was against the received Laws of England that the King should be brought to tryal*.

But on they go, and appoint Mr. *Fohn Bradshaw* lately made Serjeant at Law, to be President of the Court, and one Cook to be Sollicitor.

The *Presbyterian* Ministers (now too late) declaim against it, & many more of other Sects, by their Sermons, Conference, Protestations and Remonstrances, publish and beseech [*That against the dreadful ties of so many Oaths, against the publick and private faith backed by Declarations and promises, against the Law of the Land, against the*

Anno
1648.

The Scottish
Declaration
against the
Kings Tryal.

more sacred Dictates of divine Scripture and Religion: nay, against the good of the Common-wealth, they would not distain their own hands and the Kingdom with the Kings blood.]

The English Nobility offer themselves Pledges on the Kings behalf, and universally the people murmur, but in vain.

The 19. Jan. the Scottish Commissioners delivered some Papers, and a Declaration from the Parliament of Scotland, wherein they express a dislike of the present proceedings against the King, and declare

[That the Kingdom of Scotland have an undoubted interest in the person of the King, who was not delivered to the English Commissioners at Newcastle for the ruine of his person, but for more speedy settlement of the peace of his Kingdoms. That they extreemly dissent and declare against the Tryal of him, in regard of the great miseries that are like to ensue upon the Kingdoms. And crave leave to make their personal addresses to the King.]

The like Papers and desires were presented to the General: and these were publick. But we have met with a Scottish Paper of privacie belike from the other Faction, and it was intercepted by our English Army, it was intituled, Instructions sent to the Scottish Commissioners from the Parliament of Scotland.

Scots private
instructions
concerning
the King.

To use in your amplification, the same mentioned in your Letter, that it seemed not to import by prooffe of any violence used against the Parliament, or any member thereof.

That you have address to such Lords and Commons as are our friends, and not ill-affected to the honest party.

That your amplifications be so concise, that they give no occasion of offence.

That nothing proceed from you, justifying the Kings proceedings.

Nothing in approbation of the late engagement.

Nothing which may import a breach, or give, or be a ground of a new War.

That they would delay to meddle with the Kings person according to their severall promises, and Declarations at Newcastle and at Holmby.

If they proceed and pronounce sentence against the King, that you enter your dissent, and protest, that this Kingdom may be free of the miseries which inevitably will follow, without offering in your reasons, that Princes are exempted from Tryal and Justice.

That none in this Parliament had or hath had any hand in any the proceedings of the Army against the King and Members of Parliament.

If they proceed, then to shew the calamities that will follow, and how grievous it will be to this Kingdom: considering his delivering up at Newcastle.

If the Papers called the Engagement of the people be passed, and shall

The Reign of King Charls.

1123

shall import any thing anent the Proceſſing of the Prince; the changing of the Fundamental Government of the Kingdom, that you enter your diſſent.

You ſhall alter theſe Inſtructions, or mannage your truſt therein, by the advice of our friends there.

To proſecute your inſtructions anent the Covenant, and againſt the toleratio.

To ſhew that the Kings laſt Conceſſions are inſatisfactory to ours in point of Religion.

Anno
1648.

But all theſe *Scottiſh* tricks on either ſide ſignified little, not to frighten Reſolutions, for the Actors in *England* arm themſelves with pretenſions of Gods providence, and impulſions of the holy Spirit, & ſome there were even in the Pulpit, bids them *Courage*, that the time was come that the Saints of the earth ſhould binde Kings and their Nobles with chains of iron, and not to doubt but that the Propheſie belongs to them.

The Actors
proceeding.

And in the Pulpit, another with bended knees, tears, and hands liſt up, in the name of the people of *England*, earneſtly beſeeching they would execute juſtice againſt Charls, and not ſuffer Benhadad their Enemy to go away in ſafety; raging and railing againſt Monarchy, one expounds the ſtory of the Trees in chuſing a King, (when the Vine and Olive reſuſed that Office) underwent the harſher government of the Bramble.

The place of
the Court of
High Juſtice.

After ſundry meetings of the 38. Commiſſioners in the Painted Chamber at *Westminſter*, they had prepared all things expedient for the Tryal: and the high Court of Juſtice was framed at the upper end of *Westminſter Hall*, the place of the two Courts, *Chancery*, and *Kings-Bench* were ordered into one, and all things fitted for to morrow.

Saturday 20. of *Jan.* the King is brought from *St. James's* through the Park in a Sedan to *White-hall*, thence by water with Guards to Sir *John Cottons* Houſe at the back end of *Westminſter Hall*.

The Kings
firſt Tryal.

The Judges met in the Painted Chamber, attending the Preſident *Bradshaw* in his Scarlet Robe, the Sword born before him by Colonel *Humphrey*, the Mace by Serjeant *Denby* the younger, and twenty men for his Guard with *Partizans*. Himſelf ſits down in a Crimſon Velvet Chair of State, fixed in the miſt of the Court with a Desk before him, and thereon a Cuſhion of Crimſon Velvet. The ſeats of each ſide Benches, covered with Scarlet cloth, all of bloody colours for the Tryers, the *Partizans* divided themſelves on each ſide. O yes, and ſilence made, the great Gate of the Hall was ſet open for any to enter.

Col. *Thomſon* was commanded to bring forth the priſoner, who was

conducted with

Anno

1648.

with twenty Partizans and other Guards. The Serjeant with his Mace receives him to the Bar, where was placed a red Velvet Chair. The King looks sternly upon the Court, and up to the Galleries, and then sits down not shewing the least regard to the Court, but presently rises up and looks downwards on the guards and on the multitude of people spectators.

The Act of Parliament for the Trying of *Charls Stuart King of England* was read over by the Clerk, one *Phelps*, who sat on the right side of the Table covered with a Turkey Carpet placed at the feet of the President, upon which lay the Sword and Mace.

The King accused.

The several names in the Roll of the Tryers were called over, and so answered to their names. In the charge the King is accused in the name of the people of England of *Treason, Tyranny, of all the murders, and rapines that had happened in the war*, many things being added for aggravation, they repose all the vveight of the accusation on this, *That he raised war against the Parliament.*

A vast number of people looking on vvith groans and sighs, deploring the miserable condition of their good King.

The President stood up and said;

Sir, *You have heard your Charge containing such matters as appears in it, and in the close it is prayed, that you Answer to your Charge which this Court expects.*

Demurs to Authority of the Court,

The King (vvhilst he heard the Charge) vvith countenance of Majesty, and at some passages vvith a brovv of scornefull smile, and novv in ansvver to the President asks these nev v Judges [*By what Authority they did bring to Tryal a King, their most rightful Sovereign, against the publick Faith, so lately given him, when he commenced Treaty with the Members of both Houses? By what (saies he emphatically) Lawful Authority? for (said he) I am not ignorant that there are on foot every where very many unlawful powers, as of Theeves and Robbers in the High way: he bids them only declare by what Authority they had arrogated this what-soever-power to themselves, and he would willingly answer to the things objected: Which if they could not, he adviseth them to avert the grievous crimes from their own heads, and the Kingdom. Whatsoever they did, he was resolved not to betray the Charge committed by God, and confirmed by ancient descent.*

The President rejoyns, *That he was called to account by Authority of the people of England, by whose Election he was admitted King.*

and proves his Title successive, not Elective.

The King replies [*The Kingdom descended to him, in no wise Elective, but Hereditary for above a thousand years; That he stood more apporantly for the Liberties of the people of England, by refusing an unlawful and arbitrary Authority, then the Judges or any other whosoever by asserting it.*

That the Authority and power of the people, was shewed in Parliamentary Assemblies, but that here, appeared none of the Lords, who to the constituting of a Parl. ought to be there, and which is more, some King ought

to be there present ;but that, neither the one nor the other, nor both the Parliament Houses, nor any other Judicature on earth had any Authority to call the King of England to account, much less, some certain Judges, chosen only by his accusers, masked with the Authority of the Lower House, and the same proculcated.

Howbeit he wills them again, they would at least-wise produce this their Authority, and he would not be wanting to his defence, forasmuch as it was the same offence with him to acknowledge a Tyrannical power as to resist a lawful one.]

The President often interrupting the Kings speech, told him, That they were satisfied with their Authority, as it is upon Gods Authority and the Kingdoms in doing of Justice, this their present work.

To which (the King replied) That it was not his own apprehension, nor theirs neither, that ought to decide it.

And so the President commanded the prisoner to be taken into custody, and so the Court adjourned till Munday next 22. Janu. to the Painted Chamber, and from thence to the same place again, and the King returned in the manner as before to St. James's.

Munday the Court met in the Painted Chamber, and considering the Kings Resolution to deny ther Jurisdiction and Judicature,

Second Tryal.

They resolve, that he should not be suffered to argue either the Courts Jurisdiction, or that which did constitute it, of which debate they had no proper Cognizance, nor could they, being a derivative power which made them Judges, from which there was no appeal. And therefore with that distinction they Order

That if the King offer to dispute the same again, the President shall tell him, that the Commons of England assembled in Parliament have constituted this Court, whose power may not be permitted to be disputed by him.

That if he refuse to answer it shall be recounted a contumacie to the Court. That if he answer with a salvo, his pretended Prerogative above the Court : He shall be required to answer positive yea or no. That he shall not have a Copy of his Charge till he own the Court, and declare his intentions to answer.

A Pre-Order
in case the
King will not
answer.

This concluded, they assemble in Westminster Hall : and the King called for and brought to the Bar in the same manner, and with much contumacy as the other day, when the Solicitor Cook moves that the Prisoner may make a positive answer, or that the Charge may be taken *pro confesso*, and the Court to proceed to Justice.

The President repeats in brief the passages of the last day, and commands the King to Answer to the Articles of his Charge, unless he had rather hear the Capital Sentence against him.

The King persists to interrogate concerning their Authority, and saies,

[That

Anno
1648.

The King interrogates their power, and offers his reasons in writing.

[That he less regards his Life then his Honour, his Conscience, the Laws, the Liberties of the people, all which, that they should not perish together, there were weighty Reasons, why he could not prosecute his defence before the Judges, and acknowledge a new form of Judicature; for what power had ever any Judges to erect a Judicature against their King: or by what Laws was it granted? surely not by Gods Laws, which on the contrary command obedience to Princes; Nor by mans Laws, nor by the Laws of our Land, sith the Laws of England injoyne all accusations to be read in the Kings name, nor do they indulge any power of judging even the most abject subject to the lower (or Commons) House. Neither lastly does their power flow from any Authority (which might be pretended) extraordinary delegated from the people, seeing ye have not asked so much as every tenth man in this matter.]

The President prevents him with insolent rebukes.

The President, ever and anon as before, interrupting his Speech, now very unhandfomly, if not insolently, rebukes the King, bids him be mindful of his doom: affirming,

That the Court was abundantly satisfied of their Authority, nor was the Court to hear any Reasons that should detract from their power.

But what (saies the King) or, where in all the world is that Court, in which no place is left for reason?

Yes (answered the President) you shall finde Sir, that this very Court is such a one.

But (the King presses) That they would at least permit him to exhibite his Reasons in writing, which if they could satisfactorily Answer, he would yield himself to their jurisdiction.

Here the President not content to deny, grew into anger, commanding the Prisoner to be taken away.

The King replied no more to these things then, Remember (saies he) That 'tis your King from whom you turn away the ear. In vain certainly will my Subjects expect justice from you, who stop your ears to your King, ready to plead his cause.

Third dayes
Tryal.

The 3. daies Tryal, Tuesday, was in effect the same, the same Demands of the Court, and the like Answer of the King, and so adjourn to the next morning Wednesday ten a clock, but they were so busied in the Painted Chamber before, in the examining of witnesses (as they said) that an Officer came out to the people and told them so, and that they should finde the Court there upon Summons, for as yet they were not resolved when to sit.

For it was Saturday after 27. Jan. before they Assembled, and 68. of the Tryers answered to their names.

The President in Scarlet Robe, and as the King came, the Souldiers were directed to cry out for Execution of Justice, Execution, belike to forwarn the King, of what he should now expect.

The

Saturday
Tryal and
Sentence.

Anno
1648.

The King speaks first, and desires to be heard a word or two, but short, and yet wherein he hopes not to give just occasion to be interrupted, and goes on. *A suddain Judgment* (saies the King) is not so soon recalled. But he is sharply reprov'd of contumacy. The President profusely praises the patience of the Court, and commands him now at length to submit, otherwise he shall hear the Sentence of death resolv'd upon by the Court against him.

The King still refuses to plead his cause before them, But, that he had some things conducing to the good of the people, and peace of the Kingdom, which he desires liberty to deliver before the Members of both Houses.

But the President would not vouchsafe him so much as this favour, lest it should tend (he said) to the delay or retardation of Justice.

Whereupon the King replies.

[It were better sustain a little delay of a day or two, then to precipitate a sentence, which would bring perpetual Tragedies upon the Kingdom, and miseries to children unborn.

If (saies he) I sought occasions of delay, I would have made a more elaborate contestation of the cause, which might have served to protract the time, and evade (at least the while) a most ugly Sentence: but I will shew my self such a Defender of the Laws, and of the Right of my Countrey, as to choose rather to dye for them the Martyr of my people, then by prostituting them to an Arbitrary power, go about to acquire any manner of Liberty for my self: but I therefore request this short liberty of speaking before a cruel sentence be given, for that I well know 'tis harder to be recalled then prevented, and therefore I desire that I may withdraw, and you consider.]

They all withdraw. The King to Cottons House, the Tryers into the Court of Wards, and in half an hour return.

And the President with the same harshness as he began proceeds into a premeditated Speech to hasten Sentence: which the King offers reason to forbear whilst he may be heard before his Parliament, and this he requires as they will answer it at the dreadful day of judgement, and to consider it once again.

Presidents
Speech.

But not prevailing, the President goes on, wherein he aggravates the contumacy of the King, and the hatefulnes of the crimes, he asserts Parliamentary Authority, producing examples both Domestick and Foreign, especially out of Scotland, wherein the people had punished their Kings.

He affirms, that the power of the people of England over their King was not less; That the guilt of this King was greater than of all others, as being one who (according to *Caligulas wish*) had attempted to cut off the neck of the Kingdom, by a War waged against the Parliament, for all which the Charge calls him Tyrant, Traytor, Murtherer, and a publick Enemy to the Common-wealth, and it had

Anno
1648.

had been well, Sir (saies he) if that any of all these terms might have been spared, if any of them at all? This wrung a start from the King, who astonished, could not Answer but with an Interrogatory, how Sir? And the other goes on to argue, that *Rex est, dum bene Regit, Tyrannus qui populum opprimit*, and by this definition he lodges on the Kings *Arbitrary Government*, which (he saies) *he sought to put upon the people.*

His *Treasons* he stiles a breach of trust to the Kingdom, as his superiour, and is therefore called to an account, *Minimus majorem in judicium vocat.*

His *Murthers* are many, all those that have been committed in all the War between him and his people are laid to his charge, all the innocent blood which cannot be cleansed but by the blood of him that shed the blood, so then, for *Tyranny, Treason, Murthers*, and many more crimes. And so, as a *Judge indeed, uses to sayl birds*, he wishes the King to have God before his eyes. And that the Court calls God to witness, that meerly their conscience of duty brings them to that place and this imployment: which they are resolved to effect, and calls for Gods assistance in his Execution.

The King offered to speak to these great Imputations in the charge, but he was told his time was past, the Sentence was coming on; which the President commanded to be read under this form.

The King not
suffered to re-
ply.

His Sentence.

Whereas the Commons of England in Parliament have appointed them an High Court of Justice for the Tryal of Charls Stuart King of England, before whom he had been three times convented, and at the first time a Charge of High Treason and other crimes and misdemeanours was read in the behalf of the Kingdom of England &c. as in the Charge, which was read throughout.

To which Charge, he the said Charles Stuart was required to give his Answer, but he refused so to doe: and so exprest several passages at his Tryall in refusing to Answer.

For all which Treasons and Crimes, this Court doth adjudge, that the said Charls Stuart as a Tyrant, Traytor, Murtherer, and publick Enemy, shall be put to death, by the severing his head from his body.

This Sentence (saies the President) now read and published, is the Act, Sentence, Judgement, and Resolution of the whole Court. To which the Members of the Court stood up and assented to what he said, by holding up their hands.

Which the
Tryers ap-
prove.

The King offered to speak, but he was instantly commanded to be taken away, and the Court broke up.

The

The Reign of King Charls.

1129

The number of the Judges at the Kings Sentence of Death were 78. and their names,

Anno
1648.

Serjeant *Jo. Bradshaw* President,
Lieutenant General *O. Cromwel*,
Com. Gen. *Ireton*,
Ma.Gen. *Skippon*.

Esquires that did sit.

Colonels.

Thomas Harrison,
Edward Whaley.
Thomas Pride,
Isaac Ewer,
Richard Ingolsby,
Rowland Wilson,
Henry Martin,
William Purfrey,
Godfrey Boswel,
John Barkstead,
Harbottle Morley,
Mathew Tomlins,
Hewson,
Edward Ludlow,
John Hutchinson,
Robert Titchburn,
Owen Row,
Robert Lilburn,
Adrian Scroope,
Richard Dean,
John Okey,
John Harison,
John Desborough,
William Goffe,
John More,
Francis Lasseley,
Edmund Harvey,
John Venn,
Anthony Stapeley,
John Downs,
Thomas Hamond,
George Fleetwood,
James Temple,
Thomas Wait.

Will. Hemington,
Isaac Penington Alderman,
Tho. Atkins Alderman,
John Blaxtone,
Gilbert Millington,
Cornelius Holland,
John Carme,
John Jones,
Miles Corbet,
Francis Allen,
Peregrine Popham,
John Gowden,
Francis Thorpe Serjeant,
Thomas Chaloner,
William Say,
John Aldred,
Henry Smith,
James Chaloner,
Dennis Bond,
Humphrey Edward,
Gregory Clement,
John Fry,
Thomas Wogan,
John Fowkes Alderman,
Thomas Scot Alderman,
Thomas Andrews Alderman,
William Cowley,
Abraham Burrel,
John Lisle,
Nicholas Love,
Vincent Potter,
John Corbet,
Thomas Blunt,
Thp. Boon,

Augustine

Anno

1648.

Augustine Carlanell,
John Dukswell,
Simon Maine,
Daniel Blagrove,
John Downe,
John Lownes.

Officers attending
the Court.

Doctor Doarisslaus,
Mr. Ashbie, Coun-
cellors,
Mr. Cooke Sollicitor,
Colonel Humfrey
Sword-bearer,
Mr. Dendy Jun. Ser-
jeant at Arms,

Mr. Phelps, Mr.
Broughton, Clerks
to the Court.

Messengers.

Wolfred Payne,
Radley Powell,
Isall King the Cry-
er.

The Lords that
did sit.

Thomas Lord Gray
of Grooby,
Philip Lord Lisle.

And here we may insert the Kings Reasons against the Jurisdiction of the Court, which he intended to have declared in writing on Munday Janu. 22: but was not permitted.

The Kings
Reasons a-
gainst the ju-
risdiction of
the Court.

Having already made my protestations, not only against the illegality of this pretended Court, but also that no earthly power can justly call me (who am your KING) in question as a Delinquent; I would not any more open my mouth upon this occasion, more than to refer my self to what I have spoken, were I alone in this case alone concerned.

But the duty I owe to God in the preservation of the true liberty of my people, will not suffer me at this time to be silent: For, how can any free-born Subject of England call life, or any thing he possesseth, his own, if power without right daily make new, and abrogate the old fundamental Law of the Land? which I now take to be the present case.

Wherefore when I came hither, I expected that you would have endeavoured to have satisfied me concerning these grounds which hinder me to answer to your pretended impeachment; but since I see that nothing I can say will move you to it (though Negatives are not so naturally proved as Affirmatives) yet I will shew you the Reason why I am confident you cannot judge me, nor indeed the meanest man in England; for I will not (like you) without shewing a reason, seek to impose a belief upon my Subjects.

(a) Hereabout
I was stoppt, &
not suffered to
speak any
more concern-
ing reasons.

(a) There is no proceeding just against any man, but what is warrant-
ed either by Gods Laws, or the municipall Laws of the Countrey
where he lives. Now I am most confident, that this daies proceeding
cannot be warranted by Gods Law, for on the contrary, the Authority of
obedience unto Kings is clearly warranted and strictly commanded both

in the old and new Testament; which if denied, I am ready instantly to prove: and for the question now in hand, there it is said, That where the word of a King is, there is power, and who may say unto him, what doest thou? Eccles. 8. 4. Then for the Laws of this Land, I am no less confident, that no Learned Lawyer will affirm, that an impeachment can lye against the King, they all going in his name; and one of their Maximes is, That the King can do no wrong.

Besides, the Law upon which you ground your proceedings must either be old, or new: if old, shew it; if new, tell what Authority warranted by the Fundamental Laws of the Land had made it, and when. But how the House of Commons can erect a Court of Judicature, which was never one it self (as is well known to all Lawyers) I leave to God and the World to judge: and it were full as strange that they should pretend to make Laws without King or Lords-House, to any that have heard speak of the Laws of England.

And admitting, but not granting, that the people of Englands Commission could grant your pretended power, I see nothing you can shew for that; for certainly you never asked the Question of the tenth man of the Kingdom, and in this way you manifestly wrong even the poorest Ploughman, if you demand not his free consent; nor can you pretend any colour for this your pretended Commission without the consent at least of the major part of every man in England, of whatsoever quality or condition, which I am sure you never went about to seek; so far are you from having it.

Thus you see that I speak not for my own right alone, as I am your King, but also for the true Liberty of all my Subjects, which consists not in sharing the power of Government, but in living under such Laws, such a Government, as may give themselves the best assurance of their lives, and propriety of their goods.

Nor in this must or doe I forget the priviledges of both Houses of Parliament, which this daies proceeding doth not only violate, but likewise occasion the greatest breach of their publick Faith that (I believe) ever was heard of, with which I am far from charging the two Houses; for all the pretended crimes laid against me, bear date long before this late Treaty at NEWPORT, in which I having concluded as much as in me lay, and hopefully expecting the two Houses agreement thereto, I was suddenly surprized, and hurried from thence as a prisoner, upon which account I am against my will brought hither, where since I am come, I cannot but to my power defend the ancient Laws and Liberties of this Kingdom, together with my own just right; Then for any thing I can see the higher House is totally excluded; And for the House of Commons, it is too well known that the major part of them are detained or deterred from sitting, so as if I had no other, this were sufficient for me to protest against the lawfulness of your pretended Court.

Anno.

1648.

Besides all this, the peace of the Kingdom is not the least in my thoughts; and what hopes of settlement is there so long as power reigns without rule of Law, changing the whole frame of that Government under which this Kingdom hath flourished for many hundred years, (nor will I say what will fall out in case this lawless unjust proceeding against me go on) and believe it, the Commons of England will not thank you for this change, for they will remember how happy they have been of late years under the Reign of Queen Elizabeth, the King my Father, and my self, untill the beginning of these unhappy troubles, and will have cause to doubt that they shall never be so happy under any new.

And by this time it will be too sensibly evident, that the Arms I took up were only to defend the fundamentall Laws of this Kingdom, against those who have supposed my power hath totally changed the ancient Government.

Thus having shewed you briefly the Reasons, why I cannot submit to your pretended Authority without violating the trust which I have from God, for the welfare and liberty of my people; I expect from you either clear reasons to convince my judgement, shewing me that I am in an error (and then truly I will readily answer) or that you will withdraw your proceedings.

The King is
abused by the
Souldiery.

After Sentence the King being hurried away, was mocked of the Souldiers (suffering many things like to Christ) they laying aside all reverence to Sovereignty, acted Triumph on the Prisoner, crying out justice, justice. That one defiled his venerable face with spittle, I abhor to say it was wittingly done, but we are assured he wiped it off with his Handkerchief: they puffed Tobacco fume (no smell to him more offensive) and cast their Tobacco pipes at his feet; And such as salute him they *Bastinado*. One that did but sigh out *God have mercy!* had his Passport. They intrude almost into his Closet, hardly permitting him private devotion with his own Chaplain, the Bishop of London: In their devotions interrupted, and himself disturbed, whilst he prayed, and prepared for this bitter cup.

Hindered in
his devotion,
and prayers.

But he with Majesty of minde when they cried out for justice, *Poor souls* (saies he) *for a piece of money they would do so for their Commanders:* and at these Rebels he said, *Christ suffered more for my sake,* such as dissembled irreverence, he with easie contempt eluded by neglecting it.

Yet that little time was lent him, he betakes himself to confessions of his sins, pardon of his Enemies, receiving the Eucharist, reading the Scriptures, godly conferences; doing all the duties of piety. And thus holily he seeks to overcome the terrors of death ere they assail him.

The Com-
mittee order
his Execution.

Whilst he prayes, they prepare for his execution. Sir *Hardress Waller*, Colonel *Harrison*, Colonel *Dean*, Com. Gen. *Ireton*, and Col.

The Reign of King Charls.

1133

Anno
1648.

Col. *okes* are to consider of the time and place for execution. And in the Painted Chamber, Munday the 29. of *Janu.* the President and Judges meet, and with the Committee resolve, [*That the open street before White-Hall is the fittest place: that the King be there executed to morrow Tuesday between ten and two a clock upon a Scaffold covered with black*] near the Banquetting House, where he was wont to ascend his Throne, and shew the pomp of Majesty due to Princes, there must he pass to his Funeral Pulpit, and lay aside the spoiles of Majesty, where he had put on the Insigns thereof.

It was supposed, that the King would not submit his neck to his enemies Axe, and therefore it was so provided with Staples and Cords that he could not resist.

And the Commons house considered, that in case of execution, they ordered a Proclamation to be made throughout the Kingdom; [*To declare it high Treason to Proclaim any King of England without consent of the present Parliament, for so the House is stiled. And that none upon paines of imprisonment preach or speak any thing contrary to the present proceeding of the Supream Authority of the Nation, the Commons of England assembled in Parliament.*

A Member of the Army gave in the desires of the King. [That in respect Sentence of death was past upon him, and the time of execution might be nigh, That he might see his Children, and to receive the Sacrament, and to prepare himself for death, and that the Bishop of *London* might pray with him in private in his Chamber.]

This night Saturday 27. *Jan.* the King lodged at *White-hall*, and the next day, Sunday, the Bishop preached there before the King in his Chamber, and this Sunday the President and all the Members of the High Court of Justice fasted in the Chappel of *Whitehall*, and Mr. *...* prayed for them.

On Sunday means was made to deliver a Letter to him from his son the *Prince of Wales*, which the King read and burnt it, and then he was conveyed to *St. James's* the next morning being Munday.

While the *Dutch* Ambassadour had audience of the House, & read their Instructions and Letters of Credence in *French*, their desires was to intercede for the Kings life, and to keep and preserve a fair correspondence betwixt this Nation and the Estates of the *Netherlands*.

Ambassadors
sue in the
Kings be-
half.

This day his Children had leave to visit him, but stayed not long.

[His Children being come to meet him, he first gave his blessing to the Lady *Elizabeth*, and bad her remember to tell her brother

James

Anno
1648.

James when ever she should see him, that it was his Fathers last command that he should no more look upon *Charls* as his eldest brother only, but be obedient unto him as his Sovereign; and that they should love one another, and forgive their Fathers Enemies. Then said the King to her, Sweet-heart you'l forget this: no, (said she) I shall never forget it while I live: and pouring forth abundance of tears, promised him to write down the Particulars.

Then the King taking the Duke of *Gloucester* upon his knee, said, sweet-heart, now they will cut off thy Fathers head, (upon which words the child looked very stedfastly on him) mark child what I say, they will cut off my head, and perhaps mak thee a King: but mark what I say, you must not be a King, so long as your brothers, *Charles* and *James* do live; For they will cut off your Brothers heads (when they can catch them) and cut off thy head too at last; and therefore I charge you do not be made a King by them. At which the child sighing, said, I will be torn in pieces first: which falling so unexpectedly from one so young, it made the King rejoyce exceedingly.

Another Relation from the Lady Elizabeths own hand.

What the King said to me the 29. of *Jan.* 1648. being the last time I had the happines to see him, he told me, he was glad I was come, and although he had not time to say much, yet somewhat he had to say to me, which he had not to another, or leave in writing; because he feared their cruelty was such, as that they would not have permitted him to write to me. He wishes me not to grieve and torment my self for him, for that would be a glorious death that he should dye; it being for the Laws and Liberties of this Land, and for maintaining the true Protestant Religion. He bid me read Bishop *Andrew's* Sermons, *Hooker's Ecclesiastical Polity*, and Bishop *Land's* Book against *Fisher*, which would ground me against Poperie.

He told me he had forgiven all his Enemies, and hoped God would forgive them also; and commanded us, and all the rest of my Brothers and sisters, to forgive them.

He bid me tell my Mother that his thoughts had never strayed from her, and that his love should be the same to the last. Withall he commanded me and my brother to be obedient to her and bid me send his blessing to the rest of my brothers and sisters, with commendation to all his friends. So after he had given me his blessing, I took my leave.

Further, he commanded vs all to forgive those people, but never to trust them; for they had been most false to him, and to those that gave them power, and he feared also, to their own souls: and desired me not to grieve for him, for he should dye a Martyr,

and

and that he doubted not but the Lord would settle his Throne upon his Son, and that we should be all happier, that we could have expected to have been, if he had lived: with many other things, which at present I cannot remember.

Elizabeth.

7. *Another Relation from the Lady Elizabeth.*

The King said to the Duke of *Gloucester*, that he would say nothing to him, but what was for the good of his Soul: he told him, That he heard the Army intended to make him King; but it was a thing not for him to take upon him, if he regarded the welfare of his soul, for he had two brothers before him, and therefore commanded him upon his blessing, never to accept of it, unless it redounded lawfully upon him: And commanded him to fear the Lord, and he would provide for him.

8. *A Copy of a Letter from the PRINCE to the KING,
dated from the HAGUE January 23. 1648.
For the King.*

S I R,

Having no means to come to the knowledge of your Majesties present condition, but such as I receive from the Prints, or (which is as uncertain) Report, I have sent this Bearer *Scamour* to wait upon your Majesty, and to bring me an account of it: that I may with all assure your Majesty, I doe not only pray for your Majesty according to my duty; but shall alwaies be ready to do all which shall be in my power, to deserve that blessing which I now humbly beg of your Majesty, upon

Hague 23. Jan.

1648.

Sir, Your Majesties most humble, and
most obedient Son and servant

CHARLES.

The fatall day appeared, Tuesday 30. of *Jan.* when he praies and receives the *Sacrament*: just at ten a clock before noon, he is called upon to come forth from *St. James's Palace*, now his prison, to go on foot over the Park to *White-hall*, guarded with a Regiment of Foot Souldiers, part before, and the rest behinde him, with Colours flying, and Drums beating, his private Guard of *Partizans* about him, and *Dr. Inxon* Bishop of *London* next to him on one side, and Colonel *Tomlinson* on the other: He bids them go faster: *That he now went before them to strive for an Heavenly Crown with less sollicitude, then he had oftentimes bid his Souldiers to fight for an earthly Diadem.*

Ascending

He is conveyed from *St. James's* to the Scaffold.

1635

The Reign of King Charles.

Anno
1648.Passes to the
Scaffold.The King up-
on the Scaf-
fold defends
his innocency.Howbeit he
acknowledg-
eth Gods ju-
stice.Pardons his
enemies.Takes pitty
on the King-
dom.Errours of the
Faction.

Ascending the Stairs up to the Park Gallery into his Cabbinet Chamber, he continued there at his devotion, and refused to dine, only about twelve a clock he eat a bit of bread, and drank a glass of Claret Wine. From thence he was conveyed into the Banquetting House, and the great Window enlarged, out of which he ascends the Scaffold, the Rails hung round, and the Floor covered with Black, the more dreadful, because of the Block and Axe with the Executioners, disguised with Vizards encountering him: yet not affrighted, he shewed more care of the people living, than fear of his dying: for looking round about upon the people, whom the thick set Guards and Troops of Horse kept a great distance off, and seeing he could not be heard by them, omitting (probable) which he purposed to have spoken to them: therefore turning to the Officers and Actors, (but rather to Colonel Tomlinson) he said,

I would now speak nothing unto you in this place, were it not that some men would interpret my silence as an Argument of guilt, & think that I took on me the Crime: objected, with the same conscience, as I submit to the punishment with patience. I call God to witness of my innocency (before whose Tribunal I must shortly appear) it never entred into my thoughts to retrench the just priviledges of Parliament: and that I raised not any Army before such time as they had raised Hostile Forces against me, which from the Order of proceedings on both sides, and Dates of *Commissions* and *Proclamations* will be clearly manifested to the inquirer.

Mean while I acknowledge, and submissly own Gods Justice, which this day (by an unjust Sentence of mine) he hath inflicted a just judgment on me, for as much as heretofore I would not acquit an innocent man (*meaning the Deputy of Ireland*) when oppressed by a most unjust Decree.

With what charity I embrace my enraged Enemies, this good man is my witness, (*pointing to the Bishop of London*) I pardon them all from my very heart, and I earnestly beseech the God of all mercies, that he would vouchsafe to grant them serious repentance, and remit this great sin.

Yet, I cannot to my last gasp but be solicitous of the peace of my Kingdom, which I am not able at present better to consult for, than by chalking out the way, from which you of the Souldery have exceedingly deviated, and by which you must return to sobriety and peace.

Herein I perceive, you are most miserably out of the way, in that by the title of the Sword, without all, even a shadow of Right, you think good to wrest the Government to your selves, and endeavour to establish the Kingdom, not by the Authority of the Laws, but upon the score of Conquest, which can never have any accrut of Right, unless ushered in by a just Cause, and triumph of War; namely, either for the repulsing of wrongs, or recovering of Rights unjustly detained.

But

But if more prosperous success shall advance the Victour, beyond the modest bounds of *just* and *lawful*, nought hinders, but that the Kingdoms that are erected, both be, and be *accounted* great Robberies, which we read heretofore a *Pyrat* objected to *Alexander*.

Anno
1648.

But being out of the way (as you are) can you by no other expedient return into the right path of peace? By no other Council, (believe me) can you hope to divert Gods wrath, than by restoring to God, the King, the people respectively, such things as are their dues: you shall give God his due, by restoring his pure *Worship*, and *Church* rightly regulated, according to the prescript of his word, which hath long since been miserably convulsed and disjoyned. And this a National *Synod* duly called, and freely debating, will best effectuate. To the King (namely my Successor) you will render full right, if you restore those things, which by the clear letter of the Law stands expressed.

How they
may return to
peace.

Lastly, you will put the people in their *rights* and due *Liberties*, not by lifting them in the consort of the Throne and sway of the Scepter, but by recovering unto the Laws their Authority, and the peoples observance, to the abrogating of which by the enormous power of the Sword, when as by no means I could be induced, I was brought hither to undergoe a *Martyrdom* for my people.

So his last breath gently dissolving into a most meek prayer, the Bishop of *London* prompts him [That (if his most excellent Majesty pleased) he would openly profess what he thought touching his Religion] not that any one alive could suspect it (of which himself at all times throughout the whole space of his life had given manifest testimony) but for custom and the peoples satisfaction.

He praises.

Hereupon saies the King, That he deposited the testimony of his faith with that holy man (meaning the Bishop) or else expected defence on this behalf of all men who well knew his Life and profession, Namely, [That I dye (saith he) in the Christian faith, according to the profession of the Church of England, as the same was left me by my Father of most blessed memory.]

Professes to
dye a Christi-
an according
to the refor-
mation of
England.

Then looking about upon the Officers. Having (saies he) a most gracious God, and most just Cause, that I shall by and by change this corruptible Crown for an Immortall one, I both trust and exult, and that I shall depart hence into another Kingdom, altogether exempt and free from all manner of disturbance.

Then preparing towards the Circumstances, the Bishop put on his night-cap, and unclothed him to his Sky-colour Satten Wastecoate, He said, I have a good Cause, and a gracious God: and gave

He prepares to
his death.

Anno
1648.

his George Order to the Bishop, bidding him remember to give it to the Prince.

There is but one Stage more Sir (saies the Bishop) this is turbulent and troublesome and but a short one, but it will soon dismis you to a way further, even from *Earth* to *Heaven*, there you are assured of joy and comfort.

I go saies the King from a Corruptible, to an Incorruptible Crown, where no disturbance can be, but peace and joy for evermore.

He is killed.)

Then lifting up his eyes and hands to Heaven, mildly praying to himself, he stooped down to the Block as to a Prayer Desk, and most humbly bowed down his generous neck to God, to be cut off by the vizarded Executioner, which was suddenly done at one blow: Thus fell *Charles*, and thus all *Britain* with him.

Tuesday 30. of *January* about the minute of two a clock afternoon.

Reliques of
the Kings
death.

There are those persons who have seriously observed some passages afterwards against the Corps, which they stile barbarous, in relation to his blood shed thereabouts: nay, to the Block, and to the Sand distained therewith, and to his Hair, the ground whereof was, because those things were procured by the Royal party well-affected, even for a price.

Certainly there were very many such that coveted any thing as a Relique which evidenced his Martyrdom as they esteemed it.

And to this day there are divers Devoters that affirm the effects of Cure by application of those things distained with his blood: we need not go farre to finde out the truth hereof, if we take the Narrative of the Woman-patient at *Dedford* near the City of *London*, being thereby cured of her blindness, and many others of like infirmities.

His Head and Trunk was instantly put into a Coffin covered with black Velvet, and conveyed into the Lodgings at *Whitehall*.

His body im-
bowelled.

There it was imbowelled by Chirurgions of their own, but a Physitian privately thrusting himself into the dissection of the body, relates,

That

that Nature had designed him above the most of Mortal men for a long life.

And all sides manifested by those that beheld the admirable temperature (almost all *ad pondus*) of his body and mind.

Then they bear it to St. *James's* House , and Coffin it there in Lead.

About a fortnight after some of the Kings Friends the greatest of Nobility and Honour , the Duke of *Lenox* , Marquess of *Hartford* , the Earl of *Southampton* , and the Bishop of *London* begged the Body to bury it, which they conducted to *Windsor* Chappel Royal, and interred it there in the Vault of King *Henry* the eighth : having only this Inscription upon the Coffin, *Charls* King of *England*.

From the Bishop of *London* (long time kept Prisoner) they take away all the Kings Papers , ransack his Coffers and clothes for Scripts and Scroles : but Almighty God in his providence hath preserved a Volume of the Kings own, a Posthume work , of which if any man (or *Broughton*) shall impartially weigh the matter , the Elegancy of the Stile, the nerves of Reason, the ardour of Piety , even envy it self will confesse he deserved the Kingdom amongst Writers, and though his own is wrested from him , the mercy of his Lord and Saviour hath given him a Crown of Eternal Glory.

His admired
Book and Pa-
pers.

He was a King worthy to be numbred amongst the best of Princes in al-beading ages , a strength of will, but of more and greater Endowments of vertue , of a most strict temperature in the natural disposition of flesh and blood, and by the effects of Divine grace, the most exact observer of Conjugal Rites , and therein for his continency much admired.

His Character
only to be
glanced at.

His personage comely, of an even well timber'd tallness , which assisted him to be excellent in all exercises, and therein to be indefatigable for the minde or body.

None of the Kings (no not one) not of *Britain* only , but also all, as many as any where sat on Throne, ever left the world with more sorrow for his his luck : women miscarried , men fell into melancholly , some with Consternations expired ; men, women, and children then, and yet unborn , suffering in him, and for him.

The Pulpit, places of all Sects and Opinions lamented , even the same men in vain bewailing the losse of him: whom they strove heretofore, who should first undoe, now they extoll and compare to

Anno
1648.

Job for patience, to *David* for piety, to *Solomon* for prudence: most worthy he was of Government, if otherwise it had not been his due to Govern; herein he performed that great piece to Act one man in every place, with the same Tenor of Vertue and condition. The same *Mean* in the most different fortunes, without any mutation of the temperature of the mind.

He addulced (as with Charms) his Enemies to be made his adorers: Reproaches, he converted into Praises; He (in a word) excelled in goodness, of whom this world was not worthy, and therefore the Heavens have him there.

He had his failings of perfection, in the first years of his Reign not so well versed in the affairs of State, but that he being put to it, trusted too much to others, & afterwards recovering that inconvenience, he was so constant to himself, and over-weaning, that his opinions became resolves.

In all his defects, we may more reasonably fix the occasions, rather upon others, who had their influence from him, then upon his own defect; for the mis-choice of fit and able persons to be his best and dearest friends, proved fatal to him, to them, and to us all.

The King left his Queen a miserable disconsolate Lady the Daughter of *France*, and therefore while he suffered, she was there supported with their three Sons, *Charls* Prince of *Wales*, *James* Duke of *York*, and *Henry* Duke of *Glocester*, Princes of high, eminent, and Heroick vertue.

Two daughters also, the one *Elizabeth* the Relict Princess of *Orange*, the other *Mary* an Infant, all of them are banished Orphanes.

This Letter came to hand since the Kings death, intrusted to the Bishop of *London*, with his blessing to the Prince of *Wales*.

To the Prince of *Wales*.

Son! if these Papers, with some others, wherein I have set down the private reflections of my conscience, and my most impartial thoughts, touching the chief passages which have been most remarkable, or disputed in my late Troubles, come to your hands, to whom they are chiefly design'd; they may be so far usefull to you, as to state your judgment aright in what hath passed; whereof a pious is the best use can be made; and they may also give you some directions, how to remedy the present distempers, and prevent (if God will) the like for time to come.

It is some kind of deceiving and lessening the injury of my long restraint, when I finde my leisure and solitude have produced something worthy of my self, and usefull to you; that neither you, nor any other, may hereafter measure my Cause by the success; nor my judgment of things by my misfortunes; which I count the greater by far, because they

The Kings
children.

The Kings
Letter to the
Prince of
Wales.

they have so far lighted upon you, and some others, whom I have most cause to love as well as my self; and of whose unmerited sufferings I have a greater sense then of my own.

But this advantage of Wisdom you have above most Princes; that you have begun, and now spent some years of discretion, in the experience of troubles, and exercise of patience, wherein Piety, and all Vertues, both Moral and Politicall, are commonly better planted to a thriving, as Trees set in Winter, then in warmth and serenity of times; or amidst those delights, which usually attend Princes Courts in times of peace and plenty; which are prone, either to root up all Plants of true Vertue and Honour; or to be contented only with some leaves and withering formalities of them, without any real fruits, such as tend to the publick good; for which Princes should alwaies remember they are born, and by providence designed.

The evidence of which different education the holy Writ affords us in the contemplation of David and Rehoboam: the one prepared by many afflictions for a flourishing Kingdom; the other softned by the unparalleled prosperity of Solomons Court; and so corrupted to the great diminution, both for Peace, Honour, and Kingdom, by those flatteries, which are as inseparable from prosperous Princes, as Flies are from fruit in Summer; whom adversitie, like cold weather drives away.

I had rather you should be Charls le Bon, then le Grand, good, then great; I hope God hath designed you to be both; having so early put you into that exercise of his Graces and Gifts bestowed upon you, which may best weed out all vicious inclinations, and dispose you to those Princely indowments, and employments, which will most gain the love, and intend the welfare of those, over whom God shall place you.

With God I would have you begin and end, who is King of Kings; the Sovereign disposer of the Kingdoms of the World, who pulleth down one, and setteth up another.

The best Government, and highest Sovereignty you can attain to, is, to be subject to him; that the Scepter of his word and Spirit may rule in your heart.

The true glory of Princes consists in advancing Gods glory, in the maintenance of true Religion, and the Churches good; also in the dispensation of civil power, with Justice and honour to the publick peace.

Piety will make you prosperous; at least it will keep you from being miserable; nor is he much a loser, that loseth all, yet saveth his own soul at last.

To which center of true happiness, God (I trust) hath, and will graciously direct all these black lines of affliction, which he hath been pleased to draw on me, and by which he hath (I hope) drawn me nearer to himself. You have already tasted of that cup whereof I have liberally drunk

Anno
1648.

drunk ; which I look upon as Gods Physick, having that in healthfulness which it wants in pleasure.

Above all, I would have you, as I hope you are already, well-grounded and settled in your Religion : the best profession of which I have ever esteemed that of the Church of England, in which you have been educated ; yet I would have your own Judgment and Reason now seal to that sacred bond which education hath written ; that it may be judiciously your own Religion, and not other mens custom or tradition which you profess.

In this I charge you to persevere, as coming nearest to Gods word for Doctrine, and to the Primitive examples for government, with some little amendment, which I have elsewhere expressed, and often offered though in vain. Your fixation in matters of Religion will not be more necessary for your souls, then your Kingdoms peace, when God shall bring you to them.

For I have observed, that the Devil of Rebellion doth commonly turn himself into an Angel of Reformation ; and the old Serpent can pretend new Lights : when some mens Consciences accuse them for Sedition and Faction, they stop its mouth with the name and noise of Religion ; when Piety pleads for peace and patience, they cry out Zeal.

So that, unless in this point you be well settled, you shall never want temptations to destroy you and yours, under pretension of Reforming matters of Religion : for that seems even to the worst of men, as the best and most auspicious beginning of their worst designs.

Where, besides the novelty which is taken enough with the Vulgar, every one hath an affectation, by seeming forward to an outward Reformation of Religion, to be thought zealous ; hoping to cover those irreligious deformities, whereto they are conscious, by a severity of censuring other mens opinions or actions.

Take heed of abetting any Factions, or applying to any publick Discriminations in matters of Religion, contrary to what is in your judgment, and the Churches well settled ; your partial adhering, as head to any one side, gains you not so great advantages in some mens hearts (who are prone to be of their Kings's Religion) as it loseth you in others ; who think themselves and their profession first despised, then persecuted by you : take such a course as may either with calmness and charity quite remove the seeming differences and offences by impartiality ; or so order affairs in point of power that you shall not need to fear or flatter any faction.

For, if ever you stand in need of them, or must stand to their courtesie, you are undone : the Serpent will devour the Dove : you may never expect less of Loyalty, Justice, or Humanity, then from those who engage into Religious Rebellion ; their interest is alwaies made Gods ; under the colours of piety, ambitious policies march, nor only with greatest security, but applause, as to the populacy ; you may hear from them Jacobs voice, but you shall feel they have Esau's hands.

Nothing

Nothing seemed less considerable then the Presbyterian Faction in England for many years, so compliant they were to publick order: nor indeed was their party great either in Church or State, as to mens judgments: but as soon as discontents drave men into sidings, as ill humors fall to the disaffected part, which cause's inflammations, so did all at first, who affected any Novelties, adhere to that side, as the most remarkable and specious note of difference (then) in point of Religion.

All the lesser Factions at first were officious servants to Presbytery, their great Master: till time and military success, discovering to each their peculiar advantages, invited them to part stakes: and leaving the joint stock of uniform Religion, they pretended each to drive for their party the trade of profits and preferments, to the breaking and undoing not only of the Church and State; but even of Presbytery it self, which seemed and hoped at first to have ingrossed all.

Let nothing seem little or despicable to you in matters which concern Religion and the Churches peace; so as to neglect a speedy reforming and effectual suppressing Errors and Schisms: what seem at first but as a hand breadth, by seditious Spirits, as by strong windes, are soon made to cover and darken the whole heaven.

When you have done justice to God, your own Soul and his Church, in the profession and preservation both of truth and unity in Religion; the next main hinge on which your prosperity will depend, and move, is that of Civil Justice, wherein the settled Laws of these Kingdoms, to which you are rightly Heir, are the most excellent Rules you can govern by, which by an admirable temperament give very much to Subjects industry, liberty, and happiness: and yet reserve enough to the Majesty and Prerogative of any King, who owns his people as Subjects, not as Slaves; whose subjection, as it preserves their property, peace and safety, so it will never diminish your Rights, nor their ingenious Liberties: which consist in the injoyment of the fruits of their industry, and the benefit of those Laws to which themselves have consented.

Never charge your head with such a Crown, as shall by its heaviness oppress the whole body, the weakness of whose parts cannot return any thing of strength, honour, or safety to the head, but a necessary debilitation and ruine.

Your Prerogative is best shewed and exercised in remitting, rather then exacting the rigor of the Laws; there being nothing worse then Legal Tyranny.

In these two points, the preservation of established Religion and Laws, I may (without vanity) turn the reproach of my sufferings, as to the worlds censure, into the honour of a kinde of Martyrdom, as to the testimony of my own conscience; the troublers of my Kingdoms, having nothing else to object against me but this, that I prefer Religion and Laws established before those alterations they propounded.

And so indeed I do, and ever shall, till I am convinced by better Arguments, then what hitherto have been chiefly used towards me, Tumults, Armies, and Prisons.

Anno
1648.

I cannot yet learn that Lesson, nor I hope ever will you, that it is safe for a King to gratifie any Faction with the perturbation of the Laws, in which is wrapt up the Publick Interest, and the good of the Community.

How God will deal with me, as to the removal of these pressures and indignities, which his Justice, by the very unjust hands of some of my Subjects, hath been pleased to lay upon me, I cannot tell: nor am I much solicitous what wrong I suffer from men, while I retain in my soul, what I believe is right before God.

I have offered all for Reformation and safety, that in Reason, Honour, and Conscience I can; reserving only what I cannot consent unto, without an irreparable injury to my own Soul, the Church, and my people; and you also as the next and undoubted Heir of my Kingdoms.

To which if the divine Providence, to whom no difficulties are insuperable, shall in his due time, after my decease bring you, as I hope he will, my counsel and charge to you is, that you seriously consider the former real, or objected miscarriages, which might occasion my troubles, that you may avoid them.

Never repose so much upon any man's single Counsel, fidelitie, and discretion, in managing affairs of the first magnitude, (that is, matters of Religion and Justice) as to create in your self, or others, a diffidence of your own judgment, which is likely to be alwaies more constant and impartial to the interests of your Crown and Kingdom then any mans.

Next, beware of exasperating any Factions by the crossness and asperity of some mens passions, humours, or private opinions imployed by you, grounded only upon the differences in lesser matters, which are but the Skirts and Suburbs of Religion.

Wherein a charitable connivence and Christian toleration often dissipates their strength, whom rougher opposition fortifies; and puts the despised and oppressed Party into such combinations, as may most enable them to get a full revenge on those they count their persecutors, who are commonly assisted by that vulgar commiseration, which attends all, that are said to suffer under the notion of Religion.

Provided, the differences amount not to an insolent opposition of Laws and Government, or Religion established, as to the essentials of them: Such motions and minings are intolerable.

Alwaies keep up solid Piety, and those fundamental truths, which mend both hearts and lives of men with impartial favor and justice.

Take heed that outward circumstances and formalities of Religion devour not all, or the best encouragements of learning, industry, and piety; but, with an equal eye, and impartial hand, distribute favours and rewards to all men, as you finde them for their real goodness both in abilities and fidelity worthy and capable of them.

This will be sure to gain you the hearts of the best and the most too; who

who, though they be not good themselves, yet are glad to see the severer wayes of vertue at any time sweetned by temporal rewards.

Anno
1648.

I have, you see, conflicted with different and opposite Factions; (for so I must needs call and count all those that act not in any conformity to the Laws established in Church and State) no sooner have they by force subdued what they counted their common enemy, (that is, all those that adhered to the Laws, and to me) and are secured from that fear, but they are divided to so high a rivalrie, as sets them more at defiance against each other, then against their first Antagonist.

Time will dissipate all Factions, when once the rough horns of private mens covetous and ambitious designs shall discover themselves; which were at first wrapt up and hidden under the soft and smooth pretensions of Religion, Reformation, and Liberty; as the wolf is not less cruel, so he will be more justly hated, when he shall appear no better then a Wolf under sheeps cloathing.

But as for the seduced Train of the Vulgar, who in their simplicity follow those disguises, my charge and Counsel to you is, that, as you need no palliations for any designs, (as other men) so you study really to exceed (in true and constant demonstrations of goodness, piety, and vertue towards the people) even all those men, that make the greatest noise and ostentations of Religion: so you shall neither fear any detection, (as they do, who have but the face and mask of goodness) nor shall you frustrate the just expectations of your people; who cannot in Reason promise themselves so much good from any Subjects Novelties, as from the virtuous constancy of their King.

When these mountains of congealed Factions shall by the sun-shine of Gods mercy, and the splendor of your virtues be thawed and dissipated; and the abused Vulgar shall have learned, that none are greater oppressors of their Estates, Liberties, and Consciences then those men, that entitle themselves the Patrons and Vindicators of them, only to usurp power over them; Let then no passion betray you to any study of revenge upon those, whose own sin and folly will sufficiently punish them in due time.

But as soon as the forked Arrow of Factionous Emulations is drawn out, use all Princely Arts and Clemency to heal the Wounds; that the smart of the cure may not equal the anguish of the hurt.

I have offered Acts of Indemnity and Oblivion, to so great a Latitude, as may include all, that can but suspect themselves to be any way obnoxious to the Laws; and which might serve to exclude all future jealousies and insecurities.

I would have you alwaies propense to the same way; when ever it shall be desired and accepted, let it be granted, not only as an Act of State Policy and necessity, but of Christian charity and choise.

It is all I have now left me, a power to forgive those that have deprived

Anno

1648.

me of all; and I thank God I have a heart to do it: and joy as much in this grace, which God hath given me, as in all my former enjoyments; for this is a greater argument of Gods love to me, then any prosperity can be.

Be confident (as I am) that the most of all sides, who have don amiss, have done so, not out of malice, but misinformation, or misapprehension of things.

None will be more Loyal and faithfull to me and you, then those Subjects, who sensible of their Errors, and our Injuries, will feel in their own souls most vehement motives to repentance; and earnest desires to make some reparations for their former defects.

As your quality sets you beyond any Duel with any Subject; so the nobleness of your minde must raise you above the meditating any revenge, or executing your anger upon the many.

The more conscious you shall be to your own merits, upon your people; the more prone you will be to expect all Love and Loyalty from them; and to inflict no punishment upon them for former miscarriages: you will have more inward complacency in pardoning one, then in punishing a thousand.

This I write to you, not despairing of God's mercy, and my Subjects affections towards you, both which I hope, you will study to deserve; yet we cannot merit of God, but by his own mercy.

If God shall see fit to restore me and you after me, to those enjoyments which the Laws have assigned to us; and no Subjects without an high degree of guilt and sin can devest us of; then may I have better opportunity when I shall be so happy to see you in peace, to let you more fully understand the things that belong to Gods glory, your own honour, and the Kingdoms peace.

But if you never see my face again, and God will have me buried in such a barbarous imprisonment and obscurity (which the perfecting some mens designs requires) wherein few hearts that love me are permitted to exchange a word, or a look with me, I do require and entreat you as your Father and your KING, that you never suffer your heart to receive the least check against, or disaffection from the true Religion established in the Church of England.

I tell you, I have tryed it, and after much search, and many disputes, have concluded it to be the best in the world; not only in the Community, as Christian, but also in the special notion, as reformed; keeping the middle way between the pomp of superstitious Tyranny, and the meanness of fantastick Anarchy.

Not but that (the draught being excellent as to the main, both for Doctrine and Government in the Church of England) some lines, as in very good figures, may haply need some sweetning, or polishing; which might here have easily been done by a safe and gentle hand, if some mens precipitancy had not violently demanded such rude Alterations, as would have quite destroyed all the beauty and proportions of the whole.

The scandal of the late troubles, which some may object and urge to you

you against the Protestant Religion established in England, is easily answered to them, or your own thoughts in this, that scarce any one who hath been a beginner, or an active prosecutor of this late War against the Church, the Laws, and me, either was, or is a true Lover, Embracer, or practiser of the Protestant Religion, established in England: which neither gives such Rules, nor ever before set such Examples.

'Tis true, some heretofore had the boldness to present threatening Petitions to their Princes and Parliaments, which others of the same Faction (but of worse spirits) have now put in execution: but let not counterfeited and disorderly zeal abate your value and esteem of true Piety; both of them are to be known by their Fruits; the sweetness of the Vine and Fig-tree is not to be despised, though the Brambles and Thorns should pretend to bear Figs and Grapes, thereby to rule over the Trees.

Nor would I have you to entertain any aversion, or dislike of Parliaments; which in their right constitution with Freedom and Honour, will never injure or diminish your greatness, but will rather be as interchangings of Love, Loyalty, and confidence, between a Prince and his people.

Nor would the events of this black Parliament have been other then such (however much biassed by Factions in the Elections) if it had been preserved from the insolencies of popular dictates, and tumultuary impressions: the sad effects of which, will no doubt, make all Parliaments after this more cautious to preserve that freedom and honour, which belongs to such Assemblies (when once they have fully shaken off this yoke of vulgar incroachment) since the publick interest consists in the mutual and common good both of Prince and people.

Nothing can be more happy for all, then in fair, grave, and honourable waies, to contribute their Counsels in Common, enacting all things by publick consent, without Tyranny or Tumults. We must not starve ourselves, because some have surfeited of wholesome food.

And if neither I, nor you be ever restored to our Right, but God, in his severest Justice, will punish my Subjects with continuance in their sin, and suffer them to be deluded with the prosperity of their wickedness; I hope God will give me and you, that grace which will teach and enable us, to want, as well as to wear a Crown; which is not worth taking up, or enjoying upon sordid, dishonourable, and irreligious terms.

Keep you to true principles of piety, vertue, and honour; you shall never want a Kingdom.

A principal point of your honour will consist in your deferring all respect, love, and protection to your Mother my Wife, who hath many waies deserved well of me, and chiefly in this, that having been a means to bless me with so many hopefull Children; (all which, with their Mother, I recommend to your love and care) she hath been content with incomparable magnanimity and patience to suffer both for, and with me and you.

Anno
1648.

My prayer to God Almighty is, (whatever becomes of me, who am, I thank God, wrapt up and fortified in my own Innocency, and his Grace) that he would be pleased to make you an Anchor, or Harbour rather, to these tossed and weather-beaten Kingdoms; a Repairer by your wisdom, justice, piety, valour, of what the folly and wickedness of some men have so far ruined, as to leave nothing entire in Church or State; to the Crown, the Nobility, the Clergie, or the Commons; either as to Laws, Liberties, Estates, Order, Honour, Conscience, or Lives.

When they have destroyed me, (for I know not how far God may permit the malice and cruelty of my enemies to proceed, and such apprehensions some mens words and actions have already given me) as I doubt not but my blood will cry aloud for vengeance to heaven; so I beseech God not to pour out his wrath upon the generality of the people who have either deserted me, or engaged against me, through the Artifice and hypocrisie of their Leaders, whose inward horror will be their first tormentor; nor will they escape exemplary judgments.

For those that loved me, I pray God they may have no miss of me, when I am gon; so much I wish and hope, that all good Subjects may be satisfied with the blessings of your presence and virtues.

For those that repent of any defects in their duty toward me, as I freely forgive them in the word of a Christian King; so I believe you will finde them truly zealous, to repay, with interest, that Loyalty and Love to you, which was due to me.

In sum, what good I intended, do you perform, when God shall give you power: much good I have offered, more I purposed to Church and State, if times had been capable of it.

The deception will soon vanish, and the vizards will fall off apace; This Mask of Religion on the face of Rebellion (for so it now plainly appears since my restraint and cruel usage, that they fought not for me, as was pretended) will not long serve to hide some mens deformities.

Happy times, I hope attend you, wherein your Subjects (by their miseries) will have learned, That Religion to their God, and Loyalty to their King, cannot be parted, without both their sin and their infelicity.

I pray God bless you and establish your Kingdoms in righteousness, your soul in true Religion, and your Honour in the Love of God and your people.

And if God will have disloyalty perfected by my destruction, let my memory ever, with my name, live in you; as of your Father, that loves you, and once a KING of three flourishing Kingdoms; whom God thought fit to honour, not only with the Scepter and Government of them, but also with the suffering many indignities and an untimely death for them; while I studied to preserve the Rights of the Church, the power of the Laws, the honour of my Crown, the priviledge of Parliaments, the Liberties of my people and my own Conscience, which I thank God, is dearer to me, than a thousand Kingdoms.

I know, God can, I hope he will restore me to my Rights : I cannot despair either of his mercy, or my peoples love and pitty.

Anno

1648.

At worst, I trust I shall but go before you, to a better Kingdom, which God hath prepared for me, and me for it, through my Saviour Jesus Christ, to whose mercy I commend you, and all mine. Farewell, till we meet, if not on earth, yet in heaven.

The world was busied with Epitaphs upon his death, and there were those who have been passionately disposed to parallel his sufferings with the holy Jesus, but we forbear to censure them, or to say so much. Only we may aver that he was a King, whose Reign and Death makes as full and perfect a Story of goodness and glory as earth would suffer, and whose Christian virtues deserve as faithful a Register as Earth can keep; but (Reader) not to overwhelm thee in a deluge of sorrow, as I am drowned in tears, I conclude.

The End.

Those wonderfull mutations in Church and State which followed here-upon, even to this day, we may (God willing) adventure to sum up hereafter in a succeeding continued History, whilst these by favour finde acceptance.

A



A Table of the chief Occurrences in the preceding HISTORY.

A.

Arch-bishop Abbot sequestred,
fol. 104, dies, 194
The King Marches to Aino, 586
Aldern Fight, 876
Sir Giles Allington his incest, 160, his
case and sentence, 161
French Ambassadour affronted, 661
Amiens described, 2
Sir Robert Amstroder sent Ambassador
to the Emperour, 143, and again the
second time, 162
Bishop Andrews dies, 72
Princess Anne born, 218
Arguile defeated, 795
Bishop of Armagh his Speech, 68. His
direction to the Parliament touching
the Leiturgie and Episcopal Govern-
ment, 363. He confirms Dr. Reynalds
original of it, 366, 367. His Proposi-
tions in Church Government, 423
Design of the Army discovered, 409.
New Modelling of it, 770. They mu-
tiny for money, 926. They Petition the
Parliament, 979, are discontent, 984,
draw towards London, 986. Their

Representative, 987. They come to
Southwark, 1000. March in state to
Westminster, and through Lon-
don, 1001. Their desires, 1008. Their
Agitators send Letters to the Gene-
ral, 1011, which he answers, 1013.
They demand their Arrears, and are
voted payment, 1098. Their large Re-
monstrance, 1099, and Declarati-
on, 1100. They come to White-Hall,
ibid. Their Representative filed
the Agreement of the people, 1107
Arras lost, 371
Earl of Arundel committed, 30, sent
Ambassador to the new Emperour of
Ger. 212. and aboard the Spani-
ards, 280
Arundel Castle surrendered to Wal-
ler, 662
Ashburnham sent into England, 89
Lord Ashley defeated, 885
Aft Ferry Fight, 733
Lord Audley arraigned, 154, manner
of his Tryal and Fudges, 155. He is
condemned and beheaded, 160. His
character, ibid.

B. Back-

The Table.

B.

Backhouse his Letter touching the
betraying of Gloucester, 652
Lord Balmerino arreigned, 200
Banbury taken by the King, 586. Storm-
ed by the Parliament and repulsed, 729
The Besiegers defeated, 730. Surren-
dred, 893
Siege at Basing House, 774, &c. Relief
of it, 778. Stormed and taken by Lieu-
Gen. Cromwel, 834
Bastwick censured, 218
Bath rendered up to Fairfax, 823
Batten Vice Admiral for the Parliament
goes to the Prince, 1079
Fight at Banton Heath, 830
Earl of Bedford confined, 140. He is
made General of the Parliaments
Horse, 545. Revolts to the King, and
back again to the Parliament, 626
Belvoir Castle besieged and surren-
dred, 838
Judge Berkley fined, 629
Bewdley taken, 698
Tumults against the Bishops, who petiti-
on and protest, 476. They are accused
of high Treason, 477. voted down, 554
Blackington delivered to the Parlia-
ment, 802
Boloign described, 3
Bosvil in secret gives Letters to the
King, 980
Bourchier hanged at Bristol, 620
Mr. John Bradshaw made President of
the High Court of Justice, 1121. He
interrupts the King with insolent re-
proofs, 1126. His Speech to hasten the
Sentence, 1127
The King Marches to Brainford, 587.
Fight there, 593
Fight at Brandean Heath, 697
Bridgewater besieged, 822. bravely de-
fended, *ibid.* surrendered, 823

Bristol surrendered to P. Rupert, 657,
besieged by Fairfax and Cromwel, 830
Earl of Bristol articted against, 37.
committed, 58
Earl of Bristols speech for accommoda-
tion, 518
Broadway Arraigned and executed, 160
Lord Brooks Speech at Guild-hall, 591.
His second Speech there, 592. He is
killed at Lichfield Close, 612
Inquisition against the Duke of Bucking-
ham, 35. Earl of Bristows charge a-
gainst him, *ibid.* impeachment against
him, 46. His Manifesto, 75. He sets
forth for the Isle of Rhe, *ibid.* summons
Toras, 86. is answered, 87. Cano-
phies Message to him and his An-
swer, 97. he is murdered, 120. His
Funeral and Tomb, 123. verses on
him, 124
County of Bucks Petition, 479
Sir John Burroughs dyes, 90
Burton censured, 218. returns from du-
rance, 338
Sir John Byron Marches to Oxford, 576

C.

King Charls born, 1. marieth Prin-
cess Henrieta Maria, 5. calls the
first Parliament, 6. His Speech to
them, 7. Ceremonies at his Coronati-
on, 24, 25, 26, 27. calls a second
Parliament, 28. He demands sup-
ply, 30. Declares why he dissolved the
third Parliament, 134. falls sick of
the small pox, 178. Journeys into
Scotland, 191. His declaration to the
Scots, 241. He prepares an Army a-
gainst them, and declares the occasion,
247. His Declaration, 252. He resolves
of a Parli. in England, and another
to be in Ireland, 285. Goes into Scot-
land, 313. His Speech to the Peers, 319
For

The Table.

For Bishops, 348. Passeth the Bill for a Triennial Parliament, 360. His Speech concerning it, 361. His Reply to the Speaker touching Tunnage and Poundage, 427. Other 2. Speeches to both Houses, 462, 463. Answers the Parliaments Petition, 469. and declares in Answer to their Remonstrance, 470. He withdraws to Hampton Court, 479. Answers the Parliaments Petitions for the Militia, 489, 498, 499. His Message to the Parliament from Huntington, 505. His Proclamation at York concerning Tunnage and Poundage, *ibid.* His Offers concerning Ireland, 507. He is dissuaded by the Parliament from going into Ireland, 508. His Letter to the Council of Scotland, 516. His Answer to the 19. Propositions, 529. He caresses the County of York, 536. Provides Arms, 537. His Letters with Commissions of Array, *ibid.* His Protestation, 538. His general Declaration, 539. His Proclamation against Levies, 540. He caresses the County of Nottingham, 544. his Proclamation, 545. His grand Declaration, 552. Proposeth the first Treaty for Peace, & is refused, 562. His Speech to his Army, 577. and to the Gentry of Denbigh and Flintshire, 579. His Declaration after his Victory at Edgehill, 587. His Message to the Lords of his Privy Council in Scotland, 590 and to the Parliament, 593. He proposeth a Treaty, but without success, 601. His Proclamation against the Solemn League and Covenant, 637. His Protestation at the Sacrament of the Eucharist, 702. His Letter to the Earl of Essex, 715. His Messages of Peace, 717. His Letters taken and divulged, 812. He writes to the Parliament for a Con-

duet for persons to Treat, and is Answered, 844. Several Messages of his touching a Treaty, 845, 847. which are Answered by the Parliament, 849. Other Messages of the King, 850, 852, 853. He desires to come to his Parl. 885. He escapes out of Oxford, 896, comes to the Scots Army before Newark, 897. His Letter to Ormond, 898. His Message to the Parli. from Southwel, 900. He comes to Newcastle, 904. Argues with Henderson about Church matters, *ibid.* gives warrant to disband his Forces, 906. His Letter to the Prince, 907. His Message to the Parliament, and their Answer, 918. His Answer to the Scots Petition and Remonstrance, 922. His Message for a Treaty near London, 934. He is voted to Holmby, 935. His Queries to the Scots Army, 938. Commissioners to receive his person, 939. He desires two of his Chaplains to be with him, 941, 942. His Letters to the Lord General of Ireland, 960. His Answer to the Parliaments Propositions, 981. He is taken into the Armies power, 985, desires to see his Children, 992. His Letter to the General for protection, 1001. He Answers the Parliaments Propositions, 1009. The effects of his Answer, 1014. He escapes from Hampton Court, 1016. His Letters to Col. Whaley and the Lord Mountague, *ibid.* and to the Parliament, 1017. Death for any to conceal him, 1018. He is carried to Carisbrook Castle, 1020. Votes to secure him and his Message from thence, 121. He writes to the Parliament for an Answer to his Message, 1026. Four Bills offered to him with proposals, 1027. which he Answers, 1209. His servants dismissed, 1031. Votes of no further address to him, 1032. His Declaration to the people after

The Table.

after the Vote of Non Address, 1041.	Canophies Message to the Duk of Buck-
his title altered in all things, 1044. his	ingham. 97
Message in Answer to the Parliaments	Arch B. of Canterbury impeached, 340.
Votes and a Treaty, 1085, 1087. He	accused of high Treason, 361. His ar-
and his fast and pray, 1089. Concedes	raignment, 780. and Sentence, 781.
to the Parliaments Propositions in most	His Speech upon the Scaffold, 782
things, 1094. is delivered to Colonel	Lord Capel impeached, 1079
Ewers, 1100. his Quarries concern-	Carlisle surrendered, 816
ing his Tryal, <i>ibid.</i> his Declaration	Sir Dud. Carlton sent Ambassadour to
concerning the Treaty, 1101. he is	France, 162
seized by the Army, 1103. he is	Carnarvan surrendered, 893
brought to W Windsor, 1116. the	Cassal lost, 371
Charge against him, 1118. Procla-	Cheapside Crofs pulled down, 614
mation for any to accuse him, 1119.	Chepstow Castle taken, 1059
he is brought to St. James's, 1121.	Sir Geo. Chidleigh leaves the cause, 638
his first Trial, 1123. his accusation,	Mutinies about keeping Christmas, 1041
1124. he demurs to the Authority of	Church Government reformed in Scot-
the Court, <i>ibid.</i> his second Trial 1125.	land, 194. Commotion about Church
he interrogates the power of the Court,	Ceremonies, 290. new modes of Ec-
and offers reasons in writing, 1126.	clesiastical Government, 422
his third and fourth Trial, <i>ibid.</i> he	Cirencester taken by storm, 602. sur-
refuseth to answer but before his two	prized by Essex, 646
Houses of Parliament, 1127. he is	Abuses in Civil affairs, 129
not suffered to reply, 1128. his Sen-	Earl of Cleveland commended, 737
tence. <i>ibid.</i> His reasons against the	Clubmen rise, 817. treat with the Gen.
Jurisdiction of the Court, 1130. he	Fairfax, 818. are surprized by Crom-
is abused by the Souldiery, 1132. hin-	wel, 828
dered in his devotion & prayers, <i>ibid.</i>	Cockram sent to the King of Denmark
his execution ordered by a Committee,	with Instructions, 692
<i>ibid.</i> Ambassadors sue in his behalf,	Colchester Summoned, 1067. resolutely
1133. his blessing and charge to his	defended, 1080. yet surrendered, 1081
children, 1133, &c. he is conveyed to	List of prisoners taken there, 1082
the scaffold, 1135. his speech there, 1136	House of Commons petition for a Guard
his preparation for death, 1137. he is	477. their misrule, 820
executed, 1138. imbowelled, <i>ibid.</i>	Committee for the Kings Execution,
interred in W Windsor Chappel,	1132
1139. his Character, <i>ibid.</i> his Let-	Owen O Conally discovers the Irish
ter to the Prince of W Wales, 1140.	conspiracy, 438. is examined, <i>ibid.</i>
his issue, <i>ibid.</i>	Convocation sits after the Parliament,
Prince Charls born, 141. he desires con-	305. Impose an Oath, 307. their Ca-
duct of Fairfax for 2. Lords to treat	nons denounced, 339
about a peace, 843. is answ. and replies,	Mr. Cook and Dr. Turner's insolent
<i>ibid.</i> he is invited to the Parl. 884,	speeches, 31
903. his Fleet, 1078. he is invited to	County of Corn. protests for the K. 663
Scotland, 1079. his Letter to the	County of Corn. caressed by the K. 628
Lords in Parliament, 1084	A Juncto of Council called, 309
University of Cambridge ordered, 664	6 H Cove-

The Table.

Covenanters *their pretended cause* of Rebellion, 228. *Their Demands*, 238. *They assume all Authority*, 243. *A covenanting Female Imposture*, 244. *They protest against the discharging their Assembly*, 245. *Their protestation*, 276. *Their charge against the Arch-bishop of Canterbury*, 340
Sir Thomas Coventry dies, 281
High Court of Justice erected, 1121. *The place for it*, 1123. *The number of the Judges at the Kings Sentence*, 1129
Sir Nicholas Crisp kills Sir James Enyon, 633
Lieutenant Gen. Cromwel defeats the Scots Army, 1074. *improves his successes*, 1075. *enters Scotland and declares*, 1076. *Their Nobility contract with him*, *ibid.* *He is caressed there* 1077

D.

R *Eason of the Danish War*, 796
Dartmouth Besieged and Surrendered, 868
Earl of Denbigh delivers up his Commission, 799. *Dennington Castle assaulted the first time*, 722. *A second attempt upon it*, 723
A grand Design, 287
Devizes taken by Cromwel, 833
Queen Dowager of Denmark dies, 191
County of Devon protests for the K. 663
Lord Digbies first Speech in Parliament, 334. *His second for Episcopacy*, 362. *His Letters intercepted*, 496, 836
Distempers in the Kingdom, 1082
Sir Dudley Digs his Prologue against the Duke of Buckingham, 42
Dublin victualled, 445. *besieged by the Rebels*, 965

Dudley Castle surrendered, 889
Dunkirk surrendered to the French, 972

E.

E *Ccleshal Castle and Town taken*, 657
Edge-hill Battel, 583
Prince Elector dies, 190. *Young Prince Elector arrives*, 207. *departs with his brother*, 220. *comes over again*, 279. *is arrested for debt*, 816. *visits his brothers Rupert and Maurice*, 891 *is made a Member of the Assembly of Divines*, 974
Sir John Eliots speech and Remonstrance, 130
Princess Elizabeth born, 207
England and France at difference, 59.
English Army Marches to the North, 249. *Come within view of the Scots*, 250. *they treat*, 251. *Second expedition against the Scots*, 312
Sir James Enyon slain, 633
County of Essex Petition, 1062
E. of Essex his second Marriage, 152. *He is made General of the Parliaments Foot*, 545. *Proclaimed Traitor*, 547. *His Ensigns Colours*, 567. *He sets out of London*, 577. *Advises of peace* 625. *Musters at Hunsloe-heath*, 628. *His Army is in distress*, 633. *but recruits*, 698. *He divides Forces with Waller*, 706. *is defeated in Cornwall*, 709. *A Letter to him from the Lords and Commanders in the Kings Army*, 716. *He is degraded from his Generalship*, 770. *delivers up his Commission with a paper*, 799. *his death*, 928.
Col. Tho. Essex Garrisoneth Bristol, 581
Excize continued by Ordinance of Parliament, 1004
Exeter delivered up to Prince Maurice, 628. *Summoned by the Parliaments Forces*, 869. *Surrendered*, 888

F. Lord

The Table.

F.

Lord Fairfax and others proclaimed
Traitours, 600. He takes Sel-
 by, 700
 Sir Tho. Fairfax made General, 770.
his Commission, 798. he Marches to
 Bridge-water, 821. comes to Lon-
 don. 925. *his Letter in behalf of the*
King, 992
 Dr. Featly imprisoned, and why, 635
 John Felton murders the Duke of Buck-
 ingham, 120. *his confession*, 122 he is
hanged in chains, 124
 Sir John Finch made Keeper of the
 great Seal, 282. *His Speech to the*
Commons House, 344. Voted *Traitour*
and flyeth, 347
Eruption of fire out of the Sea, 246
 Fleet comes home, 64. *service of the*
Fleets at Sea, 206. another Fleet for
the narrow Seas, 211
 Tumult in Fleetstreet, 140
 French insolent at Court, 61. peace con-
 cluded with France, 138. Princes of
 France discontent, and why, 372
Ambassadour from France, 615
Ambassadour extraordinary from thence
hath audience, 918
 Mr. Fountain committed, 567

G.

Gades voyage succeeds ill, 19
Overtures from the Emperour of
Germany, 137. *small effects of the*
peace there, 207. *the Emperour*
dies, 212
 English defeated at Gillingstone Bridge,
 449
 Glamorgans Letter to the King, 859
 Serjeant Glanville released upon bail, 942
 Sir Thomas Glenhams Answer to Ar-

guiles Letter, 675
 Gloucester besieged by the King, 629.
the siege left, 632. *Actions in the*
County of Gloucester. 633, &c.
 Goodman reprieved, 349. *Remonstrance*
against him, *ibid.*
 Gordon executed, 1045
 Skirmish at Greenhills, 452
 Major Grey slain, 731
 Gutlery executed, 1046

H.

A Letter from the Hague intercept-
 ed, 595
 Mr. John Hambden slain, 623
 Marquess Hamilton *his design*, 147. he
 is made high Commissioner to Scot-
 land, 237. *his Commission read in*
publick, *ibid.* Poasts back to the King,
 239. returns again, 240. Poasts the
 second time to the King, 241. and re-
 turns to Scotland, 242. comes again
 to England, 246. he invades Eng-
 land with an Army, 1071. *Summons*
Lambert and is answered, 1072. Is
taken prisoner, 1075
 Col. Hamonds Letter to the Parliament,
 1020, he refuseth to deliver up the
Kings attendants, 1025
 King at Hampton Court, 1004
 Major Hamond kills Grey, 731
 Henderson argues with the King, 904
 Sir Edward Herbert questioned about
 the five Members, 482. *The Kings*
Letter concerning him, 484
 Hereford siege raised, 824, 826. *The*
Town surprized for the Parliament,
 839
 Earl of Holland revolts to the King,
 and back to the Parliament, 626, and
 639. *his insurrection*, 1068. he is ta-
 ken prisoner, 1069
 Present to the King and Queen from the
 States of Holland, 207. Holland
 6 H 2 Fleet

The Table.

Fleet and Spanish engage, 279. *Holland Ambassadors have audience*, 718
Lord Hopton defeated at Torrington, 869. *he agrees to disband*, 870
Sir John Hothams act of excluding the King from Hull avowed, 512. *he begins the quarrel*, 574. *offers to betray Hull and Lincoln*, 615. *he is seized prisoner with his son to the Parliament*, 624. *his Tryal* 740, *and sentence*, 741. *he is executed*, 744
Captain Hotham arraigned, 741. *his Letter to the Earl of Newcastle*, 743, *his execution*, 741
Justice Howard killed by a Papist, 338
Hudson conveys the King from Oxford, 905. *his examination and confession*, 907
Hull and its Magazine desired by the Parliament, 507. *Entrance thither denied the King*, 510
Huntington taken by the King, 829

I.

King James dies, 2. *His Funeral*, *ibid.*
Fudge Jenkins refuse to be examined, 976
Jesuits and secular Priests at difference, 151
Impropriations touched, 153
Condition of Ireland and beginning of their troubles, 185. *It is in disquiet*, 199. *Irish Rebellion presumized*, 438. *discovery of it proclaimed*, 439. *first broke out in Ulster*, *ibid.* *Towns seized by the Rebels there, and their Declaration*, 442. *dispatch from thence to the King in Scotland*, 443. *Parliament in Ireland protest against the Rebels, and send Letters again into England*, 446. *Overtures for relief of Ireland*, 486. *Propositions for*

Ireland, 496. *Cessation of Arms there for a year*, 640. *Irish Forces come over to the King*, 650. *Irish Letters intercepted*, 855. *The Kings Message about Ireland*, *ibid.* *peace proclaimed there*, 921. *Government of Ireland voted*, 962
War in Italy, 137
New Judges and Serjeants at Law, 1098
Bishop Juxon made L. Treasurer, 207

K.

Kentish Insurrection, 1063. *Their Reply to Gen. Fairfax his Letter*, 1064. *They come to Black-heath and disband*, 1066
Famous Battell at Kilsithe, 880
The Lord Kimbolton questioned, 472
Tax of Knighthood, 145

L.

Lambeth house beset by Puritans, 309
Lamiston quitted, 870
Lands-down Fight, 624
Siege at Latham House raised, 703. *It is surrendered to the Parliament*, 838
Major Gen. Laughorn joins with Poyer, 1056
Earl of Leicester declared Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, 432
Leicester taken by the King, 808. *Surrendered upon Articles to the Parliament*, 815
Levens Letter concerning the King, 899
Lewis the just and the 13. dies, 608
Dr. Leighton sentenced, 114
Exceptions against the Leiturgy, 682
Lichfield Close besieged and taken, 613
Lidbury Fight, 805
Mr. J. Lilburns Petition for peace, 865
Earl of Lindsey returns from his Imprisonment,

The Table.

sonment, 1081. *to 1084. 1085* 626
Bishop of Lincoln enlarged, 337
Sir George Lisle shot to death, 1081
Loan moneys, 65
London Bridge burnt, 178
Londoners Petition, 318, 339. *They mutiny*, 471. *Petition the King and are Answered*, 478. *send another Petition to the King*, 597. *which he Answers*, 598. *Congratulate the Parliament*, 905. *their Petition*, 947. *declare against the Army*, 998, *but submit and treat*, 999. *Mutiny in London*, 1057
Duke of Lorain to assist the King, 795
Lord Lowden his Speech, 261
Sir Charls Lucas shot to death, 1081
Sir John Lucas proclaimed Traitor by the Parliament, and committed, 563

M.

MAc Mahon *secured*, 439. *Executed*, 768
Macquire executed, 768
Magdeburgh besieged, taken, and burnt, 147
Maidstone Fight, 1065
Malmsbury taken, 705
Earl of Manchester surrenders his Commission, 799
Dr. Manwaring questioned, 115
Princess Henrieta Maria espoused to K. Charls, 2. sets forward to Amiens, 3. thence to Boloign where she takes ship, 4. Lands at Dover, ibid. comes to Gravesend, 5. is married, and the marriage proclaimed, ibid.
Princess Henrieta Maria born at Westminster, 725
Marston Moor Fight, 720
Court Martial erected in London, 886
Mr. Henry Martin seizeth the Regalia at Westminster, 623. conveyed into France, 891
Mask of the Inns of Court, 196

Lieutenant Col. Massey made Governour of Gloucester, 582. *he meets Myn and defeats him*, 731
Prince Maurice enters Tewsbury, 654. *and defeats Waller*, 655
Meditation of the King upon calling the last Parliament, 323. *upon the Insolency of the Tumults*, 402. *upon passing the Bill for the Triennial. Parliament*, H h h 2. *upon jealousies, and scandals cast upon him*, 410. *upon his withdrawing to Hampton Court*, 480. *upon his coming to the House of Commons*, 485. *upon the Queens departure*, 492. *upon the 19. Propositions sent to him*, 523. *upon raising Arms against him*, 548. *Seizing his Magazines, Forts, Navy, and Militia*, 571. *on the Solemn League and Covenant*, 616. *upon the Rebellion in Ireland*, 642. *upon the calling in of the Scots*, 671. *upon his repulse at Hull*, 744. *upon the abolishing of the Book of Common Prayer*, 747. *upon the Treaty at Uxbridge*, 765. *upon his Letters taken and divulged*, 812. *upon the various successes of the War*, 871. *upon his going to the Scots*, 902. *upon being denyed his Chaplains*, 943. *upon his captivity at Holmby*, 975. *upon the Tumults and Distractions*, 989. *upon his stricter imprisonment in Hurst Castle*, 1109
Five Members questioned, 472. *Articled against*, 473. *the King comes to the house of Commons to arrest them ibid. which is voted a breach of privilege*, 474
Charge against the eleven Members, 988. *Votes concerning them*, 989. *they have leave to travel*, 996. *six of them surprized at Sea*, 1003. *votes against them discharged*, 1066.
Divers Members accused for being active in a Tumult, 1006
Several Members seized by the Souldiers

The Table.

ers,	1104
Meneſes ſpoiled by Montroſe,	790
Major Gen. Middleton comes from the Scots Army in England with Forces,	1047
Money diſpoſed of to certain Members,	933
Monmouth betrayed, 733. ſurprized again, and how,	738
Earl of Montroſe forſakes the Cove- nanters, 322. undertakes for the King, 674. Military affairs under his conduct, 687. he ſpoils the Me- neſes, 790. defeats the Enemies at Aberdine, 792. comes to Arguile and deſtroyes all, 794. his expedition to Dundee, 875. his Victory at Al- dern, 876. at Kilsithe, 880. Com- mands to him from the King, 968. his Forces Deſeated, 969. he is Com- manded by the King to lay down Arms 1047. he Diſbands his Forces and takes leave of Scotland,	1048
Lord Moor ſuccours the Engliſh in Ire- land, 441. his houſe plundered,	448
Dr. Mountague queſtioned,	11
Lord Mordant converted,	12
Munſter Treaty concluded,	1051

N.

Nafeby Fight,	810
Neterville Commanded to Diſ- band,	451
Netherland States careſſed on both ſides,	568
Newark Siege raiſed by Prince Rupert, 678. renewed, and the Town ſur- rendred,	892
Newburn defeat,	313
Newbury firſt fight, 646. Newbury ſecond Fight,	736
Newcaſtle deſerted, 313. beſieged by the Parliament, 772. and ſurrendred, ibid.	

Battel at Norlington,	203
Earl of Northampton relieves Banbu- ry,	730
Earl of Norwich impeached,	1079
Attorney General Noy dies,	199

O.

Oath againſt Scots Covenanters,	265
The Kings Officers quarrel at New- ark, 837. and quit their Commiſſi- ons,	ibid.
Phelim O Neal Generaliſſimo of the Re- bels in Ireland, 441. Storms Tredagh,	485
Sir Richard Onſlow complains of Withers,	892
Overtures of mariage betwixt the La- dy Mary and Prince of Orange. 359 the mariage ſolemnized,	402
Old Prince of Orange dies,	948
Grand Ordinance to diſable Members from Offices and Commands,	801
Organs in St. Pauls Church pulled down,	660
Duke of Orleans his endeavours,	85
Directions to Ormond to make a peace with the Rebels in Ireland, 755 which he doth,	921
Divines at Oxford differ, 174. Treaty there, 610. Parliament aſſembled there, 664. write to General Eſſex for a Peace, 668. are prorogued, 701. the Town is ſtraitned, 816. Fasting and Prayer there, 854. ſecond time beſieged, and ſurrendred, 890. The Univerſity refuſes to be viſited by the Parliament, 1053. and except againſt their Order,	1054

P.

Propoſitions for toleration of Papiſts in Ireland, 66. proteſted againſt, ibid. Papiſts	
-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	--

The Table.

Papists pursued, 219. pretended plots of Papists, 360
 Propositions presented to the King, and his Answer to them, 919
 First Parliament sits, 6. Grants the K. 2. Subsidies, 11. Laws enacted that Session, 13. adjourns to Oxford, *ibid.*
 Petition against Recusants, 14. are answered by the King, 16. dissolved, 17
 Second Parliament called, 28. the Lords Petition, 29. are answered by the King, 30. the Lord Keepers speech to them, 31. and the Kings, 33. the Commons reply, 34. dissolved, 58
 Third Parliament called, 106. the Kings speech to them, 107. they grant him Subsidies, 109. are prorogued, 116. sit again, 127. appoint a Committee of Religion, *ibid.* the King and they differ, 130. the Commons protest, 131. the Parliament dissolved, 132. some Members questioned after, 135
 A fourth Parliament called, 304. dissolved, 305
 Long Parliament resolved on upon an ominous day, 323. sit, 326. vote Monopolies out of the House, 336. borrow moneys of the City, 337. vote against ship-money, 338. Bill of Poll-money, and for suppressing the High Commission Court and Star-Chamber passed, 427. sit on a Sunday, 430. disorders by their connivance, 431. their Order concerning Ireland, 447. the petition for Priviledge, 463. another Petition and Remonstrance, 465, 466, &c. Petition again for the Militia, 489. for the five Members, 495. and to settle the Militia, 496, 499. their Declaration to the King of his faults, 501. they denude the King of all power and Allegiance, 505. put themselves in a posture of War, 513. their Protestation, 517. their Declaration observed, 519. their Votes upon the

Kings preparations for war, 538. their Declaration of defence, 547. their advice to their deputy Lieutenants in the Northern Counties, 561. they joyn with the Scots Kirk to reform all Christendom, 565. Assure Payment on publique faith out of Delinquents Estates, 556. exempt certain persons from pardon, 568. their Declaration to the united Provinces, 569. their directions to their General, 575. They petition the King by their General Essex, 578. Vote address to the King, 588. their Declaration to the Scots, 589. their Petition to the King, and Answer to it, 592. their Answer and the Kings Reply, 594. their Petition to the King again, 595. their desires presented to the King at Oxford are answered, 599. their Ordinance to seize upon the Kings Revenues, 659. their Propositions for peace and other Acts, 752, 753. their order to dispose of the King, 899, 901, 924 the Propositions sent to him, 916. both Speakers. and some Members fly to the Army, 996. Forced Acts of the Parliament made Null, 1002. they send Propositions to the King, 1009. their Declaration concerning their Votes of Non address to the King, 1033. which is answered, 1034. they vote concerning the King and Government, 1061. and again for a Treaty, 1083, 1087. their Commissioners to treat, 1088. their demands, 1089. and Propositions, 1090. they tie their Commissioners to conditions, 1093. the Commons vote for the Kings Tryal, 1118. but the Lords dissent, 1119. and Vote against it, 1121

Patrick arraigned and executed, 160
 St. Pauls Church begins to be repaired, 176
 Earl of Pembroke dies, 140. His successor

The Table.

cessour made Chancellour of Oxford, 1055
Pembroke besieged and surrendered, 1060
Sir John Pennington made Commander of the Fleet, 506
A wondrous Floud and Pestilence, 209
Sir Paul Pindar's bounty to the repair of St. Pauls, 176
Polish wars with the Turk, 178. cause of it, 179. the state of Poland, 181. Overtures of marriage of the King of Poland with the Lady Elizabeth, 213
The Popes Letters to encourage the Rebellion in Ireland, 605
Portsmouth beset, 575
Col. Poyer revolts in Wales, 1056. defeats the Parliaments Forces, 1058. is defeated, 1059
Of Presbyterial Government, 948, &c.
Dr. Preston dies, 119
Prin censured, 218, 219. returns from durance, 338. his charge against the King, 1116
Proeme from the year 1640. to the end of the History, 299. and to the Irish Rebellion, 421
The nineteen Propositions sent to the King, 521
National Protestation, 405
Viscountess Purbeck censured and escapes, 105
A Puritan who, 148
Mr. Pym's speech, 330

Q.

Queen Mother of France comes into England, 247. dies at Colen, 428
Queen of England sent into Holland with the Princess of Orange, 491. she returns from thence, 601. meets the King at Edge-Hill, 615. Entreteth,

Oxford, 626. journeys to the West where she ships for France, 702. her Letter to the King, 1118. and to Gen. Fairfax, *ibid.*

R.

R Agland Castle besieged, 893. surrendered upon Articles, 896
Ramsay vide Rey.
Diet at Ratisbone, 211
Laws executed upon Recusants, 335
Sir Charls Rich and Sir John Ratcliff their Gallantry, 98
Trial of combate betwixt Rey and Ramsey, 164. the manner of it, ibid. &c.
Cardinal Richelieu dies, 607
*Expedition to the Isle of Rhe, 75. cause of that war, 79. English Land upon it and take St. Martins Town, 80. the Castle described, 81. besieged by the English, 82. and relieved, 83. English have recruits, 88. the French designs frustrated, and their ships destroyed, 90. the French send to surrender, are answered and relieved, 91. the ill condition of the English, 92. they rise from the siege, but renew it upon hopes of supply, 93. the French Forces increase there, 94. encounter with the English but fly, 95. English retiring, Fight and assault St. Martins Castle, *ibid.* the French recieve recruits and Marshal, 98. the English retire, 98. yet encounter the French & are defeated, 99. make aboard their ships and consult, 101. hoise sail, 102. the expedition censured,* *ibid.*
Treaty at Rippon how concluded, 320, 321
Rochellers false friends to the English at the Isle of Rhe, 101. Rochel besieged by the French King, 105. a third Fleet sent thither, 120. the Town surrendered, 127
Battel

The Table.

Battel of Rocroy, 691
 Fight at Roundway-Down. 625
 Sir Benjamin Ruddiers first Speech in
 Parliament, 358. His second Speech
 609
 Prince Ruperts Fight near Tame, 623

S.

Minister of the Savoy his blasphemy, 638
 Scarborough Castle delivered to the
 Parliament, 823
 Scots Plot against the King, 200. The
 Leiturgie imposed upon them, 221.
 they mutiny against it, *ibid.* & 222.
 three Proclamations against them,
 223. a fourth to keep the peace, 224.
 which is protested against by the Lords
 225. the Scots insolent Petitions,
 224. they design a new Government
 by Tables, 233. renew their confes-
 sion of Faith, 234. their title to
 it examined, 236. their de-
 sires, 251. their submission and
 Protestation, 253. Proceedings in
 their Parliament, 254. their Parlia-
 ment prorogued, 255. against which
 they protest, 256. and send Deputies
 to the King, *ibid.* four Commis-
 sioners from Scotland, 261. their Treas-
 sons summ'd up, *ibid.* Oath admini-
 stred to the Scots against their Co-
 venanters, 265. their false Paper,
 267. their excuse touching it, 271.
 their several mediations for assistance
 274. their Commissioners return, 284
 Their Petition and Demands, 314.
 moneys voted for them, 343. their de-
 mands Answered, 351, 352, 353,
 354. their great Account, 355, &c.
 a Plot in Scotland, 464. their An-
 swer to the Kings Letter, 516. De-
 claration of their Council, 517. their
 Army kept up, 554. their Declarati-

on in Answer to the Parliament in
 England, 563. their Army enter
 England, 669. their Declaration,
 670. their Army Voted to be gon, 904.
 their Letter to the Parliament, 906.
 Declaration against their papers, 914.
 their Army intend to return home,
 921, 922. they urge the King with
 their Propositions, 923. Letters of
 complaint against their Army, 924.
 one years account of their Army, 927.
 their Papers concerning the dispose of
 the King, 930. Quarries of their Par-
 liament, 936. and Result touching
 the King, 937. their Declaration con-
 cerning the King, 939. Horse from
 the Scots Army come into Engl. 968.
 their Commissioners Messenger staid
 at Newcastle, 1005. their Letter to
 the Speaker, 1014. their Estates dis-
 agree, 1071. their Committee of dan-
 ger vote a War, *ibid.* their Army
 comes to Penreath and engages, 1073
 defeated at Preston, 1074. and dis-
 banded, 1077. they dissent as touch-
 ing the Kings Tryal, 1120. they de-
 clare against it, 1122. their private
 instructions touching it, *ibid.*
 A new Seal voted and framed, 622,
 1119
 Fight near Shaw, 737
 Sherborn seized by the Marquess of Her-
 ford, 576. taken by Storm by Sir
 Tho, Fairfax, 828
 Fight at Sherburn in Yorkshire, 835
 Shipmoney debated, 197. Lord Keep-
 ers Speech to the Judges concerning
 it, 204. again debated, 213. Judges
 questioned about it, 429
 Shrewsbury betrayed to the Parlia-
 ment, 798
 Earl of Somerset confixed, 140
 Overtures of Peace with Spain, 139.
 which is concluded, 144. the Spani-
 ards design, 281

The Table.

<i>Fight on the East side of Spine,</i>	737
<i>Spotswood executed,</i>	1045
<i>Stafford taken by treachery,</i>	658
<i>Earl of Stamford proclaimed Traitor,</i>	546
<i>Sir Philip Stapleton dies of the plague,</i>	1003
<i>A Star appears at noon day,</i>	142
<i>Col. Stephens surprizing is surprized,</i>	788
<i>Stode taken by Tilly,</i>	105
<i>Sir John Stowel taken prisoner,</i>	930
<i>Lord Strange impeached of high Treason,</i>	566
<i>The Earl of Stratherns Descent and Title, 230. raised to his Ruine,</i>	ibid.
<i>County of Surrey Petition,</i>	1062
<i>Fight at Sutton field,</i>	820
<i>Swansey summoned,</i>	702
<i>King of Sweden enters Germany,</i>	146.
<i>beats the Emperialists at Frankfurt,</i>	147.
<i>is slain at Lutzen, 189. his Character,</i>	ibid.
<i>Ambassadour from Swedeland,</i>	199.
<i>Swedes displeased, 208. Peace made with them,</i>	798
<i>Synod began to sit,</i>	604

T.

T <i>Aunton besieged by the Kings Forces, 802. Relieved, and again besieged,</i>	804
<i>Tax of weekly meals,</i>	698
<i>Tenby surprized, 1056. besieged and surrendered,</i>	1060
<i>Term adjourned to Reading, 21. Mich.</i>	
<i>Term adjourned,</i>	567
<i>Mr. Thomas his speech against Bishops,</i>	416
<i>Tinmouth Castle revolts, and is taken,</i>	1073
<i>Tomkins and Chal. hang'd at Lon. 621</i>	
<i>E of Traquair, 191. is treacherous,</i>	225
<i>Tilly defeated,</i>	52
<i>Treaty with neighbouring Nations,</i>	18
<i>Tredagh fortified, 447. besieged, 452. and in distress 455. is relieved, ibid.</i>	

invaded again, 456. yet the besieged make several Sallies, 457. have fresh supplies by Sea, 459. the Siege raised,

<i>Tumults at Westminster for justice against the Earl of Strafford,</i>	402
<i>Turin lost,</i>	371

V.

L <i>ord Francis Villiers slain,</i>	1069
<i>All Ulster possessed by the Rebels,</i>	440
<i>Treaty at Uxbridge 756. 758. Directions to the Kings Commissioners there,</i>	
<i>757. Observations concerning the Treaty,</i>	762

W.

W <i>Allestein murdered,</i>	190
<i>Sir William Waller defeated at Lands-down, 625. and by Prince Maurice near Teuxbury, 655. and at the Devices, 657. He is set to take the King, 706. and defeated at Copredy Bridge,</i>	708
<i>Court of Wards and Liveries voted down,</i>	865
<i>Lord VVentworth sent Deputy to Ireland, 189. Impeached of High Treason, 336. his condition examined, ibid. charge against him, 342, 374. his Tryal at VWestminster, 375. Conclusion of his defence, 396. the Commons justify their Charge against him by Law, 397. he answ. by Council, but is nevertheless voted guilty of High Treason, 398. Bill of Attainder against him, 399. the Kings Speech in defence of him, 400. voted guilty by the Lords, 406. his Letter to the King upon the Tumult of the Apprentices, and his Speech upon the Scaffold to p.</i>	409
<i>VWestchester besieged and surrendered,</i>	861 &c.
<i>Mr.</i>	

